

Farewell VAINE WORLD: as thou hast bin to me:
DUST and a SHADOW: those I leave with thee:
The vnseen VITALL SUBSTANCE I committ,
To him that's SUBSTANCE LIFE LIGHT LOVE to it.
The LEAVES & FRUIT are dropt, for soyle vseed,
Heavens heirs to generate: to heale and feed:
Them also thou wilt flatter and molest.
But shalt not keep from Everlasting Rest.



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AN

ABRIDGMENT

OF

Mr. Baxter's

HISTORY

OF HIS

LIFE and *TIMES.*

With an ACCOUNT of many others of those *Worthy Ministers* who were Ejected, after the Restauration of King *CHARLES* the Second.

Their *Apology* for Themselves and their Adherents; containing the Grounds of their *Nonconformity*, and Practise as to *Stated* and *Occasional Communion* with the Church of *England.* And a Continuation of their History, till the Year 1691.

By *EDMUND CALAMY. Edm. Fil. & Nepos.*

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MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

TO THE

Right Honourable

THE

LORD MARQUESS

OF

Hartington.

My Lord,

NOblemen *have always had* many *Admirers, but never* more, *than when their Goodneſs has been as Diffuſive, as their Greatneſs was Illuſtrious. Your Lordſhips Publick Spirit, and Steddy Vertue are too Conſpicuous to be Conceal'd from* General *Obſervation; All Eyes are upon you*

with raised Expectations, and your Lordship can't be much surpriz'd that Even the most Distant should desire to pay their Respects, where the Meanest are not deny'd Access.

Being therefore Incouraged by your Lordships Inquisitive Genius, your Noble Freedom of Thought, and Generous Love of Truth (by whose Hands soever presented to you) I have presumed to lay these Papers at your Lordships Feet, which if they may be honoured with your Perusal, I Question not but your Lordship will find some Men *and* Things *fairly and impartially Represented, that have generally been misunderstood, for want of a Distinct Account of them.*

My

My Lord, we have lately lost a Great and Good King, whose Generous Charity made him the Common Father of All *his People. And he has more than once expres's'd his Wonder, that where there was such an Harmony in the great Points of* Faith, *there should be such a want of Charity in Matters of* meer Opinion.

Blessed be Divine Providence *which has Raised up our most Gracious Queen, the Common Centre of all our Hopes, whose late* Royal Assurance *of her Favour and Protection affords us an* agreeable *Prospect, and* intire *Satisfaction.*

And we are thankful to God, that hath Inspired so many in *both Houses of Parliament with*

favourable Sentiments towards us: We hope we ſhall always Demean our Selves ſo, as not to forfeit the Good-will *of our Superiours, particularly of your Lordſhip. That you may be* long *continu'd a bright Pattern of Virtue: An Ornament to the Nobility: A Patron of Liberty: Honoured and Beloved by* all good People; *is the Prayer of* many, *beſides*

Your Lordſhip's,

Moſt Humble and moſt Obedient Servant.

Edm. Calamy.

THE

THE

PREFACE.

MR. *Baxter's* Narrative of his Life and Times, which has bin extant now for ſome Years, has met with the ſame Treatment, He in his Life time was ſo much us'd to, both as to his Perſon and Writings: It has bin much Valu'd by ſome, and as much Slighted by others. But where it has bin moſt freely Cenſur'd, it has yet bin generally acknowledg'd to contain a Collection of many valuable Things in Divers Kinds: And that an Epitome of it would be acceptable and uſeful. I don't think it needful to trouble the World with a particular Account how I came to undertake it; If I had tho't that would want an Excuſe, I had never meddled: And therefore, ſhall only ſay that thinking I might this way Profitably employ my Time and Pains, I was willing to do what I could to make my Abridgement of general Uſe. In order to it, tho' I have endeavour'd to ſay much in a Little, yet I have not willingly omitted any thing that I tho't Material. I have reduc'd things to that Method which appear'd to me moſt proper. Perſonal Reflections, and little Privacys I have dropt, and things which were out of Date, I have paſs'd over lightly; ſometimes I have kept pretty much to his Language, and ſometimes I have taken the freedom to uſe my own. I have divided the whole into Chapters, and given things ſomething of a Connexion: And perhaps, have this way taken more Pains, than it would need to have coſt me, had the Work been entirely New. Of my Performance, I muſt be contented every one ſhould Judge, according to their Pleaſure: For I could expect no other, whatſoever I might be able to Suggeſt, to beſpeak their Favour.

It

It being generally apprehended, that in ſome Reſpects Additions were needful, and many being deſirous of a Continuation, to bring down the Hiſtory nearer to the preſent time, I have been prevail'd with to undertake that alſo, tho' a Work of no ſmall Difficulty; and there I think a more particular Account may juſtly be expected from me.

The Ninth Chapter, which has moſt ſwell'd this Volume, at the ſame time as it gave me the moſt Trouble, Contains a Liſt of the Silenc'd Miniſters, with the Characters of many of them. This was the more needful, becauſe Dr. *Sam. Parker* and ſome others, have taken a liberty ſtrangely to diminiſh their Number, whereby they have in Effect charg'd thoſe who have reported them to have bin about two Thouſand, with falſifying in their own Favour; which cannot but blacken their Memory hereafter, if they ſhould not be clear'd by a juſt Repreſentation. But tho' this is what I have endeavour'd, yet for my part I lay ſo little ſtreſs upon Numbers in a Caſe of this Nature, that I have not had the Curioſity to make a Calculation of the Sum Total of the Liſt here Publiſh'd. I leave that to others, who take more delight than I do in numbring the People.

A Catalogue of this Nature, was indeed Printed in 2 Sheets in the Year 1663; but 'tis become ſuch a Rarity, that with all the Intereſt I could make, I could not obtain a ſight of it, 'till mine was got through the Preſs. Having Perus'd it, I am far from repenting my Pains; For I find it mentions the Names of thoſe who were Ejected in *London* and *Eſſex*, and eight Counties more, but has not a word of all the reſt, and yet it bears the Title of an *Exact Catalogue*. What muſt the next Age think of the Diſſenting Miniſters, to find them Aſſerting with ſo much Aſſurance, that the Number of the Ejected amounted to 2000, when an *exact Catalogue* can't reckon up above 5 or 600. I could not but think the future Reputation of many, concern'd in the clearing of this matter, by Publiſhing a Liſt, that might better deſerve the name of Exact, than one that contains the names of little more than a quarter part of them.

Accord-

Accordingly I ſought out every where for Aſſiſtance: And after ſome time obtain'd 4 written Catalogues. One was Collected with great Induſtry and Application by the Reverend Mr. *William Taylor*, late of *Newbery*, who while Chaplain to the late Lord *Wharton*, had a Correſpondence in moſt parts of *England*, in Purſuit of this Deſign. Two I had put into my Hands by the Laborious Mr. *Roger Morrice*, who was for Collecting every thing that was curious, and had taken a great deal of Pains, in order to the compleating ſuch a Deſign. The fourth I receiv'd from another Hand. I Collated them together, and drew one Liſt out of all of them, omitting none wherein all agreed; and where they differ'd, I ſome times follow'd one Copy, and ſome times another, with reſpect to the ſeveral Counties, according to the Information and Advice of ſuch as I conſulted in Perſon and by Letter, for the places with which they were beſt Acquainted. And yet after all, dare not undertake, that my Liſt is even yet *Exact*: But I hope it may Pave the way for one, that at length may deſerve that Name.

Several things concur to make exactneſs in this Caſe difficult. There were two Ejections of Miniſters in the beginning of the Reign of King *Charles* II. One out of the Livings that had been Sequeſtred, and another by the Act for Uniformity. The Liſts which I have ſeen, have not made that Diſtinction in this Reſpect I could have wiſh'd for. There were ſome few, (and as far as my Information reaches they were but very few) of thoſe caſt out of the Sequeſtred Livings, who ſtill kept in the Church after the Act took place. 'Tis not impoſſible but here and there one of theſe may be ſtill nam'd as Ejected: But then there were others who loſt their Eccleſiaſtical Preferments ſoon after the Reſtauration, whom the Act for Uniformity found unpoſſeſt of any Benefice; and others who were Chaplains to Perſons of Quality, without any other Preferments, on whom the Church Doors were by that Act ſhut up, for all time to come. And I have reaſon to believe, (having my ſelf obſerv'd and inſerted ſome ſuch) that my Liſt may be as defective in thoſe of this Latter, as it can be redundant in

in those of the Former sort. Some were Ejected twice; First, out of Sequestred Livings, and afterwards out of some other place in which they were fix'd, before, the Act took place by which they were totally Silenc'd. Some such I have noted; and 'tis not unlikely but several others may have escap'd my Notice. But then there were others just entred upon the Ministry, tho' not fully fix'd in any certain Place, who were as much Silenc'd by that Act, as if they had been Ejected out of Livings of which they for some time had had Possession: And I have reason to apprehend that as many of these will upon a narrow Search be found omitted, as there are of the others that are mention'd twice, and at two several places. However any thing of this kind either way, is inconsistent with that exactness I would aim at: And therefore I make it my Request to all that come to the sight of these Papers, that they will oblige both me and the World, by giving me Notice of any Mistakes they observe of either sort. 'Twas my Desire and Hope of this made me the more hasty. And indeed those Aged Ministers that yet remain, from whom the best Intelligence is to be expected, do now drop off so fast, that had I staid much longer, I might have seen the Stage clear of those, by whom alone this Design of a perfect List can be compleated.

At the end of each County I have added the Names of such as I could obtain the Knowledge off, who tho' Nonconformists at first, did afterwards comply with the National Establishment. The Reason of this Addition, is that it may be seen, how few, under all the Hardships and Disadvantages that attended Nonconformity, were prevail'd with by any Opposite Prospect to desert their Principles, compar'd with those who were firm in adhering to them. I have herein follow'd the forementiond Lists, and should be sorry for any Mistakes: But upon Intimation given, will readily Correct them hereafter.

I have added the Characters of many, which I tho't but a just Debt to the Memory of so many deserving Persons, who suffer'd so bravely to maintain their Integrity, and rather expos'd themselves and their

their Families to no ſmall Hardſhips, than they would ſtrain their Conſciences. 'Tis pity the World ſhould not have a full Account of them. The Ingenious Dr. *Sampſon*, had taken much Pains in a Deſign of that Nature: But he lay'd a Plat-form that was too wide in Compaſs for any one Man's Life. We have few if any, more capable of bringing it to Perfection, than he into whoſe hands the Doctor's Papers are fallen, if want of Health or Leiſure don't prevent him.

Lives and Characters are very entertaining. Hardly any part of Mr. *Baxter's* Narrative was more generally agreeable than his Brief Account of the Miniſters of *Worceſterſhire*, and the parts adjoining. My Liſt would have been dull, without Characters to give it Life. And therefore I took the Pains to conſult the Printed Lives, and ſcatter'd Characters, and Funeral Sermons of as many of them as I could meet with, Collecting thence what appear'd ſuitable to my Purpoſe. I have added an Account of ſome few, my own Acquaintance with whom, put me into a Capacity of giving their juſt Character. And there are a great many others of whom no account at all was ever Printed before, whoſe Memoires are Communicated by Divers Friends in City and Country, who were beſt able to do them Juſtice. Whatever Acceptance this part of my Performance meets with, this I can ſay, it hath coſt me much Time and Pains, in Reading and Abridging ſo many Printed Accounts and Manuſcript Narratives. And yet 'tis but a Specimen of what I intend, unleſs the better Performances of others make my Pains needleſs.

Some angry Perſons have taken much Pleaſure in beſpattering theſe worthy Men, whoſe Names rather deſerv'd Embalming: But none hath more Signaliz'd his Rancour and Bitterneſs in ill Natur'd particular Reflections, than Mr. *Antony a Wood*, the *Oxford* Hiſtoriographer; who hath bin taken to Task by ſeveral for his other Failures, while no one that I know off, hath been ſo Charitable as to wipe off the foul Aſperſions, he hath caſt on thoſe of our Denomination, who to ſay the leaſt, deſerv'd much better Treatment. What muſt thoſe who come after us think

think of our ſupine Neglect, ſhould ſuch malignant Inſinuations as his, which ſo blacken the whole Body of our Miniſters, and the moſt leading Men amongſt them, (very few only excepted) be ſuffer'd to paſs uncontradicted. If any think Innocence needs no Apology: They will do well to conſider, whether ſuch as riſe up among us, and are ſtrangers to their Characters, maint ſuppoſe there was ſomething of truth in his ſpiteful Reflections, if none had the face publickly to Confront them.

The firſt Specimen of this Author's Abilities was his *Antiquitates Univerſitatis Oxon, in which* (they are the Words of a Learned Biſhop *) *there is not only falſe* Latin, *but falſe* Engliſh *too, and many bad Characters caſt on good Men, eſpecially on the Anti-Arminians, who are all* (*eſpecially Dr.* Prideaux) *made ſeditious Perſons, Schiſmaticks if not Hereticks; nay our firſt Reformers,* (*out of* Peter Heylins *angry, and* (*to our Church and Truth*) *ſcandalous Writings*) *are made Fanaticks. The truth is, not only the* Latin, *but alſo the matter of thoſe Antiquities, being Erroneous in ſeveral things, may prove Scandalous, and give our Adverſaries ſome Occaſion to Cenſure, not only the Univerſity, but the Church of* England *and our Reformation.* And that truly great Man, Arch-Biſhop *Tillotſon*, found it Neceſſary to vindicate the Memory of that excellent Perſon Biſhop *Wilkins*, from this Authors Aſperſions in his Preface to a Volume of that Biſhop's Sermons. And after a mild Cenſure, concludes (in his wonted manner) with this ſoft Reflection; that *there is no readier way for a Man to bring his own worth into queſtion, than by endeavouring to detract from the worth of other Men.*

* Biſhop *Barlows* Genuine Remains, *Page* 181. 184.

His next Work was his *Athenæ Oxonienſes*, with an Eye to which Biſhop *Burnet* * Stiles him a Scribler and hath this Remarkable Paſſage. *That poor Writer has thrown together ſuch a Tumultuary Mixture of Stuff and Tattle, and has bin ſo viſibly a Tool of ſome of the Church of* Rome, *to reproach all the greateſt Men of our Church, that no Man who takes care of his own Reputation, will take any thing upon truſt that is ſaid by one that has no Reputation to looſe. He has laid together all the Malice of Miſſionarys could furniſh him with,*

* The Lord Biſhop of *Sarum's* Letter to the Biſhop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, Page 9. 10.

blemish the Work of one of the greatest Men of our Church, Bishop JEWEL; *and he hath barbarously attack'd the Memory of Bishop* WARD, *who was in so many Respects one of the greatest Men of his Age, but that he had appear'd with too much Zeal against* Popery, *to be spar'd by one of their Faction.* The Truth of it is the *Athenæ Oxonienses*, Historically relating the Writers of that Famous University with their Works, was a very Nobie Design: But the Canker'd Spirit of the Authour, has spoild that which otherwise had been one of the best Books, that a Biographer could easily have met with. His Reflections, which are many Times as void of Judgment as Charity, are intolerable. He spares none. Many of the most eminent *Conformists*, some that were the Glory of the Establish'd Church, are severely Lash'd, as well as the Poor *Nonconformists*. Nay, the very Martyrs do again suffer under him. With him Bishop *Ferrar*'s Answer to the *Papists* was *insufficient*. *The Loss* of Excellent Bishop *Hooper* (who with great Constancy endur'd the Flames, to Attest the Truth of his Religion in Opposition to *Popery*) he says, *was Lamented by such as Pretended to Reformation.* And indeed whoever will take the Pains to pursue the Comparison with Observation, will generally find better Characters given of the *Papists*, than of the *Protestants*. He could not spare the famous *John Fox*, and his Book of Martyrs, which he declares *too bitter against the* Papists. And as for the Learned Bishop *Bale*, he is with him a meer Whiffler, and to be run down upon all Occasions: And there was good Reason for it; for he was an irreconcileable Enemy to all the Relicks of *Popery*.

He not only inveighs against Dean *Sampson* of *Christ-Church*, as one *in Perpetual Motion for carrying on the Holy Cause*; but Reflects with Freedom, on Dr. *George Abbot*, Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, as *shewing more Respect to a Cloak than a Cassock.* He gives a strange Character of Dr. *Holland*, who he says had *more than a Sip of Learning.* He adds, *he was esteem'd by the Precise Men of his Times and After, as a Man mighty in the Scriptures.* But for his Part, he had not one Word to add in his Favour, tho' he was Doctor

ctor of the Chair. Dr. *Gracanthorp* is insinuated to be a *Foul Mouth'd Writer* against the *Papists*. Bishop *Reynolds*, is Recorded for *a Man given to Change, to please a Covetous and Politick Consort.* And Bishop *Wilkins*, for *a Man of unsettled Principles*; with this Addition, that *he was Malign'd by the Arch-Bishop* Sheldon, *and* Dolben, *and Bishop* Fell, *for his wavering and inconstant Mind in Religion.* If this be True, he might very well have spar'd the Mention of it for their Sakes, whose Memory is thereby like to suffer with impartial Posterity; who in all Probability will prefer the Moderation of Bishop *Wilkins*, which is falsly Stil'd Inconstancy, to the Stiffness and Rigour of the other Three.

What is there that should make this Book admir'd, by any that Love either Truth or Candour? Instead of being an Ornament to the Famous University of *Oxford*, 'tis really a Blemish to it; and so 'twill remain as long as 'tis Uncorrected. Its not capable of being *Purg'd* by Flames. It cannot indeed be suppos'd, but it was a Mortification to the Author, to Live to see his Book Censur'd and Burnt, and himself Expell'd the University. Justice was hereby done many Worthy Persons, tho' undesignedly: For 'twas upon a Particular Complaint, that the Chancellours Court of the University proceeded to that Severity, which was due for the Injury he had done to the Memory of many. But the Book is still an Instrument of lasting Mischief, by Conveying ill Impressions, which sometimes are never after Rectify'd. And what greater Injury can there be, than to perpetuate the Sufferings of deserving Persons.

It cannot indeed be much wondred, that he that could Treat some of the greatest Men of the Church of *England* with so much Contempt, as he hath done, should give himself such a Liberty in aspersing the *Nonconformists*: And yet is it not a hardship, if they are the only Persons with Reference to whom he must be Credited? He gives sufficient Warning in his Preface, to all that have any Thing of an ingenuous Temper, or are for dealing with others, as they would be dealt by themselves. For he declares

That

That *the* Nonconformists *were as usually, so little Friends to the carrying on of a Publick Design, that very few, and those very unsatisfactory Relations could be obtain'd from them; and that therefore no very favourable Account of their Writings was to be expected from him.* This is a singular Instance of his Fairness to let them know what they must expect. They must look for no Favour. The Truth of it is, they never expected it from a Man of his Character; no, nor Justice neither, which comes a Degree below it: And that was the true Reason, why so many of them, tho't it to no Purpose, to hold any Correspondence with him about the Design he had in Hand. But some there were, that were free and open in communicating Memoirs to him, to whom he refus'd what no Candid Writer would have deny'd. I have it from a Person of Note and Worth, that when he observ'd a considerable Mistake in this Authours Account of his own Father, who was a worthy Nonconforming Minister, he offer'd him to have been at the Charge of Reprinting that Sheet, that so that Mistake might be rectify'd: But so true was he to his Word, that he has given in the Case, that no Favour was to be expected from him, that this could by no Means be obtain'd. Let any then Judge, what Regard his Characters of them may deserve. He is a Writer that pretends to great Exactness, and yet runs into a great many gross Mistakes in Matters of Fact; which had been hardly censurable in one that touches upon so great a Variety of Particulars, had he but allow'd for Slips and Over-sights, and other Marks of Humane Fallibility, and been ready to Correct upon better Information: But that was a Thing below him. Dr. *Walter Pope*, who wrote the Life of his Friend Bishop *Ward*, vindicating his Memory from this Authours Reflections, charges him home. I'le add his Words. *Here* (says he) *I should dismiss Mr. Wood, and close this Chapter, had I not just Cause of quarrelling with him upon my own Account, for having endeavour'd to Rob me of my deserved Praise, and to obscure the most glorious Action of my Life; in not mentioning that Famous Contestation concerning Formalities* (meaning the Academical Habits) *which I have describ'd at*

large in the Fifth Chapter, or my being Proctor, which cannot but be either out of Ignorance or Design, either of which is sufficient to ruin the Credit of an Historian. He has falsify'd the History; having made the Proctors Bifield *and* Conant *serve for the Years* 1657 *and* 1658, *which is not only notoriously Untrue, but also, it thrusts my Colledge, and my Self out of the* Fasti, *or the University Chronicles; which is an intolerable Grievance to Persons thirsty of Fame, and ambitious of Honour: But for our Comfort, whoever Consults the University Register, or the Convocation Books, will be easily and clearly Convinc'd of the Truth of what I have here Asserted. Hence I conclude, if he may not be Credited in a Matter so notoriously known, and of such Importance to his History, we may, with good Reason, suspect the Character he gives of a Person, with whom I firmly Believe he never had any Conversation.* Notwithstanding which, I have tho't it requisite to take Notice of several of his Characters, in the ensuing Account; perhaps more than they deserv'd. And I have also taken several Things from him, as to the Degrees of several Persons, and other Particulars, where I saw no Reason to suspect any wrong Byas, but wish upon Second Tho'ts, he mayn't have misguided me. I have some Reason to suspect it, because I find in one Particular, he hath led me into an Errour. For he more than once Asserts, that Dr. *Manton* was Son in Law to Mr. *Obadiah Sedgwick*. This is a Particular of that Nature, that I tho't no Danger could attend my Crediting his Report: But am since Inform'd by those who are most likely to know, that 'tis an absolute Fiction, without the least Ground. This I the rather mention, that others may thence judge, how little Credit is to be given to that Doughty Authour.

There is one Thing in which I have not been able in many Cases to do Justice to these Worthy Men, and that is as to their Degrees. Where any Printed Works of their own, or Accounts given of them by others, or the Information of their Surviving Friends satisfy'd me as to the Degrees of any of the Silenc'd Ministers, I fairly mention'd it: But where I had no Light any of these Ways, I tho't 'twas fitter to be Silent, than to pretend to guess. Should any appre-

hend

hend, that they who have no Degrees here mention'd were no Graduates, they'd wrong them and me too. Them, in ſuppoſing them to want an Ornament which they really were poſſeſs'd of: And me, in taking that as my Denial, which is only a mark of my Ignorance, or uncertainty in the matter. I have alſo added an Account of their Works, which may be ſome Gratification to the Curious. I'm ſenſible 'tis many ways Defective, but 'twill be much more eaſie hereafter to ſupply thoſe Defects, than it was to lay ſuch a Foundation.

If any think it unſeaſonable to revive the Memory of theſe Good Men, I would deſire them to conſider, that there's a great deal of Curioſity in the Age we live in, which inclines Men of ſenſe and tho't, to be inquiſitive into the Notions, the Conduct and Fate, of thoſe, of a different Stamp from themſelves, as well as of thoſe who ſtand upon the Square with them, that they may have the better Underſtanding of Humane Nature, as well as of their own Country, under its ſeveral different Faces. If others are Strangers to ſuch a ſort of Curioſity, 'tis not in my Power to help it.

If any complain of my omitting the Characters of many Perſons who were as conſiderable as moſt of thoſe mention'd, beſides my want of Information, I have this to Alledge; that the Characterizing all, was fitter to be a work by it ſelf, than an Addition by way of Supplement. But having ſeveral Memoirs by me, ſome of which were too long, and others came too late to be here inſerted, I purpoſe, unleſs the Publiſhing of Dr. *Sampſon's* Papers with Additions ſhould make it needleſs) ſome time or other hereafter to caſt them into a ſeparate account of theſe Miniſters, in which as I ſhall be ready to inſert ſuch Particulars concerning their Friends and Acquaintance, here omitted, as any ſhall think fit to communicate, that are well atteſted, ſo I'll alſo be careful to rectifie ſuch Miſtakes, as I may have fallen into in this firſt Eſſay.

If any are ſurpriz'd that I have kept in the names of ſome in the Extremities of *Wales*, who were of a different Stamp from thoſe Ejected in other Parts, I have this to Plead: That pretending to Publiſh a Liſt of the Perſons Ejected, I did not think my ſelf left at Liberty to Pick and Chooſe. Theſe as well as others were of that number, which is all that is intended to be intimated by the naming them. 'Tis well known, that they who had the Aſcendant in thoſe Parts, between 1650, and 60, made it their endeavour to bring in an illiterate Miniſtry; and therefore 'tis no wonder if ſome Ignorant Mechanicks were of the Number of thoſe there Ejected. But however, their Caſe admits of the ſame Plea, as was us'd with Reference to ſome of the Miniſters whoſe Livings were Sequeſtred in the Parliament Times. They were as freely charg'd With Immoralities, as theſe Perſons can be, with any other Defects: But it was urg'd on their behalf, that while ſuch Charges were not fairly prov'd, they could not be alledg'd as the Cauſe of their Ejection. It ſeems to me to be much the ſame here. Had any ſuch Perſons as theſe upon fair Tryal, bin Ejected as incompetent, their Names might have remain'd bury'd in Oblivion for me: But when they were caſt out in a Heat without any Difference, whether they were qualify'd or unqualify'd, they ſtand all fair in view as under an Hardſhip in their Ejection, and had the Honour conferr'd upon them to be Sufferers in a Good Cauſe.

When Mr. *Baxter*, in his Hiſtory comes to the Act of Uniformity, he ſubjoins the Controverſie between the preſent Conformiſts and Nonconformiſts which takes up Eleven Sheets. Inſtead of Abridging that, I rather had recourſe to *His Nonconformity Stated and Vindicated* in 4*to*. Which contains the Summ of his tho'ts any where Extant, upon the ſeveral Points in Debate. I have reduc'd the Subſtance within the compaſs of the Eleventh Chapter, entitled, *The Reaſons of the Ejected Miniſters for their Nonconformity.* And that that Title might be the better Anſwer'd, I have drawn in, what has bin written upon the ſame Argument by others, with References in the Margin to the ſeveral Tracts, where thoſe things

of which I have only given the general Heads, will be found consider'd distinctly and at Large. The making this Account, Succinct, Clear and Methodical, was a Work of more than a little Time and Labour.

I have cast that Chapter into this Method. I have First given their Reasons why they could not comply with the Demands of the Act of Parliament, in Order to the continuance of their Publick Ministry. Then follows a brief Representation of the Grounds upon which they still held on in the Ministry, tho' they parted with their Livings. I have added the Grounds upon which many People found themselves oblig'd to adhere to them, while they held on their Ministry; How both Ministers and People were defended from the Charge of Schism; and upon what Grounds the more moderate among them yielded to Occasional Communion with the Parish Churches, even while they kept up a Stated Separation. And upon the whole, I think I may venture to say, that he that will take the Pains to peruse that Chapter, may at one view take in the whole Cause in Debate, and see the strength of the Argument, abstracted from Personal Brangles and Contests, which as far as I can discern, seldom contribute either Light or Strength.

There is indeed through the whole Book a convenient Mixture of History and Argument, which is one of the best Methods I know off, to prevent tediousness. Besides the Summary of the main Controversie in the 11th Chapter, there are several considerable Points that are else where Canvass'd, and inserted in the most proper Places in the Narrative. As for Instance, A debate concerning the Necessity of a clear and uninterrupted Succession in the Ministry which some lay such a stress upon: *Page* 125, *&c.* And another about unwarrantable Impositions, and the true sense of that Celebrated Text. *Rom.* 14. 1, 3. *page* 165. *&c.* The Warrantableness, the Prudence, and the Consequences of the *Bartholomew* Ejection, is freely Debated, *Page* 486, *&c.* And the account given of the several Attempts, in order to Accomodation of the Difference, will appear to

contain Argument to convince, as well as Histor to inform, such as are strangers to these matters, bu so far unprejudic'd, as to be able to weigh thing with Candor and Impartiality.

Mr. *Baxter's* History proceeds no farther than th Year 1684. And therefore besides additional Passage cast all along into the Margin, which I tho't migh not be disagreeable, I have added a Continuatio This part contains not only an Account of M *Baxter's* Tryal, never before Publish'd, (in which have had the Concurring Testimony of several the present in the Court) and of the later Years of h Life; but also the State of the Dissenters, in th Reign of King *James*, and the first Years of th Reign of King *William* and Queen *Mary*. I, tho my self oblig'd to enter into the Debates that we on Foot presently after our last happy Revolutio and I have endeavour'd to represent them with possible fairness, Particularly that about a Comp hension. He that will narrowly observe the Sta of the Case at that time, cannot but discern, th the Dissenters had some Reason to expect it, that th were not wanting in any requisite or becoming St in order to it, and that it was not their fault that was not effected. When so fair an opportunity w return again, God only knows.

I might have bin tempted upon occasion of t Debate at that time, about Alterations and Amen ments in the Liturgy, Ceremonies and Discipline the Church, to have taken more Scope in dilati on the Particulars most demurr'd upon, but th there is a Discourse now Printing abroad, wh was drawn up by one of the Greatest Men of t Age, which I tho't rendred it wholly needless. the Celebrated Monsieur *Frederick Spanheim*, w was for so many Years the Ornament of the Univ sity of *Leyden* as Honorary Professor, and who w well known to be no Enemy to the *English* Hier chy, came over hither by Desire, at the beginni of the late Reign, in order to the giving his Assistan in the healing our unhappy Breaches. He had w study'd the Controversie, and Canvass'd the Arg ments on both sides, and drew up his tho'ts up

the ſeveral Conteſted Points, They were Communicated, not only to their Majeſties, but to many Perſons of Eminence among us. They were lodg'd with ſome Perſons of the higheſt Rank in the Church, and at the ſame time with ſome of our Denomination. Tho' they were not then tho't fit to be expos'd to publick view, yet they are now Printing with the reſt of his Works in *Holland*, and will I ſuppoſe be ſoon Tranſlated into *Engliſh*, for the Satisfaction of our Country-Men, as to the Judgment of that Learned Foreigner, about the needfulneſs of Alterations and Amendments among us, in order to an happy Settlement.

But whatſoever is ſuggeſted by any Perſons either at Home or Abroad, 'tis now plain and evident, that 'tis to little purpoſe any longer to cheriſh ſuch Expectations, till ſome very Peculiar Providence hath given that ſoftneſs of Diſpoſition to the minds of ſome, which neither Arguments nor Intreaties have hitherto bin able to produce. A late Learned Writer, * who would be underſtood to ſpeak the ſenſe of many, taking the Biſhop of *Sarum* to Task for his Elaborate Expoſition of the 39 Articles, with keenneſs of Reflection, not very well agreeing with that Submiſſiveneſs in a Son, to the Fathers of the Church, which has ſometime bin ſo warmly inculcated, has among other things, charg'd him, with *ſuch Miſrepreſentations, as may tend to the Prejudice of the Eſtabliſh'd Church.* In purſuit of the Charge, he warmly inveighs againſt a Paſſage in the Cloſe of his Preface, where he ſo *Capitally* wrong'd the Church to Inſinuate, what will ſtill be believ'd by all Men of Temper, till farther Evidence convince them, viz. That *the Differences between the Church and the Diſſenters, are only of things* indifferent *in themſelves, and all our Breaches might be made up, by making ſome Conceſſions.* To confront him in this Suppoſition, he Marſhals the Diſſenters Rank and File, and makes them a numerous, and a formidable Body. *Here are* (ſays he) *as has bin already obſerv'd*; and he might have added invidiouſly enough; *the Papiſts, Socinians, the Deiſts, and Quakers, the Anabaptiſts, Presbyterians, the Independants; beſides many other*

* *A Prefatory Diſcourſe, to an Examination of a late Book Entit. an Expoſition of the* 39 *Articles of the Church of* England.

Hereticks and Schismaticks. He takes it for granted the Differences with those of the four sorts first nam'd are of things of Great Importance. But no Morta can imagine that he could suppose the Bishop o *Sarum* of another mind; or that his Lordship ha and Eye to *Papists* or Socinians, *Deists* or *Quakers* i what he Advances. He adds afterwards in an Er postulatory way, such Remarks as he seems to thin amount to a Triumphant Conviction. *Can it* (say he) *be reckon'd as a thing* indifferent *to an Episcop Church to have it question'd whether Episcopacy be a Law ful Institution or not? Or whether we ought for Peac sake, to throw up the Commission we can so plainly pro to descend down to us, from the Apostles themselves (a consequently from Christ) and for the future derive a Spiritual Power, either from the choice of the People, a a call from the Congregation in the Independant way;* change *Episcopacy, tho' as Ancient as Christianity, f Presbytery, which was never pretended to as an Establi ment till* Calvin, *and that only at first upon the A count of absolute Necessity? And yet unless we w come up to all this, all other overtures for Peace, we c abundantly satisfy'd, will signifie nothing.* That Learn Prelate, I doubt not is abundantly able to cle himself, and can easily give the true Rise of all th ill Will under which he has bin so great a suffer which would be much to the Satisfaction of ma Standers-by, who are hearty Honourers of his Lor ships Worth, and reckon themselves sharers wi him in the Censures he has unhappily met with, his unbyass'd Freedom, and extensive Charity. But the mean time, I begg leave to enter an Appeal, fr the Heat of some, to the Candor of all that are impar al, as to the unworthy Treatment of the main Body the *Dissenters*, by the Learned Writer of that Prefat Discourse. He gives us several marks of his particu good Will, by the By. He Banters the poor silen *Nonconformists*, who he says more than once, w *able Ministers, as Mr.* Baxter *us'd to express it.* A why he might not express it so I cant understa What harm is there in the Expression; Is it Modest eno'? Is there a Jest depends upon it? might be tho't an Aspersion, should I have said retu

return, that it were to have bin wiſh'd, that all who had ſince Succeeded them in the places whence they were Ejected, had equal'd them in Miniſterial Ability. But I let it paſs, and leave it to any that will be at the Pains to look over the Account I here put into their Hands, to judge, whether they did not deſerve Reſpect rather than Contempt. In another Place, he ſpeaks of *the healing of Differences, and the Uniting of Proteſtants, as our Diſſenters expect to be call'd.* He'd have done well in the mean time to have added his Reaſons why they might not as well expect to be call'd ſo, as their Neighbours. No ſenſe of the Word has hitherto bin given, which does not as much agree to them as to any Perſons: No Men more averſe to Popiſh Principles and Practices; no Men more backward to a Coalition with the *Roman* Sea, or any revolt to a Foreign Juriſdiction; No Men leſs fond of the Relicks of Popery than they; and why then they mayn't expect to be call'd Proteſtants, and eſteem'd as firm and ſteddy Proteſtants as any Men whatſoever, the Reaſon is yet to ſeek. Next time, perhaps we may have it queſtion'd, whether we may be call'd Chriſtians; and then whether we may be call'd and treated as *Engliſhmen*; For when Men are once got beyond Common Bounds, there's no knowing where they'll Stop. But his main effort is in the Paſſage Cited, which is ſo full of Miſtakes, that the moſt Charitable Conſtruction it will bear is this, that the Author forgat the Office he had undertaken, which was to Rectifie Miſrepreſentations. For had he deſir'd to repreſent things truly, could he have Inſinuated that the generality of thoſe Diſſenters he is there ſpeaking of, queſtion'd whether Epiſcopacy were a *Lawful Inſtitution?* Poſſibly *by Lawful*, he may mean *Divine* Inſtitution: And if ſo, he may find a New ſet of Diſſenters from him and his Fraternity, even in his own Church. But as a Humane Prudential Inſtitution, many *Diſſenters* might and do allow Dioceſan, Epiſcopacy, Lawful, provided it were ſo temper'd, as not to deſtroy the Paſtoral Power which they are ſatisfy'd is of a Divine Inſtitution, and therefore cannot Lawfully be ſet aſide. Nor was the

Law-

Lawfulneſs of *Submiſſion* to this Dioceſan Epiſcopacy, as Stated in King *Charles* his Declaration for Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, queſtion'd by the Commiſſioners at the *Savoy*, as he cannot but know. Again, is there not a great Difference between deriving the Miniſterial Commiſſion from the Apoſtles, and conſequently from Chriſt, and the inſiſting upon a clear and uninterrupted Succeſſion in that Office, in order to the ſafe deriving of ſuch a Commiſſion? Who is againſt inſiſting on the former? But who ever yet gave *plain Proof* of the Later. Who of us would have the Miniſterial Commiſſion from Chriſt thrown up, when we all profeſs to Act as Miniſters in his Name, and according to his Appointment? Whilſt yet we cannot preſume to Act without the choice, or at leaſt Conſent of the People to whom we Miniſter. Will either Independents or Presbyterians Controvert that Epiſcopacy, that is as Ancient as Chriſtianity? But was that ever yet prov'd as to the Dioceſan Frame? Was the Settlement of Presbytery inſiſted on in the Debates in 61, or any of the Propoſals offer'd afterwards in order to a Coalition? And why ſhould it be ſaid that all Overtures for Peace would ſignifie nothing, if ſuch things as thoſe mention'd are not yielded to? Have all other Methods bin try'd? Has there ever bin any Experiment made, how far Biſhop *Uſher's* Reduction would go? Or what would be the Effects of ſettling King *Charles's* Declaration for Eccleſiaſtical Affairs by Law, which was ſo well accepted in 1661? Or have we ever ſeen what Conſequences might enſue, upon the paſſing of ſuch a comprehending Bill, as that which was drawn up by the incomparable Sir *Matthew Hale*? Till then ſome Perſons may indeed be *abundantly ſatisfy'd* in their own Opinion, becauſe they have once eſpous'd it, or may apprehend it to be for their Intereſt, but they won't find it ſo eaſie to convince others, that hearty Attempts would be Inſignificant. But upon the whole, ſince he who would be tho't to Repreſent the ſenſe of the Lower Houſe of Convocation, declares ſo peremptorily, that a *Comprehenſion is a thing impracticable*. It cannot juſtly be eſteem'd matter of Reflection, if none of the Diſſenters ſhould make

any

any farther Motions towards it, till we have ſome publick Signification that their minds are alter'd: For 'tis very Comfortleſs to be always at Labour in Vain, eſpecially when we are ſo plainly told before hand what we muſt truſt to.

I have nothing to add but this, that if I have miſs'd of truth in any Point, it has bin unwillingly, and upon better Information, ſhall be ready to own my Errour. I have carefully avoided Perſonal Reflections in the whole Narrative, which I find are made, with much more eaſe, than they are born when return'd. Various Cenſures will not ſurprize me; nor will any ſlurts of Wit affect me. 'Tis eno' for me if I may have the Approbation of Men of Temper. I deſire not to offend any: For I know not the Man, much leſs the Party, to whom I bear any Enmity or ill Will.

POST-

Poſtſcript.

THere being ſome who may be willing to ſearch int the bottom of that Controverſie, that hath bi depending ever ſince the Reformation, between th Aſſertors of the Perfection of the Eſtabliſh'd Churc and thoſe who have acted upon the oppoſite Principle of the Neceſſity of a farther Reformation, in order t an happy Settlement: I have bin deſir'd in order t their Satisfaction, to point out the Writings, whic may be judg'd to contain the ſtrength of the Cau of the Diſſenters. In Compliance with which deſir I Recommend the following Writings to the Perus of the Curious, who are, without taking things upo Truſt, for ſeeing with their own Eyes.

A part of a *Regiſter*, containing ſundry memorabl Matters, written by Divers Godly and Learned i our Time, which ſtand for, and deſire the Reforma tion of our Church, in Diſcipline and Ceremonie according to the pure Word of God, and the Law o our Land, *Octavo.*

Robertus Parkerus de Politeia Eccleſiaſticâ, 4*to. Franco* 1616.

Idem de Signo Crucis.

Didoclavii Altare Damaſcenum, 4*to.* 1623.

Dav. Blondelli Apologia pro Sententia Hieronymi de E piſcopis & Presbyteris. Amſtel. 1646.

Ames's Freſh Suit againſt Ceremonies, 4*to.* 1633.

Gilleſpy's Diſpute againſt *Engliſh, Popiſh* Ceremonie *&c.* 4*to.* 1637.

Smectymnuus, 4*to.* 1640. The Firſt and Second Par

The Papers that paſt in the Conference at the *Sav* in 1661; which were Printed firſt in Quarto, little after the ending of the Conference; and after wards more at large in Mr. *Baxter's* Life in Folio and are here Abridg'd.

Biſhop *Stillingfleet's Irenicum*, 4*to.* 1662.

Mr. *Corbets* Remains, 4*to.* 1684.

M

Mr. *Baxter's English* Nonconformity, as under King *Charles* II. and King *James* II. Truly Stated and Argued, 4*to.* 1690.

Mr. *Tongue's* Defence of Mr. *Henry's* Brief Enquiry into the Nature of Schism, 4*to.* 1693.

He that will be at the Pains to Peruse these several Writings, will find that the Dissenters have much to say in their own Defence; and little Reason to be troublesome to the World by repeating their Pleas, as often as such as love Contention, think fit to renew the Charges that have bin so oft brought against them, and as oft Answer'd. What were this but to perpetuate a Dispute, the Accomodating which by an Amicable Agreement, would be more for our Interest and Safety, Peace and Comfort on all Hands.

The

THE

CONTENTS

OF THIS

VOLUME.

CHAP. I. *Mr.* Baxter's *Birth and Education, Early Seriousness, and Entrance into the Ministry*, Page 1.

CHAP. II. *His First Sentiments concerning Conformity. His Acceptance in his first Ministerial Labours and the Difficulties he met with. His first Settlement at* Kidderminster, page 12.

CHAP. III. *The Opposition he met with at First in the Town of* Kidderminster. *His indefatigable Labours, and the Admirable Efficacy of his Ministry in that Place*, page 22.

CHAP. IV. *The Rise and Springs of the Civil War. Some Brief touches of the History of the Times, to the Cutting off the King*, page 38.

CHAP. V. *Reflections on Publick Transactions, from the Death of King* Charles *the First, to the Restauration of King* Charles *the Second*, page 62.

CHAP. VI. *Mr.* Baxter's *Conduct of himself during these Publick Commotions and Frequent Alterations. His Behaviour in the Army, and towards* Cromwel. *His Trouble from the* Sectaries *of those Times; with an Account of their Rise and Prevalence, Principles and Practises*, page 74.

CHAP. VII. *His General Usefulness in the whole County, while he remain'd in* Worcestershire. *His Publick Service by his Pacificatory Endeavours, and other ways*, page 113.

CHAP. VIII. *The Transactions in Order to the Healing past Breaches, after King* Charles *his Restaura*

on. The Conference *at the* Savoy, *and Silencing Two Thousand Miniſters quickly after it*, page 143.

CHAP. IX. *A Particular Account of the Miniſters, Lecturers, Fellows of Colledges, &c. Who were Silenc'd and Ejected by the* Act for Uniformity: *With the Characters and Works of many of them.*

In the Cities of London *and* Weſtminſter, *and Burrough of* Southwark, page 184. *In the Univerſity of* Oxford, p. 224. *In the Univerſity of* Cambridge, p. 236. *In the County of* Eſſex, p. 240. *In* Suffolk, p. 252. *In* Norfolk, p. 265. *In* Cambridgeſhire, p. 271. *In* Hertfordſhire, p. 277. *In* Middleſex, p. 278. *In* Surrey, p. 282. *In* Kent, p. 285. *In* Suſſex, p. 288. *In* Hampſhire, p. 291. *In* Dorſetſhire, p. 296. *In* Devonſhire, p. 299. *In* Cornwall, p. 307. *In* Somerſetſhire, p. 309. *In* Wiltſhire, p. 321. *In* Berkſhire, p. 325. *In* Buckinghamſhire, p. 328. *In* Bedfordſhire, p. 331. *In* Huntingdonſhire, p. 332. *In* Northamptonſhire, Ibid. *In* Oxfordſhire, p. 335. *In* Glouceſterſhire, p. 336. *In* Worceſterſhire, p. 339. *In* Hereford ſhire, *and* Wales, p. 345, 346. *In* Shropſhire, p. 348. *In* Staffordſhire, p. 356. *In* Warwickſhire, p. 359. *In* Leiceſterſhire, p. 364. *In* Rutland, p. 368. *In* Nottinghamſhire, p. 370. *In* Darbyſhire, p. 376. *In* Lancaſhire, p. 394. *In* Weſtmoreland, p. 412. *In* Cumberland, Ibid. *In* Northumberland, p. 416. *In* Durham, p. 424. *In* Yorkſhire, *the* Weſt *Riding*, p. 426. *The* North *and* Eaſt *Riding*, p. 451. *In* Lincolnſhire, p. 456. *In* Cheſhire, p. 465. *In* Flintſhire, p. 473.

CHAP. X. *The Grounds of the* Nonconformity *of the Miniſters who were Ejected. Their Vindication of themſelves, and ſuch as adher'd to them, particularly with Reference to Conſtant and Occaſional Communion with the Church of* England, page 497.

CHAP. XI. *Mr.* Baxters *Settlement in* London. *The Occaſion of his Separation from his Beloved People of* Kidderminſter. *His Carriage to them after he left them. His Labours in* London, *till he was Silenc'd*, page 568.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII. *His Own and his Brethrens Treatment after their Ejection, till the* Indulgence *in the Year* 1672. page 579.

CHAP. XIII. *An Account of their Case, from the Time of the* Indulgence *in* 1672, *till the Death of King* Charles *the Second*, page 597.

CHAP. XIV. *Their Case in the Reign of King* James *the Second*, page 615.

CHAP. XV. *The State of their Case in the Beginning of the Reign of King* William *and Queen* Mary, page 631.

CHAP. XVI. *Mr.* Baxter's *Manifold Temptations. His Improvements and Alterations as he advanc'd in Years. His Deliverances and Supports. His Last Sickness and Death. And Interest in Men of Note and Figure, in the Days he Liv'd in*, page 669.

CHAP. XVII. *His Works and Writings*, page 690.

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THE

THE LIFE OF THE REVEREND Mr. *Richard Baxter.*

CHAP. I.

His Birth and Education, Early Seriousness, and Entrance into the Ministry.

FAR the Greater Number of those who have bin sent to Act a Part on the Stage of this Lower World, have either pass'd off silently, or misemploy'd their Activity; so that their Names are either bury'd in Oblivion, or stigmatiz'd, to the Warning and Terrour of Posterity. Among such as have made the greatest Figure while Living, or in most applauded after their Decease, many have ow'd their Distinguish'd Reputation, to the Stock that bore them, to their Peculiar outward Helps and Advantages, or to certain Accidental Hits, that are not to be accounted for: While in the mean time, there have in all Ages bin some few others, who have bin Signaliz'd by their Remarkable Endowments, and extraordinary Actions, the Fame of which hath long

ſurviv'd them, and given a Luſtre to their Names in the Annals of Time. Such have bin their Merits, that they have broke thro' all thoſe Clouds which Envy and Malice have rais'd to obſcure them. So Great Bleſſings have they prov'd to the World, that Attempts to detract from them, have recoil'd upon the Aſſailants to their own Infamy.

Under the Great Degeneracy of the Preſent Age, which is the Matter of ſo juſt Complaint, we have had ſome Inſtances of this kind. Mr. *Richard Baxter* (the Subject of the Enſuing Hiſtory) cannot be deny'd to be one of the Number. His Soul was too Great for an Uſeleſs and Unactive Life, and his Piety and Integrity too Conſpicuous for him to be juſtly Charg'd with perverting his Uncommon Abilities, or miſemploying his Conſiderable Intereſt. His Riſe was mean, and his Deſcent obſcure; he had no external Advantages to raiſe and diſtinguiſh him, but as many Difficulties to break thro' as moſt Men, and yet hath his Perſonal Merit advanc'd his Reputation to that height, that it will outlive the Calumnies of all his Detractors.

His Birth. He was a Native of *Shropſhire*. His Father was a Freeholder of that County, who made no great Figure. His Eſtate was but ſmall; and ſo encumbred with Debts, as not to be clear'd without much Thrift and Good Husbandry. His Mother was of the ſame County; being the Daughter of Mr. *Richard Adeney* of *Rowton*, near *High Ercal*, the Seat of the Lord *Newport*. There was he born, *November* the 12th 1615, and there he ſpent his Infancy, which was ſo remarkable in nothing as in the Diſcovery of a Pious Inclination which gave great Hopes to ſuch as obſerv'd him. When he was about 10 Years of Age, he was taken Home by his Parents to *Eaton Conſtantine*, (a Village about 5 Miles from *Shrewsbury*) where he paſt away his Childhood and Youth, which upon Reflection, he according to the Wiſe Man's Cenſure found to be Vanity.

Dr. Bates *declares in his Sermon at his Funeral, That he had receiv'd this Teſtimony concerning his Early Piety. His Father ſaid with Tears of Joy to a Friend, My Son* Richard *I hope was Sanctify'd from the Womb: for when he was a little Boy in Coats, if he heard other Children in Play ſpeak Profane words, he would reprove them, to the wonder of them that heard him.*

He was unhappy in his Education, with Reſpect both to Learning and Piety. His Schoolmaſters were both Lewd and Ignorant. For want of better Inſtructers, he fell into the Hands of the Readers of the Villages he liv'd in. Learning was at no great height in ſo remote a Corner of the Land: Neither could much Improvement be expected in ſo Barren a Soil. His Greateſt Help in Grammar Learning was from Mr. *John Owen*, Maſter of the Free-School at *Wroxeter*, with whom he continu'd, 'till he had bin ſome time Captain of his School; and advanc'd as far as his Aſſiſtance would forward him. *His Education.*

He had not afterwards the Advantage of an Academical Education, and yet, (to uſe the Words of the Reverend Dr. *Bates*) by the Divine Bleſſing upon his rare Dexterity and Diligence, his Sacred Knowledge was in that Degree of Eminence, as few in the Univerſity ever arrive to. None could be more Deſirous of Academical Helps than he; but he was depriv'd of them by a Propoſal of his Schoolmaſter's, much to his Sorrow. When he was leaving his School, Mr. *Owen* (as may well be ſuppos'd out of real Kindneſs) motion'd his Living with Mr. *Richard Wickſtead*, Chaplain to the Council at *Ludlow*, who had allowance from the King for one to attend him. There being no others under his Care, he repreſented this as likely to be more Advantageous than a Tutor in the Univerſity. This Motion eaſily took with his Parents, who were much better pleas'd with the tho'ts of having their Son ſo near them, than at a much greater Diſtance, and they ſoon embrac'd it. But it anſwer'd not Expectation. For Mr. *Wickſtead* himſelf was no Great Scholar, and he took no Pains with his Pupil, tho' he was otherwiſe very kind to him. So that his only Advantage by Living with him, was in the free uſe of his Library, which was open to him: And he having time eno' for Study, improv'd that Priviledge to his utmoſt. After he had ſpent a Year and half with him, he return'd home to his Father; and ſoon after, at the Lord *Newport*'s Requeſt, ſupply'd the Place of his Schoolmaſter Mr. *John Owen* for a few Months, while he was waſting away in a Conſumption, of which he dy'd.

Intending for the Miniſtry, he was earneſtly Deſirous of that Knowledge that was neceſſary to qualify him for it. Being diſappointed in his Hopes of going to the Univerſity, he apply'd himſelf to a cloſe Courſe of Study, under the Conduct of Mr. *Francis Garbett*; (a Perſon of Great Note and Worth, then Miniſter of *Wroxeter*) and with his Aſſiſtance he run thro' a Courſe of Philoſophy. Great was his Induſtry; and nothing troubled him ſo much, as the Hindrance he receiv'd from his Bodily Indiſpoſition, which was very conſiderable. He endeavour'd to manage his Studies in a Subordination to Divinity, and was aſſiſted by the Advice of ſeveral Neighbouring Miniſters, with whoſe Help he was making an Hopeful Progreſs, 'till a New Motion was made that bid fair for entnaring him, and had like to have turn'd his tho'ts into a quite Different Channel, to the unſpeakable Damage of himſelf and others. *But the Purpoſe of God ſhall ſtand.*

A Great Snare eſcap'd.

When he was about 18 Years of Age, Mr. *Wickſtead* perſwaded him to forbear further tho'ts of the Miniſtry, to leave the Country for the Court, and to make an Intereſt for ſome Office there, by which he might have an Opportunity of riſing in the World, and becoming Great and Conſiderable. The thing was Pleaſing to his Parents, and upon their Inſtigation he came up to *White-Hall*, being recommended to Sir *Henry Herbert*, who was then Maſter of the Revels. He was courteouſly receiv'd, and kindly entertain'd, but found nothing taking in a Court Life; ſo far from it, that he was daily entertain'd with what made him very uneaſy: Whereupon, after a Month's ſtay, he return'd down into the Country, reaſſum'd his Former Purpoſes, and apply'd himſelf to his Studies with freſh Vigour; being more Indefatigable in the Purſuit of Knowledge than can eaſily be imagin'd; 'till at length upon the Earneſt Solicitation of Mr. *Richard Foley* of *Stourbridge*, he accepted of the Maſterſhip of a Free School he had lately erected at *Dudley*, having an Uſher under him. And by this time God had fitted him for Great Service in His Church, by bringing him to more than Ordinary Seriouſneſs, the Means and Methods whereof deſerve particular Obſervation.

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The Country he liv'd in had very little Preaching. he Clergy of thoſe Parts were (generally ſpeaking) azy and Vitious. Some by forging Orders, had mpaſs'd a Tranſlation even from the Stage to the ulpit. With Amazement be it mention'd, ſeveral that Neighbourhood of the ſacred Miniſterial Fun-ion, were more Noted for their Gaming and Drink-g, than either their Good Preaching or Good Living. here were not above three or four competent Preach-s all round the Country, and tho' all except one ere Conformable, they were Derided by the Com-on People as Puritans, becauſe not ſo careleſs as their eighbours. In a Word; there was ſcarce the Face moſt of Religion left. In the Village he liv'd in, not Sermon was to be heard from Year to Year. And he Service was run over very Curſorily and Irreve-ntly; and when that was done, the reſt of the ord's Day was profanely ſpent by the whole Town in ancing under a May-Pole, and a Great Tree. In heſe Circumſtances, 'tis amazing he did not ſwim ith the Stream. He hath indeed himſelf acknow-dg'd, That the Univerſality of the Corruption did metimes prove a Conſiderable Temptation to him, ut the Goodneſs of God preſerv'd him. His Father's ood Inſtructions and Example were ſingularly helpful him, under all theſe Diſadvantages. The time that thers ſpent in Dancing, his Father employ'd in Read-g and Praying in his Family, and recommending an oly Life. He put him upon a careful Reading the iſtorical Part of Scripture, which being Delightful him, made him in Love with the Bible: And his rious Speeches of God and the Life to come, poſſeſs'd im with a *Fear* of Sinning. So that He became the rſt Inſtrument of his Hearty Approbation of an Holy ife. He found his Father reproach'd for his Singula-ty, and that much affected him. The Profane Crew erided him as a Puritan, Becauſe not ſo Looſe and areleſs as they; which mov'd his Indignation. At rſt indeed, hearing the Generality ſpeak ſcornfully of uritans, he was apt to think there was Ground for : Why elſe ſhould there be ſo common a Conſent in he Cry that was againſt them? And he was too unac-uainted with their Principles or Practices to be able to

The Benefit he receiv'd from a Pi-ous Educa-tion.

defend them. But when he obſerv'd his own Fath of whoſe ſincere Piety he had ſo good Evidence, br ded with that Name as a Reproach, by a ſott Drunken ſort of People, he came to diſcern that Pi was the Ground of that General Obloquy. For Father never ſcrupled Common-Prayer or Ceremon nor ever ſpake againſt Biſhops, nor ſo much as Pr but by a Book or Form: And yet being zealous Piety and Sobriety, Reproving Drunkards and Swe ers, and intermixing now and then in his Converſ on ſome ſerious Diſcourſe concerning Scripture and Life to come, he was revil'd by the Name of Puri Preciſian and Hypocrite; and it was the like w ſuch Pious Conformable Miniſters too, as the Coun afforded. This Obſervation made him loath the Co pany of theſe Scoffers, and love Religion the better.

The Irregularities of his Childhood.

Many Ways however did his Corruption bre forth in his Childhood. He was addicted to Lying fear of Correction. He joyn'd ſometimes with oth Naughty Boys in Robbing Neighbours Orchards their Fruit, when he had eno' at home. He w much enclin'd to Play, and that with Covetouſn for Money. He was bewitch'd with a Love of R mances and Idle Tales; and tho' he durſt not Swe yet was he ſometimes drawn to imitate other Childr in ſcurrilous and fooliſh Words and Actions. He w too Proud of his ſeveral Schoolmaſters Commendatio for his Learning; and too Bold and Irreverent towar his Parents. Which things he could not in his a vanced Years reflect on, without Hearty Concer Regret, and Sorrow.

The Means of his Converſion.

But about the 14th Year of his Age, being und ſome more than uſual Convictions of Sin, after his h ving robb'd a Neighbour's Orchard, it pleas'd God met with *Parſons of Reſolution*, (as Corrected by *Bun* in the reading of which ſuch Impreſſions were ma upon his Spirit, as never wore off to the Day of Death. Now it was that God thro'ly awaken'd Soul, and ſhew'd him the Folly of Sinning, and t Miſery of the Wicked, the inexpreſſible Weight things Eternal, and the neceſſity of reſolving on Holy Life more than ever before. He had often fo merly had tho'ts of this kind Stirring in his Mind, b

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ow they came in another manner, with Senſe and lower and Seriouſneſs to his Heart. This caſt him in- Fears about his Condition, and they drove him to ordial Contrition, Confeſſion and Prayer; and iſſu'd a ſerious Reſolution of altering his Courſe. Meet- ng afterwards with *Dr.* Sibbs's *bruiſed Reed*, he found open'd more of the Love of God to him, and gave im a livelyer Apprehenſion than he had before of the Myſtery of Redemption, and convinc'd him more than ver, how much he was beholden to Jeſus Chriſt. By he reading alſo of *Mr.* Perkins *of Repentance*, and of *The Art of Living and Dying well*, and ſome other of is Treatiſes, he was further inform'd and con- rm'd.

Some time after, being in Expectation of Death, by Violent Cough, with Spitting of Blood, of 2 Years Continuance, he was awaken'd to be yet more ſerious nd ſolicitous about the Everlaſting Eſtate of his Soul. He apprehended himſelf to fall ſo ſhort of that Sence nd Seriouſneſs which a Matter of that infinite weight equir'd, that he was long in Doubt about his Sincerity, and fearful that he was yet a Stranger to the true piritual and Divine Life. He wondred at himſelf, hat he could think and talk of Sin and Hell, of Chriſt nd Grace, of God and Heaven, with no more feeling. He cry'd to God from Day to Day, againſt this Dead- neſs, and all his Groans were for more Contrition, and tender Heart. And between the Expectations of Death, and his Doubts of his own Sincerity in Grace, he was kept in more Care concerning his Salvation, than one of his Natural Temper could (in his own E- ſteem) have otherwiſe bin bro't to. The reading of *Mr.* Ezek. Culverwel *of Faith* at this time gave him much Relief. But tho' he had now and then certain glimmerings of Hope and Comfort, yet did his Fears often return again. And long was he kept with the Calls of Approaching Death as it were at one Ear, and the Queſtionings of a Doubtful Conſcience at the other. *His Spiritual Trouble afterwards.*

This Method which it pleaſed God to take with him, he often admir'd; and many were the Benefits which he apprehended he receiv'd from it. According to his own Account, this kept him Humble, and *The Benefit of that Exerciſe.*

made Pride one of the hatefulleſt Sins in the World t him. It reſtrain'd him from the Sportful Levity an Vanity to which Nature and Youth enclin'd him and caus'd him to meet Temptations to Senſuality wit the Greateſt Fear. It made him the better Reliſh th Doctrine of Redemption, and rendred his tho'ts Chriſt the more ſerious and affecting. It made th World ſeem to him as a Carkaſs, without either Li or Lovelineſs. It ſet him upon the moſt Advantage ous Method of Study. It caus'd him firſt to ſeek God Kingdom and his Righteouſneſs; and moſt to min the one thing needful: To determine firſt his Ultimat End; by which he was engag'd to chooſe and proſe cute all other Studies but as means to that End: An therefore he ſtudy'd Practical Divinity firſt, in th moſt Practical Books, and in a Practical Order, aim ing in all Primarily at the Informing and Reformin of his own Soul. So that he had read over and dige ſted all the Practical Treatiſes he could meet with, be fore he meddled with any conſiderable Body of Divi nity. By which means his Affections were carry'd o with his Judgment, and he proſecuted all his Studie with Unweariedneſs and Delight.

The Grounds of his Doubts and Fears. The Chief Grounds of his Doubts concerning hi Salvation were theſe. Becauſe he could not diſtinctl trace the Workings of the Divine Spirit on his Hear in the Method which *Bolton* and *Hooker* and *Roger* and many other Divines deſcribe; or Poſſitively Aſſig the Particular Inſtant of his Converſion. Becauſe o his want of ſuch lively Apprehenſions of things Spiri tual, as he had of things Corporeal. Becauſe he ha at certain Seaſons bin under warm Convictions eve from his Childhood, and had often obſerv'd more Fear than Love in his Duties and Reſtraints. Becauſ his Grief and Humiliation was not greater and deeper and above all, becauſe of his having Sinn'd deliber ately and knowingly, after his apprehended Change But Converſe with Conſolatory Books, the Obſer vation of other Chriſtians, cloſe Conſideration, and further Experience, by degrees ſatisfy'd and quieted him.

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For upon further ſearch, he found that the firſt Degree of Special Grace was uſually very ſmall, and therefore not eaſily diſtinguiſhable in the ſeaſon of its firſt Prevalence from Preparatory Grace: That a Soul in Fleſh doth work ſo much after the manner of the Fleſh, that it much deſireth ſenſible Apprehenſions; but things Spiritual and Diſtant are not ſo apt to work upon it, and to ſtir the Paſſions, as things preſent and ſenſible: That Education is God's ordinary way for the Conveyance of his Grace, and ought no more to be ſet in oppoſition to the Spirit, than even the Preaching of the Word, or any other appointed Means, on which his Bleſſing might be expected: That tho' Fear without Love be not a ſtate of Saving Grace, yet that Fear being the eaſier, and more irreſiſtible Paſſion of the two, doth oft hinder that Meaſure of Love that is true, from being Diſcernible: And that he who had rather leave his Sin than have leave to keep it, and had rather be the moſt Holy, than have leave to be Unholy or leſs Holy, is neither without true Repentance nor the Love of God. *The Means of his Satisfaction.*

But that which moſt perplex'd him, and which created him the Greateſt Difficulty, was the finding himſelf Guilty of known and deliberate Sin, after that he had tho't himſelf Converted: This he for a long time could not tell how to Reconcile with true Grace. Every known Sin he committed, in this reſpect, renew'd his Doubt. He could not fall in with thoſe, who reckon that every Sin againſt Knowledge nullifies former Grace; and that every renew'd Act of Repentance, is attended with a New Regeneration: For this he tho't would be to ſeek to ſolve one Difficulty, by introducing another that is Greater. At length he fix'd on this Scheme of Tho'ts, which gave him Satisfaction. That all Saving Grace doth indeed put the Soul into a ſtate of Enmity to Sin as Sin, and conſequently to every known Sin: That this Enmity muſt ſhew it ſelf in Victory, for bare Striving is not a full Evidence of Sincerity: That this Victory however is not conſtant, for then the Upright would not Sin at all; whereas, *He that ſaith he hath no Sin, deceiveth himſelf*: But that the Children of God nevertheleſs do always overcome thoſe Temptations, which would draw them to *Of Sinning after Converſion.*

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a wicked unholy State of Life, or to any Particular Sin which proveth ſuch a State, and ſignifieth a Heart which hath more Habitual Love to the World than unto God; And therefore, tho' in the moſt Upright Temptations of a lower ſort do often prevail, yet is the Inclination of the Soul ſtill moſt to God: And this is very poſſible, even altho' Sin be committed with ſome Deliberation. For as Grace may ſtrive one Inſtant only in one Act, and then be ſuddainly overcome; ſo it may ſtrive longer, and keep the mind on the Conſideration of reſtraining Motives, and yet be overcome. For it is not the meer length of Conſideration which is eno' to fence the Heart againſt Sin, but there muſt be clearneſs of Light, and Livelineſs in thoſe Conſiderations; which the Beſt have not always Experience of. And tho' a little Sin muſt be hated, and Univerſal Obedience muſt prove our Sincerity, and no one Sin muſt be wilfully continu'd in, yet is it certain that the Servants of God do not often commit Sins materially Great and Heinous, and yet that they often do commit ſome leſſer Sins, (as idle Tho'ts and Words and Dulneſs in Holy Duties, *&c.*) and that the Tempter oft getteth Advantage even with them, by telling them, That the Sin is ſmall, and ſuch as God's Servants ordinarily commit. And therefore one Reaſon why Idle Words and Sinful Tho'ts are even deliberately oftner committed than moſt heinous Sins, is becauſe the Soul is not awaken'd ſo much by Fear and Care to make Reſiſtance. Pious Perſons however, being Men commonly of the moſt Knowledge in Divine things, do therefore when they are drawn into Sin ordinarily Sin againſt more Knowledge than others. Withall, there are ſome Sins ſo difficult to avoid, and ſome Temptations ſo ſtrong, and the Soul at ſome ſeaſons is ſo ſluggiſh, and ſo indiſpos'd to the neceſſary Reſiſtance, that Good Tho'ts, which are deliberately us'd againſt them, are at laſt born down, and leſs effectual. And as for our Preſent Stock of Habitual Grace, 'tis never ſufficient of it ſelf, without Co-operating Grace from Chriſt: And therefore, when we provoke him to withdraw his Help, 'tis no wonder if we diſcover our Weakneſs, altho' we don't turn back and go again from God to the World. But yet when

when ever Persons thus dis[illegible] do fall into Sin, they recover again by Repenta[illegible] the New Nature or Habit of Divine Love w[illegible]n them, will work out the Sin as soon as it hath Advantage. Tho' in the mean time, 'tis not at all to be wondred at, that such a thing as Sin should breed Fears and Uneasiness. And the best way, when all is done, to keep under Doubts and Fears, and maintain Comfort, is to keep up Actual Obedience, and quickly and penitently return after Sin is committed.

Such as these were the Considerations by which he was reliev'd and quieted. And it much encreas'd his Peace to find others in the like Condition: He found his Case had nothing Singular; being call'd by the Providence of God to the Comforting of others, who had the same Complaints. While he answer'd their Doubts, he answer'd his own; and the Charity he was constrain'd to exercise towards them, redounded to himself, and insensibly abated his Disturbance. And yet, after all, he was glad of Probability instead of undoubted Certainty. And for the Greatest Part of his Life, tho' he had no such Degree of Doubtfulness as was any great Trouble to his Spirit, or procur'd any sinking disquieting Fears, yet he could not say that he had such a Certainty of his own Sincerity in Grace, as excluded all Doubts and Fears to the contrary.

His Entrance upon the Ministry.

From the Age of 21, 'till near 23, his Weakness was so great, that he hardly tho't it possible he should live above a Year. And finding his own Soul under serious Apprehensions of the Matters of another World, he was very desirous to Communicate those Apprehensions to such ignorant careless presumptuous sinners as the World abounds with. Altho' therefore he had his Discouragements, thro' his Sense of the Greatness and Awfulness of the Work of the Ministry, and his Fear of exposing himself to the Censure of many, on the Account of his wanting Academical Education, Honour and Dignities; yet expecting to be so quickly in another World, the great Concernments of miserable Souls prevail'd with him to engage in it; and finding in himself a thirsty Desire of Mens Conversion and Salvation, and a competent perswading

Faculty

Faculty of Expreſſion, which fervent Affections might help to Actuate, he concluded, that if but one or two Souls might by his Means be won to God, it would eaſily recompence any Treatment he might meet with in the World. And as for his Fitneſs in Point of Learning, he determin'd to ſubmit himſelf to the Judgment of others. And accordingly he apply'd himſelf to the Bp. of *Worceſter*, who after Examination Ordain'd him, and at the ſame time gave him a Licenſe to Teach School at *Dudley*; the Place which his Friend Mr. *Foley* had provided for him.

CHAP. II.

His Firſt Sentiments concerning Conformity. His Acceptance in his firſt Miniſterial Labours; and the Difficulties he met with. His Settlement at Kederminſter.

His firſt Tho'ts of the Controverſy between the Conformiſts *and* Nonconformiſts.

IN his Younger Years he was troubled with no Scruples about Conformity. He joyn'd in the *Common-Prayer* with as Hearty Fervency as he afterwards did in any other *Prayers*. As for the *Nonconformiſts*, he heard them generally run down, and repreſented as an Unreaſonable, Heady ſort of People; and therefore, tho' he was perſonally Acquainted with none of them, he was as forward as others to Cenſure and Condemn them. But when he was about 2[illegible] Years of Age, he became acquainted with Mr. *Simmonds*, Mr. *Cradock*, and other Pious Nonconformiſts in and about *Shrewsbury*, whoſe fervent Prayers and Holy Lives and Converſations he found much to his Edification. Obſerving ſuch Perſons as theſe ſilenc'd and troubl'd by the Biſhops, he was much affected and reſolv'd carefully to ſtudy the Cauſe in Debate between them. Conſulting the Neighbouring Miniſters, they furniſh'd him with *Downham*, *Sprint*, and Dr. *Burgeſs*, who had written for Conformity, whom he carefully read over: But they could help him to none on the other ſide, who were repreſented as mean Scholars

Scholars, and Men of little Learning. Whereupon, he concluded the Cauſe of the *Conformiſts* juſtifiable, and the Reaſoning of the *Nonconformiſts* weak. And therefore, tho' he had not diſtinctly at that time weigh'd Particulars, having never read over the Book concerning *Ordination*, nor half the Book of *Homilies*, nor ſcann'd the Book of *Common-Prayer* with any exactneſs, nor conſider'd duly ſome Controverted Points in the Nine and Thirty Articles; yet his Teachers and Books having caus'd him in the general to think the Conformiſts had the better Cauſe, he kept out all Particular Scruples by that Opinion, and ſo ſubſcrib'd as uſually at the time of his Ordination.

His further Studying that Controverſy.

But being ſettled at *Dudley*, Preaching frequently both in the Town and the Neighbouring Villages, he had Occaſion and Opportunity to ſtudy theſe Matters more particularly. For he there fell into the Acquaintance of ſeveral Nonconformiſts, whom he apprehended too Cenſorious and Bitter in their Invectives againſt Conformity, while yet he found them Honeſt and Godly People. They ſupply'd him with ſeveral Writings on their own ſide, and among the reſt, with Ames's *freſh Suit againſt Ceremonies*, which he read over very diſtinctly, comparing it with *Dr.* Burgeſs's *Rejoynder*. And upon the whole, he at that time came to theſe Concluſions. *Kneeling* he tho't Lawful, and all meer Circumſtances determin'd by the Magiſtrate, which God in Nature or Scripture hath determin'd of only in the general. The *Surplice* he more doubted of, but was enclin'd to think it Lawful: And tho' he intended to forbear it 'till under Neceſſity, yet he could not ſee how he could have juſtified the forſaking his Miniſtry meerly on that Account; tho' he never actually wore it. About the *Ring* in Marriage, he had no Scruple. The *Croſs* in Baptiſm, he tho't Dr. *Ames* prov'd unlawful: And tho' he was not without ſome Doubting in the Point, yet becauſe he moſt enclin'd to judge it unlawful, he never once us'd it. A *Form of Prayer* and *Liturgy* he judg'd to be Lawful, and in ſome Caſes lawfully Impos'd. The *Engliſh Liturgy* in particular, he judg'd to have much Diſorder and Defectiveneſs in it, but nothing which ſhould make the Uſe of it in the Ordinary Publick Worſhip,

to

to be unlawful to them who could not do better. He ſought for *Diſcipline* in the Church, and ſaw the ſad Effects of its Neglect, but he was not then ſo ſenſible as afterwards, that the very Frame of Dioceſan Prelacy excluded it; but tho't it had bin Chargeable only on the Perſonal Neglects of the Biſhops. *Subſcription* he began to think unlawful, and repented his Raſhneſs in yielding to it ſo haſtily. For tho' he could uſe the *Common-Prayer*, and was not yet againſt Dioceſans, yet to ſubſcribe *Ex Animo, That there is nothing in the three Books contrary to the Word of God*, was that which he durſt not do, had it bin to be done again. So that *Subſcription*, and the *Croſs* in Baptiſm, and the *Promiſcous Giving the Lords-Supper* to all Comers, tho' ever ſo unqualify'd, if they were not Excommunicate by a Biſhop or Chancellour who knows nothing of them, were the only things in which he as yet in his Judgment inclin'd to Nonconformity. And yet even as to theſe things, he kept his Tho'ts to himſelf. He continu'd to argue with the Nonconformiſts about the Points they differ'd in, and Particularly Kneeling at the Sacrament; about which he manag'd a Diſpute with ſome of them in Writing 'till they did not think fit to purſue it any farther. He freely reprov'd them for the Bitterneſs of their Language againſt the Biſhops and their Adherents, and exhorted them to endeavour for Patience and Charity, but found their Spirits ſo exaſperated by the hard Meaſure they had met with, that they were deaf to his Admonitions. Obſerving which, he came to this Concluſion, That he that will have Children, muſt be a Father; and he that will be a Tyrant, muſt be contented with Slaves.

His Labours in Dudley & Bridgnorth.

While he continu'd at *Dudley*, he had a Numerous Auditory, and a Tractable People to deal with. The Town had before bin Famous for Drunkenneſs; but he found there a greater Readineſs to hear the Word of God with Submiſſion and Reformation, than in moſt places he was acquainted with. But within three Quarters of a Year, he was by earneſt Importunity prevail'd with to remove to *Bridgnorth*, the ſecond Town in *Shropſhire*, to be Aſſiſtant to Mr. *William Madſtard*. His Work here being juſt what he deſired

with

ithout his being put upon any thing that he ſcrupled, *An.* 1640.
ith a fair probability of Peace and Quietneſs, was
s main Inducement to liſten to this Motion. For
idgnorth is a Place priviledg'd from all Epiſcopal Ju-
ſdiction, except the Arch-Biſhop's Triennial Viſitati-
n. There is a Peculiar Ordinary, who as an Official
eeps a conſtant Eccleſiaſtical Court, having Ju-
ſdiction over 6 Pariſhes, which lye there together,
hich have all the Priviledge of this Exemption.
r. *Madſtard*, who then was Miniſter, was a grave
nd ſevere Ancient Divine, very Honeſt and Conſci-
tious, and an Excellent Preacher, but ſomewhat Af-
cted thro' the Scantineſs of his Maintenance, and
uch more thro' the Unprofitableneſs of his People.
e was not only Miniſter but Official too, which was
Security to his Aſſiſtant. The Town Maintenance
eing inconſiderable, he took the Parſonage of *Old-*
ry near the Town, a Village of ſcarce 20 Houſes,
ſiring Mr. *Baxter* to ſpend one half of the Lord's
ay in the Town, and the other at the Village. Tho'
s Lot afterwards fell out to be moſtly in the Town.
e was here put upon nothing which he eſteem'd un-
wful. He often read the *Common-Prayer* before he
each'd, both on Lords-Days and Holy-Days; but
never adminiſtred the Lords-Supper, nor ever Bap-
'd any Child with the ſign of the Croſs, nor ever
ore the Surplice, nor was he ever put to appear at
y Biſhop's Court. He found the People here, ge-
rally Ignorant and dead Hearted. The Town con-
ted very much of Inns and Ale-Houſes, and had no
eneral Trade to employ the Inhabitants, which is
undoing of many Great Towns. So that tho' by
s firſt Labours among them, he was Inſtrumental in
Converſion of ſeveral Perſons, and was generally
pplauded, yet he was not ſo ſucceſsful in his Work,
afterwards in other Places. Tippling and Ill Com-
ny rendred his Preaching ineffectual.

He was ſcarce well ſettled here, before he was di- *Of the Et-*
rb'd by the *Et cætera Oath*, which was fram'd by *cætera*
Convocation then ſitting. All were enjoin'd to *Oath.*
ear, *That they would never Conſent to the Alteration of*
Preſent Government of the Church, by Arch-Biſhops,
hops, Deans, Arch-Deacons, &c. And that upon
pain

An. 1640. pain of Expulsion. This was a New Engine of D
vision. Some were Zealous for this Oath; Asserti
the Divine Right of Episcopacy, which was settl
by Law, they apprehended that upon the Comma
of the Sovereign Power, it was very warrantable
Swear, never to consent to an Alteration. And t
King's Approbation of those Canons wherein th
Oath was enjoyn'd, they tho't made them sufficient
Obligatory. But others look'd upon Episcopacy as
Indifferent thing, Mutable when King and Parliame
pleas'd. Nay, they apprehended the English Fram
consisting of Arch-Bishops, Deans and Chapters, a
Arch-Deacons; and Dioceſans having many hundr
Parish-Churches under one Bishop, as foreign to t
Word of God, and destructive of that Episcopa
which was known in the Church at least for 2
Years. The Swearing to a blind *Et cætera* they look
upon as Intolerable; because it took in all the Offic
of the Ecclesiastical Courts, Lay Chancellours, Sur
gates, Commissaries and Officials, which was Swea
ing to an Anomalous Rabble. They further pleade
That this sort of Government might actually be L
gally alter'd by King and Parliament; and that
Swear before-hand not to obey such a Law, was
such a manner to make an Oath a Bond of Disobed
ence, as was next to a Rebellion. They urg'd, that
was against the Subjects Liberty, to Petition for R
dress of Grievances, among which some Branches
this Government might well be reckon'd: And th
it was against the Priviledge of Parliament, to ha
such an Oath impos'd without their Consent. T
Neighbouring Ministers met together upon this Oc
sion, to consider what to do: Some were for compl
ing, but more against it. This put Mr. *Baxter* up
studying the Matter of Episcopacy, and the Engl
Frame of Church Government afresh; and readi
Gersome Bucer his *Dissertatio de Gubernatione Eccle*
Didoclavii Altare Damascenum, *Parker de Politeia E*
clesiastica, *& Baynes's*, *Dioceſans Tryal*; and compar
their Reasons with Bishop *Downam's*, he was conv
ced, that tho' all kind of Episcopacy was not flatly u
lawful, yet that the English Dioceſan Frame w
guilty of the Corruption of Churches and Minist
a

nd of the Ruin of the true Church Diſcipline, and ſubſtituting an Heterogeneal thing in its ſtead. So hat this very Oath, which was impos'd in order to he unalterable Subjecting of the Nation to Dioceſans, was a great Means to alienate him from them, and not im only, but many others with him. They who efore tho't it beſt to follow their Buſineſs, and live n Quietneſs, and let the Biſhops alone, were rowz'd y the Terrour of an Oath to look about them, and nderſtand what they did. New Heats were ſtirr'd p among the Contending Parties, by the Debates hich this Oath occaſion'd: And they who were gainſt it, began to think better of the *Cauſe* of *Non-onformity*, and to Honour the *Nonconformiſts* more han before. So that *that* which was deſign'd for their uin, prov'd a great Advantage to them. *An.* 1640.

It unhappily fell out, that while this Divided the Church at home, the Church of *Scotland* alſo was all a Flame: For when all was quiet there under a ore *moderate Epiſcopacy* than ours in *England*, (tho' at Nation had bin us'd to *Presbytery*) a New *Com-on-Prayer* Book (that is the Engliſh One, with ſome w Alterations) was impos'd upon them, together ith the *Engliſh Ceremonies*. This occaſion'd an Inſur-ction in *Edinburgh*, and many other Places. A Fire ing once kindled amongſt them, was not eaſily ex-nguiſh'd. Notwithſtanding all the Induſtry and are of the Earl of *Trequaire*, the King's Commiſſioner, e Number of the Malecontents ſo encreas'd, that ere was no oppoſing them; but they got the Power all the Land into their Hands, the Greateſt Part of e Nobility falling in with the Miniſters and their dherents. Hereupon they all enter'd into a Nation-Covenant, to the ſame Purpoſe as formerly that tion had done againſt *Popery*, *Prelacy* and *Superſti-n*, and to uphold the *Goſpel* and *Reformation*. The ctors of *Aberdeen* Diſſented from the *Covenant*, and ny Writings paſs'd between them and the *Covenant-*upon that Subject, 'till at laſt the Wars that came , turn'd the Debates into another Strain. *Of the Diſorders in Scotland.*

At the very ſame time, a Tax which the King had pos'd in *England*, call'd *Ship-Money*, (as for the engthening the Navy) gave general Diſſatisfaction. *Of the Ship-Money.*

An. 1640. This being done without Consent of Parliament, there was a Murmuring all over the Land, especially among the Country Nobility and Gentry; for they look'd upon it as the *Overthrow* of the *Fundamental Laws* or *Constitution* of the *Kingdom*, and of *Parliaments* and *Property*. This was the *Common Cry* at that time, that if once *Parliaments* and *Property* were destroy'd, the *Government* was dissolv'd, and no Man had any Security of Estate, Liberty, or Life, but the Pleasure of the King, whose Will would be the only Law. Some deny'd the Payment of this Tax, and put the Sheriffs upon Distraining. The Sheriffs, tho' afraid of a future Parliament, did it in Obedience to the King. Mr. *Hampden* and the Lord *Say* brought it to a Suit. Mr. *Oliver St. John*, and others, boldly pleading the Peoples Cause. All the Judges, except *Hatton* and *Crook*, had, when they were consulted, given it as their Judgment, That the King in a Case of Need might impose such a Tax: And so Judgment past for the King in the Suit, which caus'd the Matter to make much the Greater Noise.

The Scottish Broils. The *Scots* soon after enter'd *England* with an Army encourag'd, as it was suppos'd, by many of the *English* Nobility, who tho't there was no other way to cause the Calling of a Parliament to remedy Disorders. The Earls of *Essex*, *Warwick*, *Bedford*, *Clare*, *Bullingbrook*, *Mulgrave*, and *Holland*, and the Lord *Say* and *Brook*, were reputed of this Confederacy. But *Heylin* says, *That the* Scots, *after they came in, did perswade these Persons of their Danger in* England *if Arbitrary Government went on*; and so they Petition'd the King for a Parliament, which was all their Confederacy. And this was after their second Coming into *England* too.

The King met the *Scots* at *New-Castle*. A Pacification was concluded, and a Parliament call'd, and the *Scots* return'd home. This Parliament quickly displeasing the King, he dissolv'd it, and again undertakes War against the *Scots*, to which, besides others, the Papists by the Queen's Means, did voluntarily Contribute: Whereupon, the *Scots* complain of Evil Counsellours and Papists, as the Cause of their renewed Dangers; and raise their Army again, and enter into *England*

ngland. The *Engliſh* at *York* Petition the King for a Parliament, and once more it is reſolv'd on, and an greement made: But neither the *Scottiſh* nor *Engliſh* rmy was Disbanded. And thus in the Year 1040, egan that which hath ſince bin call'd the *Long Parli-ment*: The moſt Celebrated Parliament that ever ſate *England.* *An.* 1640.

During theſe Northern Stirs, the Earl of *Bridgwater*, ho was Lord-Preſident of the Marches in *Wales*, paſ-ng thro *Bridgnorth* in his Journey from *Ludlow* to the ing, Complaint was made to him by ſome Malicious erſons of the Town, that Mr. *Madſtard* and Mr. *Ba-r* were Defective in Point of Conformity; not ſign-ng with the Sign of the *Croſs*, nor wearing the *Sur-ice*, nor praying againſt the *Scots*, who were juſt en entring into *England* for which there was a Form Prayer printed by the Biſhops, tho' no Command om the King. The Complaint was made on *Satur-y* Evening, when the Lord Preſident enter'd the own; and he promis'd them, he would himſelf be ext Day at the Church, and ſee how things went. Mr. *Madſtard* retired, and left Mr. *Baxter*, and Mr. *ain* the Reader, to ſtand alone. But when the ext Day came, the Lord Preſident ſuddainly alter'd is Mind, and went as far as *Lichfield*; requiring the ccuſers and Bailiffs to ſend after him to inform him hat was done that Day at Church. They fail'd not obey his Orders, and threaten'd mighty things on e Account of Noncompliance; but all evaporated at ngth into Smoak: For he ſent them word in Anſwer, *hat he had not the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, and there-re could not meddle with them.* *Mr.* Bax-ter *in ſome Danger for Noncon-formity.*

The Parliament being met, fell directly upon a *Re-rmation* of Church and State. Long and Vehement peeches were made againſt *Ship-Money*, againſt the *udges* that Approv'd it, againſt the *Et cætera Oath*, nd the *Biſhops* and *Convocation* that form'd it, and gainſt my Lord *Strafford*, Arch-Biſhop *Laud*, and ther Evil Counſellours. There was at firſt a marvel-ous Concord among the Members, thro' the Compli-ation of the Intereſts of thoſe Cauſes, in which they verally did moſt concern themſelves. For as the ing had at once impos'd the *Ship-Money* on the Com- *The Opening of the Long Parlia-ment.*

An. 1640. mon-Wealth, and permitted the Biſhops to impoſe upon the Church their Diſpleaſing Articles, the Book for Dancing on the Lord's Day, *&c.* and to Suſpend or Silence a great many Miniſters, for want of Super Canonical Conformity, ſo the Parliament accordingly conſiſted of Two ſorts of Men, who by the Conjunction of theſe Cauſes were united in their Votes and Endeavours for a Reformation. One Party made no great matter of the Alterations in the Church, but ſaid, *That if Parliaments are once down, and Property gone, and Arbitrary Government ſet up, and Law ſubjected to the Prince's Will, then all were Slaves*; and this they reckon'd Intollerable: For the remedying of it, they ſaid, *No true Engliſh Man could think any Price too dear.* Theſe the People call'd *Good Common-Wealths Men.* The other ſort were the more Religious Men, who were alſo ſenſible of theſe things, but much more affected with the Intereſt of Religion. Theſe moſt inveigh'd againſt *Innovations* in the *Church*, the *Bowing* to *Altars*, the *Book* for *Sports on Sundays*, the *Caſting out Miniſters*, the *High-Commiſſion Court*, the *Putting down Lectures* and *Afternoon Sermons*, and *Expoſitions* on the *Lords-Days*; with other ſuch things, which they tho' of Greater Weight than *Ship-Money*. But becauſe the who were of this Stamp, agreed with the others in the Vindication of Liberty and Property, therefore did they of the other ſort the more eaſily concur with them, in oppoſition to the Proceedings of the *Biſhops* and *High-Commiſſion Court*, &c.

Their Diſpoſition being known, Complaints and Petitions were ſent in to them from all Parts, with reference both to Eccleſiaſtical and Civil Encroachments. Great Things, ſuch as before were tho't Impracticable, were compaſs'd in a little time. An Act paſs'd against the *High-Commiſſion Court*, and the *Secular* or *Civil Power* of *Church Men*. Another, *That the Parliament ſhould not be diſſolv'd without its own Conſent.* And another for *Triennial Parliaments*. Nay, at length, the King was forc'd to part even with his Favourite the Lord-Deputy *Wentworth*. All things in general put on a New Face; of which the Sequel of this Narration gives a further Account.

Amo

Among other Important Matters that were determin'd, a *Reformation of the Clergy* was resolv'd on, and accordingly a Committee was appointed, to hear Petitions and Complaints against them. Multitudes from all Quarters came up immediately with Petitions against their Ministers, charging them with *Insufficiency*, *False Doctrine*, *Illegal Innovations*, or *Scandal*. Mr. *John White* was Chairman, and was the Publisher of *A Century of Scandalous Ministers*, which was afterwards follow'd with a *Second Century*; both were fill'd with most abominable Particularities, the concealing which had certainly bin a much greater Service to Religion than their Publication; which was but making Sport for Atheists, Papists and Profane.

A Reformation of the Clergy intended.

An. 1640.

Amongst other Complainers, the Town of *Kederminster* in *Worcester-shire* had drawn up a Petition against their Vicar and his two Curates, as Insufficient for the Ministry, and they put it into the Hands of Sir *Henry Herbert*, who was Burgess for *Bewdley*. The Vicar well knowing his own Insufficiency, agreed to Compound the Business, and was free to allow 60 *l.* *per An.* (out of near 200 the Living was worth) to a Preacher who should be chosen by 14 Nominated Trustees. He that was chosen was to Preach whensoever he pleas'd, the Vicar still reading the *Common-Prayer*, and doing every thing that might be Matter of Scruple; for all which he gave a Bond of 500 *l.* Hereupon, the Bailiff of the Town, and all the Feoffees invited Mr. *Baxter* to give them a Sermon; and he upon Preaching once to them, was unanimously chosen to be their Minister. Thus was he Providentially bro't to that Place which had the Chiefest of his Labours, and yielded him the Greatest Comfort. He was the rather enclin'd to listen to the Motion, because it was a full Congregation, and most Convenient Church; an Ignorant People for the most part, who had great need of Preaching, and yet who had among them a small Company of Converts, who were Humble and Godly, and of a Good Conversation, and not much hated by the rest; and therefore the fitter to assist their Teacher: And they had had but little Lively and Serious Preaching amongst them. Here therefore he fixt himself, making this remarkable Observation:

A Petition from Kederminster, *the Occasion of Mr.* Baxter's *Settlement there.*

That among all his Changes he never went to a Place which he had before desired, design'd or th off, but only to those Places he never tho't of, 'till t suddain Invitation did surprize him.

CHAP. III.

The Opposition he met with at first in the To of Kederminster. *His Indefatigable L bours, and the Admirable Efficacy of Ministry in that Place.*

HE spent Two Years at *Kederminster* before War broke out, and above Fourteen Years ter it; and in all that time never touch'd Vicaridge House, tho' authoriz'd by an Order of P liament: But the Old Vicar liv'd there peaceably quietly, without any Molestation. He found Place like a piece of dry and barren Earth, *Ignora* and *Profaneness*, as Natives of the Soil, were rife am them: But by the Blessing of Heaven upon his bour and Cultivating, the Face of Paradise appe there in all the *Fruits of Righteousness*. At first, and *Malice* created him a great deal of Opposit but it was soon over, and a Special *Divine Bl* gave his unwearied Pains among that People an unp cedented Success.

Strange Instances of Malignity. Before his Coming, the Town, having bin F nent for *Vanity*, had a Yearly shew, in which t bro't forth the painted Forms of Gyants, to walk bout the Streets with. He gave them no Disturba yet the Rabble of the more Vitious sort, had some Spleen to vent against him, as one part of t Game. And once all the Ignorant Rout were Ra Mad against him for Preaching to them the Doct of *Original Sin*, and telling them, *That Infants, b Regeneration, had so much Guilt and Corruption as* them loathsome in the Eyes of God. Whereupon, t vented it abroad in the Country, *That he Pre that God hated and loath'd Infants.* So that t ra

rail'd at him as he paſs'd thro' the Streets. The next Lord's-Day he clear'd and confirm'd the Doctrine he had before deliver'd; and ſhewed them, That if it was not true, their Infants had no need of Chriſt, or of Baptiſm, or of Renewing by the Holy Ghoſt. And he ask'd them, *Whether they durſt ſay, that their Children were ſav'd without a Saviour, and were no Chriſtians, and why they Baptiz'd them,* &c. And afterwards they were Aſham'd and Silent.

Another time, one of the Drunken Beggars of the Town rais'd a Slander of him, *That he was under a Tree with a Woman of Ill Fame.* All the Drunkards had got it in their Mouths, before he could find the Original. He got three or four of them bound to their Good Behaviour; and the Sot himſelf that rais'd the Slander, confeſs'd before the Court, *That he ſaw him in a Rainy Day on Horſeback, ſtand under an Oak, which grew in a thick Hedge, and the Woman ſtanding for ſhelter on the other ſide the Hedge, under the ſame Tree; and that he believ'd they ſaw not one another:* But he ſpake it as a Jeſt, and the Company were glad of the Occaſion to feed their Malice. They all askt him Forgiveneſs, and he deſired the Magiſtrate to releaſe them. Such things as theſe were not uncommon at *Kederminſter.* For Mr. *John Croſs,* (who afterwards dy'd Miniſter of *Fri-day-ſtreet* in *London*) being a Preacher there ſome time before this, a Woman defam'd him openly, and told the People he would have Raviſh'd her. Mr. *Croſs,* being a Prudent Man, ſent one before to the Bailiff and Juſtice, to deſire them to call her to Examination, and he came after, and ſate in a common dark colour'd Coat, among many others, in the Bailiff's Parlour, as if he had bin one of the Magiſtrates. The Bailiff call-ed her in, and ſhe ſtood impudently to the Accuſa-tion. The Bailiff askt her, *Whether ſhe knew the Man if ſhe ſaw him?* Which ſhe confidently affirm'd. He ask'd her, *Is it this Man, or that Man, or the other Man, or any there?* She ſaid, *O no; God forbid that ſhe ſhould accuſe any of them.* Mr. *Croſs* ſaid, *Am not I the Man?* And ſhe ſaid, *No; ſhe knew the Man well enough.* And when they had told her that this was Mr. *Croſs,* ſhe fell down on her Knees, and ask'd him Forgive-neſs; and confeſs'd, *That one of his Neighbours* (his

Great Accuſer at the Biſhop's Courts) *had hir'd her to report it.* But the good Man forgave them both. How entirely is the beſt eſtabliſh'd Reputation at the Mercy of the *Revengeful* and *Malicious*, any farther than a Wiſe Providence fences and ſcreens it!

At another time, the Parliament ſending down an Order for the Demoliſhing of all Statues and Images of any of the three Perſons in the Trinity, or of the Virgin *Mary*, which ſhould be found in Churches, or on Croſſes in Church-Yards; Mr. *Baxter* was for obeying it. The Church-Warden, ſeeing a Crucifix upon the Croſs in the Church-Yard at *Kederminſter* ſet up a Ladder to reach it, which prov'd too ſhort. He going to ſeek another, the Drunken Crew in the Town took the Alarum, and ran all together with Weapons to defend their Crucifix and Church Images. It was reported, Mr. *Baxter* was the Actour, and him they ſo't for: But, as Providence had order'd it, he was walking about a Mile out of Town, or elſe he might probably have there ended his Days. Miſſing him and the Church-Warden too, they went raving about the Streets to ſeek them: Two Neighbours ran in amongſt them to ſee if Mr. *Baxter* was there, and they knock'd them down, and ſo miſerably bruiſed them, that they dy'd ſoon after, never recovering the Hurt they receiv'd. When they had foam'd about half an Hour, and met not thoſe whom they ſought after, and were newly hous'd, he came in from his Walk, and hearing the People curſing him at their Doors, he wonder'd what was the matter; but quickly found how fairly he had eſcap'd. The next Lord's Day he dealt plainly with them, and laid open to them the Quality of that Action, and told them, *Seeing they ſo requited him as to ſeek his Blood, he was willing to leave them, and ſave them from that Guilt.* But the poor Creatures were ſo amaz'd and aſham'd, that they took on ſorrily, and after all were very loth to part with him.

Not being at all diſcourag'd with this malicious Oppoſition, he laid out himſelf very Laboriouſly in the Work of the Lord among this People, and had very eminent Succeſs, which under God he look'd up-

pon as procur'd by ſeveral Advantageous Circumances, which deſerve Obſervation.

Before the Civil War, he preach'd twice every Lord's-Day; but afterwards but once, and once every *Thurſday*, beſides Occaſional Sermons. Every *Thurſday* Evening, thoſe of his Neighbours that had Inclination and Opportunity met at his Houſe, one of them repeated the Sermon, and afterwards they propos'd any Doubts about it, or any other Caſe of Conſcience, which he reſolv'd. He then caus'd ſometimes one, and ſometimes another of them to Pray, and ſometimes pray'd with them himſelf; and ſo the Meeting brake up with ſinging a Pſalm. Once a Week ſome of the younger ſort, who were not fit to pray in ſo great an Aſſembly, met among themſelves more privately, ſpending 3 Hours in Prayer. Every *Saturday* Night, they met at ſome of their Houſes to repeat the laſt Lord's-Day's Sermon, and to Pray and prepare themſelves for the Day following. Once in a few Weeks, there was a Day of Humiliation kept, upon one Particular Occaſion or another. Every Religious Woman that was ſafely deliver'd, inſtead of the old Goſſipings, if ſhe were able, kept a Day of Thankſgiving, with ſome of her Neighbours about her, praiſing God and ſinging Pſalms, and ſoberly feaſting together. *His Laborious Employment at* Kederminſter.

Two Days every Week he and his Aſſiſtant took 14 Families between them for private Catechizing and Conference. His Method was this: He firſt heard them recite the Words of the Catechiſm, and then examin'd them about the Senſe, and afterwards urg'd them with all poſſible engaging Reaſon and Vehemence, to anſwerable Affection and Practice. If any were ſhy, thro' Ignorance or Baſhfulneſs, he forbore to preſs them any farther to Anſwers, but made them hearers, and either examin'd others, or turn'd all into inſtruction and Exhortation. He ſpent about an Hour with a Family, and admitted no others to be preſent leaſt Baſhfulneſs ſhould make it burthenſom, or any ſhould talk of the Weakneſſes they obſerv'd. His whole Afternoon on *Mondays* and *Tueſdays*, was this way employ'd. Every firſt *Wedneſday* of the Month he had a meeting for Pariſh Diſcipline: And every firſt

first *Thursday* in the Month was a Meeting held of the Neighbouring Ministers for Discipline and Disputation; in which Disputations he was generally Moderator, taking the Pains to prepare a written Determination of the Question to be debated. And every *Thursday* in the Month besides, he had the Company of divers worthy Ministers at his House after the Lecture, with whom he spent the Afternoon in profitable Conversation, 'till his Neighbours came to meet for their Exercise of Repetition and Prayer.

His Success. His Publick Preaching met with an Attentive Diligent Auditory. The Congregation was usually full. Tho' the Church was very Capacious and Commodious, yet after his coming thither, they were forc'd to build 5 Galleries to receive the Hearers. Their Private Meetings also were full. On the Lord's-Day there was no Disorder to be seen in the Town, but you might hear a Hundred Families singing Psalms, and repeating Sermons, as you pass'd thro' the Streets. When he first came thither, there might be about one Family in a Street that worship'd God and call'd on his Name; and when he came away, there was not above a Family on the side of a Street that did not do it; and that did not by professing serious Godliness give some Hopes of their Sincerity. Nay, in the Worst Families, Inns and Ale-Houses, usually some in each House seem'd to be Religious. Tho' the Administration of the Lord's Supper was so order'd as that many were displeas'd, and the far greater part kept away themselves, yet were there 600 Communicants, of whom there were not 12 that he had not good Hope of as to their Sincerity. And those few that did consent to Communion, and yet liv'd Scandalously, were afterward Excommunicated. He had good reason to hope, That many who join'd not in Sacramental Communion with him, were yet Persons truly fearing God. Some of them being kept off by Husbands, by Parents, by Masters, or perswaded by Men of opposite Sentiments, rather than Acting according to their own Inclinations and Desires. Tho' they were many that were kept away, yet they took it Patiently, and so bore Reviling, as if any Wrong were done them. And as for those unruly Young Men who were Excommunicated

nunicated, they generally bore it Patiently as to their outward Behaviour, tho' their Hearts were full of Bitterneſs. When he ſet upon *Perſonal Conference* with each Family, and Catechizing them, there were very few Families in all the Town that refus'd to come; and thoſe few were Beggars at the Towns end, who were ſo Ignorant, that they were aſham'd it ſhould be manifeſt. Few Families went away without ſome Tears, or ſeemingly ſerious Promiſes of a Godly Life. Yet many Ignorant and Ungodly Perſons there were ſtill remaining; but moſt of them were in the Pariſh, not in the Town, and in thoſe Parts of the Pariſh which were fartheſt from the Town. And whereas one Part of the Pariſh was impropriate, and pay'd Tythes to Lay-Men, and the other Part maintain'd the Church, it ſo fell out, that almoſt all that ſide of the Pariſh which pay'd Tythe to the Church were godly honeſt People, and did it willingly without Contention, moſt of the bad People of the Pariſh liv'd on the other ſide. Some Poor Men did competently underſtand the Body of Divinity, and were able to judge in Difficult Controverſies: Some of them were ſo able in Prayer, that few Miniſters did exceed them in Order and Fulneſs, in apt Expreſſions, and holy Oratory with fervency. Many of them were able to Pray very laudably with their Families, or with others: The Temper of their Minds, and the Innocence of their Lives, was much more laudable than their Parts. The Profeſſors of ſerious Godlineſs were generally of very humble Minds and Carriage, of meek and quiet Behaviour unto others, and of Blameleſneſs and Innocence in their Converſations.

God was pleas'd alſo to give him abundant Encouragement in the *Lectures* which he preach'd abroad in other Places; as at *Worceſter*, *Cleobury*, *Dudley*, *Sheffield*, &c. where he had full Auditories, and many Converts. Neither were his Labours loſt among his Brethren in the Miniſtry. Their Diſputations were *Advantageous*. Their Meetings were never contentious, but always *profitable*. When he motion'd a Way of *Church Order* and *Diſcipline*, (of which hereafter) which all might agree in, that their Churches might not be ungovern'd, nor fall into Diviſions amongſt them-

themſelves, he was readily liſten'd to, and his Moti reduc'd to Practiſe. And when he attempted to bri them all conjunctly to the Work of *Catechizing*, and i ſtructing every Family by it ſelf, he found a rea Conſent in moſt, and many actually comply'd wi it, much to their Satisfaction. The Praiſe of which he freely and heartily aſcrib'd to God.

The Advantageous Circumſtances which promoted this Succeſs.

Many were his Advantages in order to this Succe He came to a People that had never ſate under awakening Miniſtry before. He was himſelf in t Vigour of his Spirits, and had a very *moving Deliver* and doing all under great Bodily Weakneſs, as a D ing Man, he was the more *warm* and *earneſt*. T greateſt Enemies of ſerious Religion in that Tow were carry'd off by the War. He had alſo the F vour of the Government on his ſide. Before the C vil War, the Riotous Rabble had Boldneſs eno' make ſerious Godlineſs a common Scorn, and them all *Puritans* and *Preciſians*, that did not care little for God and Heaven and their Souls, as they di If a Man was not fully ſatisfy'd with their undiſ plin'd diſorder'd Churches, or Lay-Chancellours E communications, *&c.* If they did but *Faſt* and *P* together, or go from an Ignorant Drunken Reader, hear a Godly Miniſter at the next Pariſh, the Biſho Articles would enquire after them, and the H Commiſſion grievouſly afflict them. After the W the Caſe in this reſpect was mightily alter'd: For ety had then full Liberty; nay, and Countenance Reputation too. Withal, he gain'd a Great Inte in the Affections of the Inhabitants of the To which is no inconſiderable thing: For tho' to win eſtimation and Love to our ſelves only, be an End tended by none but Perſons egregiouſly Proud Hypocritical; yet it is moſt certain, that the Grate neſs of the Perſon doth ingratiate the Meſſage, greatly prepare People to receive the Truth. He much aſſiſted by the Zeal and Diligence of the Go People there; who thirſted after the Salvation of t Neighbours, and being diſpers'd thro' the Town, w ready in all Companies to repreſs Seducing Wo and to juſtify Godlineſs; and to Convince, Repr and Exhort as there was occaſion. The Holy, Hu

and Blameleſs Lives alſo of the Religious ſort was a gular Bleſſing. The moſt Malicious could not ſay e, Your Profeſſors are as Proud and Covetous as any. t the blameleſs Lives of godly People did ſhame the poſers, and put to ſilence the Ignorance of fooliſh n; and many were won by their Converſation. eir Unity and Concord alſo was very Advantage-, and their Freedom from thoſe Sects and Hereſies ich infected many other Places. There was no *Pa- againſt Paſtor*, nor *Church againſt Church*, nor *Sect inſt Sect*, nor *Chriſtian againſt Chriſtian*. There was a *Separatiſt*, an *Anabaptiſt*, an *Antinomian* in the wn. At *Bewdly* there was a Church of *Anabaptiſts*; *Worceſter* the *Independents* gather'd a Church: But e *all* were of *one* Mind and Mouth and Way. One rneyman Shoemaker turn'd *Anabaptiſt*, but he left Town upon it, and went amongſt them. When ople ſaw Diverſity of Sects and Churches in any ce, it greatly hindred their Converſion; they were a Loſs, and knew not *what Party* to be of, or *what* to go; and therefore many would be for no Re- on at all, but derided *all* whom they ſaw diſagreed. t they had no ſuch Offence or Objection here; they ld not ask, *Which Church or Party ſhall we be of?* For were but as *one*. So Modeſt were the Ableſt of People, that they never were enclin'd to a *Preach- Way*, nor to make *Oſtentation* of their *Parts*; but k Warning by the Pride of others, and tho't they Teaching eno' by their Paſtours; and that it was ter for them to beſtow their Labour in digeſting t, than in Preaching themſelves. The *private* etings that were kept up, were alſo very helpful to *Propagating* of *Godlineſs*. Truths that were ſlip'd ay were thereby recall'd, and the Seriouſneſs of ples Minds renew'd: Good Deſires were cheriſh'd, Knowledge encreas'd. By theſe he had opportu- to know their *Caſe*: For if any were touch'd and aken'd in Publick, preſently they came dropping o the Private Meetings. And ſo remote was the nger of *Schiſm* or *Diviſions*, that this was the *princi- Means* to prevent them. All being under his O- ight and Guidance, who was uſually preſent with m, anſwering their Doubts, and ſilencing Obje-

ctions,

ctions, and moderating them in all. Some Priva
Meetings he found were very much desired amon
them. Had he not allow'd them such as were *lawf*
and *profitable*, they would have bin apt to run in
such as were unlawful and hurtful. And therefo
by encouraging them in such a Way, in the fit Ex
cise of their Parts, in *Repetition*, *Prayer*, and *visit*
Questions; He kept them from enclining to the disi
derly Exercise of them, in Imitation of the *Sectari*
Besides, there were some publick *Disputations*, whe
by the People were much confirm'd. The *Quak*
would have made Disturbance, and set up a Meeti
in the Town, and rail'd bitterly at Mr. *Baxter*: B
he giving them leave to meet in the Church for a D
pute, and opening before the People their Decei
none would entertain them more, nor did they g
one Proselyte. Mr. *Tombes*, the *Anabaptist*, who w
Lecturer at *Bewdley*, had shaken some. But after
Dispute held with him, (of which hereafter) the Pe
ple were settled, and the Infection stopp'd. Anoth
Advantage he had, was the Great Honesty and Di
gence of his Assistants. Mr. *Richard Serjeant*, the f
of them, was very Laborious, much Belov'd, o
meek and humble Spirit, and blameless Life: And
also was Mr. *Humphry Waldern*, who succeeded hi
which made the People so much the more in L
with the Ministry, and the more ready to submit
Instruction. Another *Advantage* was the Prese
and Countenance of honest Justices of the Peace. C
John Bridges, a prudent pious Gentleman, was Pat
of the Living, and liv'd in the Parish, and was a
stice of Peace. And a Bailiff and Justice were an
ally chosen in the Corporation, who ordinarily w
Godly Men, and always such as would be tho't
and were ready to use their Authority to suppres
and promote Goodness. And when once a *Sabb*
breaker tho't to have overthrown the Officers at L
Serjeant *Fountain* being then Judge of the Assize, di
repress his Malice, as discourag'd all others from
further Attempts of that kind. His Readiness also
help the Poor, was a great Help to his Succes.
assisted them for some time with his Advice in P
sick, and was very successful; but finding it took

much time as to be burdensome, he at length fix'd
ong them a Diligent Skilful Physician, and bound
nself to him by Promise, *That he would Practise no*
re in common Cases. But he always was Liberal
th his Purse. His stated Income was not above
l. per Annum: Besides which, he some Years had
or 80 *l.* a Year of the Booksellers for Books; which
ng given away amongst them, except so much as
s necessary for his Comfortable Subsistence, made
m much the readier to listen to him. Several of
ir Children that had Capacities, he took from
ool, and sent to the University, where he main-
n'd them by his own and others Contributions:
ne of which afterwards prov'd very useful Mini-
s. His giving away Bibles and other good Books
ong *poor Families*, was a thing highly *pleasing* to
n. The People generally were of such a Trade as
ow'd them time enough to Read or Talk of holy
ngs, which was another Help. His single Life also
s in some respects an *Advantage* to him. Being
from Family Cares, he had the Greater Vacancy
Liberty for the Labours of his Calling. And it
s also some Comfort, that there were at last few that
e bad, but some of their Relations were Converted.
ny were wrought on at 14, 15, 16 Years of Age:
ich did much towards the Reconciling the Minds
he Parents and elder Sort to Godliness. Many
e were of a considerable Age, the Conversion of
se Children was the Chief Means to overcome
r Prejudice, and old Customs and Conceits. Ma-
id God recover by Sickness, and his constant dis-
ing the Iniquity of the Times tended to the Good
nany; and so also did the Unanimity of the Mi-
rs of the Country round, who Associated in a
of Concord. The Quality of the open Sinners of
lace was such, as discouraged others. Those gi-
to Drunkenness were so Beastly and Ridiculous,
they made that Sin (of which there was the great-
Danger) the more abhorr'd. The Quality of the A-
te Sinners of the Place was also remarkable. They
fell off, (who were not many) were such as be-
by their want of Grounded Understanding, Hu-
y and Mortification, gave the greatest Suspicion
of

of their Stability: And they fell to no less than P
milism and Infidelity, making a Jest of the Scriptur
and the Essentials of Christianity. And as they f
from the Faith, so they fell to Drinking, Gaming, f
rious Passions, and a grosly Vicious Life: And w
thereupon as Pillars and Monuments of God's Justi
to warn all others to take heed of Self-conceitedn
and Heresies; and of departing from Truth and Ch
stian Unity. Another considerable Furtherance of t
Peoples Good, was the foremention'd Work of P
sonal Conference with every Family apart, and C
chizing and Instructing them. That which was sp
ken to them Personally, and put them many times u
on Particular Answers, awaken'd their Attenti
and was more easily apply'd than Publick Preachi
and seem'd to work much more upon them. T
Exercise of Church Discipline, was another gr
Help.

An amazing Instance of an incorrigible Sinner.

About 6 or 7 Young Men join'd with the Congre
tion who were addicted to Tipling, and one of th
was a weak-headed Fellow, who was a common
torious Drunkard. He was admonish'd of his S
upon offering himself to Communion; and t
*That without an Humble Penitent Confession, and Pro
of Amendment, he must be declar'd Unfit for Ch
Communion.* He hereupon lamented his Sin with g
Bitterness, and promis'd Amendment; but quic
return'd to it again. He was Admonish'd over
over, and great Endeavours were us'd to bring
to Contrition and Resolution; and he would still c
fess it, and yet still go on. Whereupon, Mr. *Ba*
Warn'd him publickly, and Pray'd for him se
Days in the Church: But he went on in his Dru
enness still. At last, he declar'd him utterly unfit
Church Communion, and required all to avoid
accordingly, endeavouring to convince him o
Misery, and of the Necessity of true Repentance
Reformation. After his Ejection, when he
Drunk, he would stand at the Market-place, and
a *Quaker* cry out against the Town, and take on
to Prophesy God's Judgments against them, and w
Rage at Mr. *Baxter*'s Door, and Rail and Curse
bitterly. And once he follow'd him as he wen
Ch

Church, and laid Hands on him in the Church-Yard, with a purpose to have kill'd him; but it fell out that he had hold only of his Cloak, which he unbutton'd and left with him; and before his Fury could do any more, (it being the *Fair-Day*) there were some Strangers by in the Church-Yard, who dragg'd him to the Magistrate and the Stocks. And thus he continu'd raging against him about a Year, and then dy'd of a Quinsy, in Great Horrour of Conscience. Three or Four more were forc'd to be cast out, one for Slandering, and the rest for Drunkenness: And they were enrag'd, and much the worse after it, and so were *Lowd Warnings* to others. Another *Advantage*, in order to his Success among them, was his *ordering* his Doctrine to them in a Suitableness to his main End; and yet so as might suit their Dispositions and Diseases. The Great *Fundamental Principles* of *Christianity*, contain'd in the Baptismal Covenant; even a right Knowledge and Belief *of*, and Subjection and Love *to*, *God the Father*, the *Son*, and the *Holy Ghost*, were the things which he daily open'd to them, and with greatest Importunity labour'd to imprint upon their minds. So frequently did he inculcate the Knowledge of God, Creator, Redeemer and Sanctifier, and Love and Obedience to Him, and Unity with the Church Catholick, and Love to Men, and Hope of Life Eternal; that these were the *matter* of their Daily Meditations and Discourses, and indeed their Religion. And yet usually put something into his Sermons that was above their Discovery, and which they had not known before, that they might be kept Humble, still perceive their Ignorance, and be willing to remain in a Learning State; and to encrease their Knowledge, and make Religion pleasant to them by a daily Addition to their former Light, and to draw them on with Desire and Delight. But these things, which they did not know before, were not unprofitable Controversies, which tended not to Edification, nor Novelties in Doctrine, contrary to the Universal Church; but either such Points as tended to illustrate the Great Doctrines of Religion, or usually about the right Method of ing them, which requires a great deal of Tho't and Accuracy. He was abundantly convinc'd of the Neces-

ſity of Care in this reſpect, by *long* Obſervation: Fo
when Miniſters tell their People of no more than the
know, and do not ſhew that they excell them
Knowledge and Abilities, they will be tempted
turn Preachers themſelves: And thinking that the
have learn'd all that their Miniſters can teach the
they will contemn them, and wrangle with the
Doctrines, and ſet their Wits againſt them, and he
them as Cenſurers and not as Diſciples, to their ow
Undoing, and to the Diſturbance of the Church
and they will eaſily draw Diſciples after the
The bare Authority of the Clergy will not ſer
the turn, without conſiderable Miniſterial Abilitie
Another *Advantage* lay in the Quality of the Peop
as to their Outward Condition. They were not Ric
There were few Beggars indeed, becauſe their Co
mon Trade of *Stuff Weaving* would find Work for a
Men, Women and Children, that were able: B
there were none of the Tradeſmen Wealthy, th
Employment ordinarily finding them but Food a
Raiment. Few of the Magiſtrates were worth 4
per Annum; and moſt not half ſo much. Three
Four of the Maſter Workmen got perhaps Five or S
Hundred Pound in 20 Years; but the Generality
them liv'd little better than Journeymen, from Ha
to Mouth, excepting that they labour'd not altogeth
ſo hard. This kept them from a great many *Tempt
ons* which Wealth is attended with, and made th
much more pliable and yielding to the Miniſtry, th
could otherwiſe have been expected.

His not meddling with *Tyths* or *Worldly Buſineſs* w
another *Advantage* to him. Hereby he had the m
time for his Study, and his Mind was the freer fr
Entanglements, and he avoided offending the Peo
by Contentious Law-Suits. There were 3 or 4 of
Honeſt Neighbours who manag'd for him all Co
cerns of that Nature, and he never took an Accoun
them. After that he was conſtrain'd to let the Ty
be gather'd as by his Title, to ſave the Gatherers fr
Law Suits, he gave Orders, *That if any Perſons re
to pay who were Poor, it ſhould be forgiven them: But
if the Perſons were able, what was due ſhould be ſought fo
the Help of the Magiſtrate with the Damage; and that*

his Part and the Damages ſhould be given to the Poor. When this was once known, none that were able would do the Poor ſo great a Kindneſs as to refuſe Payment. His ſtaying ſo long in this one place, was a further *Advantage*. By this means it came about, that almoſt all the Religious People of the place were of his own Inſtructing and Informing; and he ſtay'd to ſee them grown up to ſome Confirmedneſs and Maturity. All which *Advantages* he diſtinctly Noted and Recorded, with due Regard to that *Providence* whereto they were owing.

His Care about Diſcipline.

One of his Main Difficulties when he fix'd in *Kederminſter*, was how to ſet up any thing of a *true Diſcipline*, without being ſatisfy'd with the Shadow of it, inſtead of the Reality on one hand, or unchurching the Pariſh Church on the other. After mature Tho'ts upon the matter, he told the People, *That he went not about to gather a New Church, but would take the Pariſh for the Church, unleſs they were unwilling to own their Memberſhip.* All that did own their Memberſhip in that Pariſh Church, and would own him for their Paſtour, he deſired to give in their Names, or any other way to ſignify that they did ſo: And thoſe who were not willing to be Members, and rather choſe to withdraw themſelves, than to live under Diſcipline, he deſired to be ſilent. And ſo thro' fear of Diſcipline, all the Pariſh kept off except 600, when there were in all above 1600 at Age to be Communicants: Yet becauſe it was their own doing, and they knew they might come in when they would, they were quiet. If any ſcrupled ſitting at the Lord's Table, he openly told them, *They ſhould have the Liberty of their own Geſture.* And he was free to Baptize all their Children: But he made them firſt (as he would have done by Strangers) give him privately (or publickly if they had rather) an Account of their Faith. And if any Father were a Scandalous Sinner, he made him confeſs his Sin openly with ſeeming Penitence, before he would Baptize his Child. If he refus'd it, he forbore 'till the Mother came to preſent it. For he rarely, if ever, found both Father and Mother ſo deſtitute of Knowledge and Faith, as in a Church Senſe to be utterly uncapable.

His Conduct towards Sir **Ralph Clare.**

There was one Sir *Ralph Clare* who liv'd in the Parish, who did more to hinder his Succeſs, than could have bin done by a great many others. He was a Man indeed of great Courtſhip and Civility, and carry'd it with much Perſonal Reverence and Reſpect, and yet coming but once to Church on the Lord's Days, and abſtaining from the Sacrament, his Example did much miſchief; tho' at the ſame time his ſending his Family to be Perſonally Inſtructed and Catechiz'd, did win with the worſt almoſt to do the like. He made a Motion to Mr. *Baxter*, That he would Communicate with him, if he would adminiſter the Sacrament to him Kneeling, and on a diſtinct Day, and not with thoſe that receiv'd it Sitting. In a Letter in Anſwer to him, he offer'd, *If he would ſubmit to Diſcipline, and take him for his Paſtour, and firſt hear his Reaſons, if he could not Convince him, but if he would profeſs that he tho't it a Sin againſt God to receive the Sacrament unleſs it were put into his Hands Kneeling, and that he durſt not in Conſcience take it otherwiſe, he would ſo give it him: But as for doing it at a diſtinct ſtated time from the reſt, it would make ſuch a Breach or Schiſm, as he could have no hand in.*

The Caſe of the Vicaridge of **Kederminſter.**

He had alſo ſome Difficulty about the Sequeſtration of the Living of *Kederminſter*, upon the Account of which he was reflected on by many, but very unjuſtly: For the true State of the Caſe was this. While he was kept away from the Place by a Languiſhing Illneſs, not knowing whether God would make any farther uſe of him, the Towns People tho't fit to renew their Articles againſt their old Vicar and his Curate; and upon Tryal of the Cauſe, the Committee ſequeſtred the Place, but put no one into it, leaving the Profits in the hands of divers Inhabitants to pay a Preacher, 'till it were diſpos'd of. Mr. *Baxter*, tho' urgently preſs'd, refus'd the Vicaridge, and would have only the Lecture, which by the Old Man's own Conſent and Bond he held before. And at his return he found only Mr. *Serjeant* in Poſſeſſion, who was deſired to Officiate during the Vacancy. Being vehemently urg'd again to accept the Vicaridge, he repeated his Refuſal, and got the Magiſtrates and Burgeſſes together into the Town Hall, and told them

The

That tho' he was offer'd ſeveral Hundred Pounds per Annum *elſewhere, yet he was willing to continue with them in his Old Lecturer's Place, which he had before the War, expecting they ſhould make the Maintenance an* 100 *l.* per Annum, *with the Addition of an Houſe: And if they would promiſe to ſubmit to that Doctrine of Chriſt, which as his Miniſter he ſhould deliver to them, he would never leave them.* But he intimated, that this Maintenance ſhould neither come out of their own Purſes, nor any more of it out of the Tythes but the 60 *l.* which the Vicar had before bound himſelf to pay him, but from an Augmentation, eaſily to be procur'd: And the reſt he would have nothing to do with. This Covenant was drawn up in Articles, and Subſcrib'd; and he expreſly diſclaim'd the Vicaridge and Paſtoral Charge of the Pariſh, and only undertook the Lecture. And thus the Sequeſtration continu'd in the Hands of the Townſmen, who gather'd the Tythes, and paid him (not an Hundred, as they promis'd) but 80 *l. per Annum*, or 90 at moſt, and Rent for a few Rooms: The reſt they gave to Mr. *Serjeant*, and about 40 *l. per Annum* to the Old Vicar, and 6 *l. per Annum* to the Lord for Rents, beſides other Charges. But when they had continu'd long in this way, they fear'd leaſt ſome one againſt their Will ſhould get a Grant of the Sequeſtration from the Committee, and therefore they went privately and got an Order from them to ſettle Mr. *Baxter* in the Title, and never ſhew'd it him, but kept it ſecret, deſigning only to ſecure the Place from Surprize, and themſelves from repaying what they had burs'd. But when King *Charles* came out of *Scotland* with his Army to *Worceſter*, their Houſes being full of Soldiers, they bro't him the Order, entreating him, if he would not own it, yet at leaſt to keep it private, and to ſave them harmleſs by it, if they were call'd to Account. Which is the rather mention'd particularly, to clear him from ſome Aſperſions, unjuſtly caſt upon him about this Matter.

Upon the whole; ſo much of the Preſence of God and Mr. *Baxter* find accompanying him in his Work at *Kidderminſter*, and ſo affectionate was his Regard to the Loving People of that Place, that he would not

willingly have exchang'd his Relation to them for any Preferment in the Kingdom, nor could he without Force have bin ſeparated from them.

CHAP. IV.

The Riſe and Springs of the Civil War: Some brief Touches of the Hiſtory of the Times 'till the Cutting off the King.

An. 1641. NOT long after his Settlement at *Kedermiſter* the Civil War began, and the Times rain'd Blood ſo long, 'till the Languiſhing State of the Kingdom was almoſt *deſperate* and *incurable*. He was a Mournful Spectatour of the Publick Confuſions and made ſome Remarks on the Occurrences of the Times, which are not unworthy the Notice of Poſterity.

The Further Proceedings of the Long Parliament

The Nation had for ſome time before bin under Diſcontent. The General Cry was for Juſtice in the Puniſhment of Delinquents. This went againſt the King, and was a great Trouble to his Friends and Favourites, who none of them knew how ſoon his own turn might come. The Lord-Keeper *Finch* and Secretary *Windebank* fled beyond Sea and ſav'd themſelves. The Guilty Judges were deeply accus'd in Parliament and ſome of them Impriſon'd on the Account of Shipmoney. But the Great Diſpleaſure was againſt the Earl of *Strafford*, and Arch-Biſhop *Laud*. They were both ſent to the Tower, and a Charge was drawn up againſt them, and manag'd preſently againſt the Lord-Deputy *Wentworth*, by the Ableſt Lawyers and Gentlemen of the Houſe. This was a matter they were long about; for the King being unwilling to conſent to his Death, us'd all his skill to ſtop the Proſecution. A Diviſion aroſe among the Great Ones. The Lords *Falkland* and *Digby*, and other Perſons of conſiderable Note, were for Gratifying the King by *ſparing* him. Others were vehement on the other ſide, ſaying: *That if after a plain Attempt to ſu-*

vert the Fundamental Laws and Liberties, no one Man should ſuffer Death, it would encourage others hereafter in the like. The *Londoners* Petition'd the Houſe for *Juſtice*, and follow'd them with their Cries and Clamours: And an unhappy Painter drew the Pictures of the Chief of thoſe Members who were for ſaving the Lord-Deputy, and call'd them *Straffordians*, hanging them with their Heels upward on the *Exchange*. This Procedure made the Lord *Digby* and the Lord *Falkland* heartily fall in with the King's Intereſt; being not ſo immovable as ſome others, whom neither Hope nor Fear, nor Diſcontent, would alienate from the Cauſe which they tho't well of. Yet others were try'd with the Offer of Preferments. The Lord *Say* was made one of the Privy-Council; and Mr. *Oliver St. John* the King's Solicitor, *&c.* But as this did not alter them, ſo others would accept no Preferment, leaſt they ſhould be tho't to ſeek themſelves, or ſet their Fidelity to ſale. At length the Earl of *Strafford* was Condemn'd, and the King being deſired to Sign the Bill, had the Advice of divers Biſhops, and among the reſt, of Arch-Biſhop *Uſher*, and Dr. *Juxon* Biſhop of *London*. The former *, as was ſaid, told him, *That he might lawfully concur with the Judgment of his Parliament Proceeding according to Law, tho' his own Judgment were, that their Sentence was unjuſt*; but the latter adviſ'd him to do nothing againſt his Conſcience. An. 1641.

* *Dr.* Part *in the Life of Arch-Biſhop* Uſher, *which he publiſh'd in Folio, mentioning his being conſulted by the King upon this Occaſion, ſays he was injur'd by Common Fame, in the Report ſpread abroad, about the Advice he gave. He tells us, (pag* 61.) *t'at when that Holy Man was in ſuch Dangerous Circumſtances, as that all who were about him tho't him near his End, he took the Liberty to ask him,* If he had adviſ'd the King to paſs the Bill againſt the Earl of *Strafford*? *To which he reply'd,* I know there is ſuch a thing moſt wrongfully laid to my Charge; for I neither gave, nor approv'd of any ſuch Advice, as that the King ſhould Aſſent to the Bill againſt the Earl; but on the contrary told his Majeſty, That if he was ſatisfy'd by what he had heard at his Tryal, that the Earl was not Guilty of Treaſon, his Majeſty ought not in Conſcience to conſent to his Condemnation.

There was Great Heat among the Members of Parliament in thoſe Debates which this Matter occaſion'd. Some were much againſt Diſpleaſing and Provoking the King, and tho't themſelves not oblig'd to attempt any other Juſtice or Reformation, than what they could

Arguments Pro and Con about pleaſing or diſpleaſing the King in a Parliamentary Way.

An. 1641. could bring him to be willing to. And they thus argu'd: *When you have displeas'd and provok'd him to the utmost, he will be your King still; and when you have sate to the longest, you must be dissolv'd at last. You have no Power over his Person, tho' you have over Delinquent Subjects. If he protect them by Arms, you must either your selves be ruin'd by his Displeasure, or engag'd in a War. Displeasing him, is but exasperating him; and would you be Rul'd by a King that hates you? The more you offend him, the less you can trust him; and when mutual Confidence is gone, a War is beginning. And if it come to a War, either you will Conquer, or be Conquer'd, or come to Agreement: If you are Conquer'd, you and the Commonwealth are ruin'd, and the King will be Absolute, and neglect Parliaments, and Govern as he pleaseth. If you come to an Agreement, it will either be such as you force him to, or such as he is willing of: If the latter be the Result, it may be done more easily and cheaply before a War than after: If the former be the Issue, it can have no great Strength; for nothing Violent is lasting. And if you Conquer him, what are you the better? He will still be King, and consequently have the Power of Avenging himself in his Hands.* The Pleas of those of the other Stamp were of this Nature: *If the King be not to be displeas'd, then this Parliament should never have been call'd, Ship-Money should have gone on, and the Subjects Property and Parliaments have been suffer'd to be overthrown: Church Innovations should not have been controul'd, nor any stop to the Subverters of our Government and Liberties attempted. Then no Members should speak freely of any of these things in the House; And what do we here? Could not the King have pleas'd himself without us? Or do we come to be his Instruments, to give away the Peoples Liberties, and set up that which is begun? Either it is our Duty to Reform, and to Recover our Liberties, and Relieve our Country, and Punish Delinquents, or not? If not, let us go home again. If it be, let us do it, and trust God. For if the fears of foreseen Opposition shall make us Betray our Country and Posterity, we are Perfidious to them, Enemies to our selves, and worse than Infidels. And for a War, the Danger of it may be avoided. It is a thing uncertain; and therefore a present certain Ruin, and that by our own Hand, is not to be chosen to avoid it. The King*

may

ay see the Danger of it as well as we, and avoid it on bet- *An.* 1641.
r Terms: Or if he were willing, he may not be able, to
o any great Harm. Do you think that the People of Eng-
nd *are so mad as to fight against those whom they have*
hosen to represent them? To destroy themselves and the
opes of their Posterity? Do they not know, that if Parlia-
ents are destroy'd, their Lives and Estates are meerly at
e Will and Mercy of the Conquerour? And what fear of
evenge, when we may continue, 'till we consent to our own
issolution? Can we not avoid Consenting to it, 'till we see
r selves out of the Danger of Revenge? Thus were
lens Minds divided: But some unhappy Means fell
t to unite them, so as to cause them to proceed to a
ar.

The King had a Considerable Party that adher'd to *The Fore-runners of the War.*
m, made up both of State Politicians, and Friends
the Eccleſiastical Hierarchy; who jointly set them-
lves against the Parliament, not only because of their
pprehended Encroachments on the Civil Power, but
so because of the Church Reformation intended. But
e Country Party carry'd all things with a High
and, depending upon the Assistance of true hearted
nglish-men if Matters came to Extremity. Many
ings fell in to heighten Discontents. The *London*
pprentices (encourag'd by some Members of Parlia-
ent) in a Tumultuous manner brought up their Pe-
ions to *Westminster*. In one of their Progresses they
et some of the Bishops going to the House in their
aches: Forgetting Civility, they cry'd out, *No*
hops, and flouted and insulted rudely. The Bi-
ps hereupon in a Fright met together, and declar-
g themselves *Deterr'd from their Attendance in Parlia-*
nt by Clamours and Tumults, drew up a Protestation
ainst any Law that should pass in their Absence.
is was so resented by the Parliament, that they
o subscrib'd it were Voted *Delinquents*, and sent to
son, as attempting to destroy the Power of Parlia-
nts. And even Bp. *Hall* himself was one of them.
ese numerous Petitioners were also very Offensive to
King, insomuch, that when at another time they
s'd by *White-Hall*, they were set upon by some of
Cavaliers, who laying hold of some of them, cut
their Ears. There was another Scuffle about *West-*
minster-

An. 1641. *minſter-Abbey*, when Sir *Richard Wiſeman*, that Head ed them, was kill'd by a Stone from the Abbey Wall. Theſe Tumults made the King not think himſelf ſafe either in the City or near it.

Great were the Jealouſies between him and his Parliament. He diſtruſted them, as thinking they bore hard upon him in every thing; and they diſtruſted him without any Dependence upon his Declarations or Promiſes. They were confident he was immoveable to his Judgment and Affections, and that what ever he granted them was but in Deſign to get his Advantage utterly to deſtroy them; and that he did but watch for ſuch an Opportunity. They ſuppos'd that he utterly abhorr'd them, and their Actions againſt his Ship-Money, his Judges, Biſhops, *&c.* and charging him with the *Breach of former Promiſes*, they durſt not take his Word in any thing. This their Diffidence was many ways encreas'd. The two Armies of *Scots* and *Engliſh* remain'd undisbanded in the North, 'till the Parliament ſhould provide for their Pay. The *Engliſh* Army wanting Pay, were Diſcontented: Hereupon they entertain'd a Deſign to march ſuddainly up to *London*, and maſter the Parliament, This being diſcover'd, ſeveral of the Chief Officers (as Sir *Jacob Aſtley*, *O Neal*, and Sir *Fulk Hunks*) were examined and confeſs'd, *That ſome near the King, had treated with them about bringing up the Army.* Which Examinations were publiſh'd, and ſatisfy'd many, *That the King did but watch while he quieted them with Promiſes, to maſter them by force, and uſe them at his pleaſure.* The Parliament, to prevent any Inſults, provided themſelves with a Guard, which they took to be their Priviledge. The King diſcharging them, ſet another Guard upon them of his own chooſing. This made them look like Priſoners; and they fear'd they would made up the Guard appointed by the King, would be commanded become the Executioners of his Will upon them. Upon which they diſmiſſed them, and call'd for a Guard of the City Regiments. At length the King, being adviſ'd no longer to ſtand by and ſee himſelf Affronted, took an unprecedented Step in going ſuddainly to the *Houſe of Commons*, with a Company of Cavaliers with Swords and Piſtols, to ſeize

ve of their Members, *viz.* Mr. *Pim*, Mr. *Hampden*, Mr. *Hollis*, Mr. *Strowd*, and Sir *Arthur Haſlerigg*, and ne of the *Lords Houſe*, *viz.* the Lord *Kimbolton*, (afrwards Earl of *Mancheſter*, and Lord Chamberlain) ith High-Treaſon. Had they bin there, it was ppos'd they would have bin ſeiz'd by force; but on Notice beforehand, they abſented themſelves, tiring into the City. The Houſe was hereupon Arum'd, as if their Liberties or Lives muſt be aſſaulted by the Sword, if they pleas'd not the Court; and ereupon they preſently Voted this Action, a *Breach their Priviledges*, and an *Effect of the King's Evil unſellours*; and publiſh'd their Votes, to awaken the eople to reſcue them, as if they were in apparent anger. The King being diſappointed, publiſheth a aper, in which he chargeth the aforeſaid Perſons ith Treaſon, as ſtirring up the Apprentices to Tuultuous Petitioning, *&c.* But confeſſeth his Errour violating their Priviledges. *An.* 1641.

Not long after, the Lord *Digby* and ſome other Caaliers, attempted at *Kingſton* upon *Thames* to have ddaily got together a Body of Horſe, which the arliament highly reſented. But the Party was diſſiated, and he was Voted a *Delinquent*, and order'd to Apprehended: But he fled to *France*, and thence rote to the King, (which Letters were intercepted) viſing him to retire from the City to ſome Place of rength: Which they took as an Advice to make en War upon them.

But there was nothing that wrought ſo much with e People as the Iriſh Maſſacre and Rebellion. The iſh Papiſts made an unexpected Inſurrection in all rts of that Kingdom at once, and ſeiz'd upon alſt all the Strong Places in the Land, and it was ry wonderful that *Dublin* eſcap'd, which was to have n ſurpriz'd with the reſt, *Octob.* 23. 1641. they mur-r'd Two Hundred Thouſand Perſons. en, Women and Children were moſt uelly us'd, the Women ript up and ated moſt Filthily and Barbarouſly, d Infants us'd like Toads or Vermin. houſands of thoſe who eſcap'd, came ript and almoſt Famiſh'd to *Dublin*, and afterwards into *The Iriſh Maſſacre and Rebellion.*

See Sir John Temple's *Hiſtory*; *Dr.* Jones's *Narrative of the Examinations, &the Earl of* Orrery's *Anſwer to a Petition.*

An. 1641. into *England* to beg their Bread. Multitudes of them were driven together into Rivers, and cast over Bridges and Drown'd. Many Witnesses swore before the Lords Justices, That at *Portdown-Bridge*, a Vision every Day appear'd to the Passengers of Naked Persons standing up to the middle in the River, and crying out *Revenge*, *Revenge*. In a word; scarce any History mentioneth the like Barbarous Cruelty with this. The Irish declar'd, They had the King's Commission for what they did: And many even at that time, weighing all Circumstances, believ'd as much, while others represented it as an horridly Unjust and Scandalous Aspersion upon his Majesty; but as Providence order'd it, a certain Memorable Particularity help'd to set this Matter in a just Light. The Marquess of *Antrim*, who was a Noted Man among the Irish Rebels, having had his Estate Sequestred, tho't fit, upon the Restauration of K. *Charles* the Second, to sue for the Restitution of it. The D. of *Ormond* and the Council judg'd against him as one of the Rebels. Whereupon he brought his Cause over to the King, and affirm'd, That what he did was by his Father's Consent and Authority, the King referr'd it to some worthy Members of his Privy Council, to examine what he had to shew. Upon Examination, they reported, *That they found he had the King's Consent, or Letter of Instructions for what he did*, which amaz'd many. Hereupon K. *Charles* wrote to the D. of *Ormond* and the Council, *To restore his Estate*, because it appear'd to those appointed to Examine it, that what he did was by his Father's Order or Consent. The Lord *Mazarine*, and others in *England*, not fully satisfy'd with this, tho't fit so far to prosecute the matter, as that the Marquess of *Antrim* was forc'd to produce in the *House of Commons* a Letter of K. *Charles* the First, by which he gave him Order for the taking up Arms, which being read in the House, produc'd a general Silence. The whole Account of it, with a great many surprizing Particulars, was publish'd in a Pamphlet call'd, *Murder will out*. At the time when this Barbarity was committed, all *England* was fill'd with Fear. People were afraid both of the Irish, and of the Papists at home: Insomuch that when the Rumour of a Plot was spread about a little

tle after in *Lsndon*, the Poor People all the Coun- *An.* 1641.
es over, were ready either to run to Arms, or hide
emſelves, thinking the Papiſts were coming to cut
eir Throats. The Parliament was ſolicitous to ſend
elp to *Dublin*, to prevent its being loſt. The King
eſs'd to go over himſelf; than which nothing could
more diſagreeable to them, who were afraid leaſt
tting at the Head of two Armies he ſhould unite
em both againſt them, and by his Abſence make a
each, and hinder the Proceedings of the Houſes. The
v that were left in *Dublin* defended themſelves, tho'
der preſſing Neceſſities; and ſent over word, *That*
Iriſh threatned, that when they had done with the hand-
that was left in Ireland, *they would come into* Eng-
nd, *and deal with the Parliament and Proteſtants here.*
eſe Threatnings with the name of 200000 murder'd,
d the recital of the Monſtrous Cruelties of thoſe Ca-
pals, made many Thouſands in *England* think, that
hing could be more neceſſary than for the Parlia-
nt to put the Country into an Armed Poſture, for
ir own Defence.

At length the King leaves *London*, and goes North- *The Opening of the War.*
rd, and marches to *Hull*, where Entrance was de-
'd him by Sir *John Hotham*. The Parliament pub-
h'd their Votes to the People, *That the King, miſled*
Evil Counſel, was raiſing a War againſt his Parliament.
ey nam'd Lord Lieutenants for the Militia of the
eral Counties, and the King nam'd others by a
mmiſſion of Array, and each command the ſaid
d Lieutenants to ſettle the Militia: And both
g and Parliament publiſh'd their Declarations, ju-
ying their Cauſe. The Parliament choſe the Earl of
ex for General, and reſolves to raiſe an Army, *for*
Defence of King and Parliament, and the Liberties of
Subjects. againſt Evil Counſellours and Delinquents.
ey publiſh'd a Remonſtrance of the State of the
gdom, and a Declaration of the Cauſes of their
ng up Arms: Which two Writings contain the
n of their Juſtification. ---- The King went to *Not-*
ham, where he ſet up his Standard. There were
about 2000 that came into him there; whereas
Londoners quickly fill'd up a Gallant Army for the
of *Eſſex*, and the Citizens bro't in their Money

and

An. 1641. and Plate, and the Women their Rings to *Guild-Ha* for the Paying them. The King from *Nottingham* fer'd a Treaty, and ſent ſome General Propoſals. T Parliament ſent him 19 Propoſals of their own: fering, *That if he would Disband his Army, come to Parliament, give up Delinquents to a legal Courſe of ſtice*, &c. *he ſhould find them Dutiful.* The Great B of Contention was the Militia. The King pleade *'Twas his by Law, and would not part with the Power* The Parliament pleaded, *That as things ſtood, they either ſecure it, or give up the Proteſtant Religion, Laws and Liberties of the Land, and their own Neck the Will of Papiſts and Delinquents.*

The Quality of the Perſons who ſeverally adher'd to the King and to the Parliament.

In this Conteſt between King and Parliament, Generality of the Nobility were on the King's ſi After *Edge-Hill* Fight, when the King was at *Oxf* a great Part of the *Lords*, and many of the *Comm* went over to him. A Great Part of the Knights Gentlemen of *England* adher'd to him, except in *M dleſex*, *Eſſex*, *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, and *Cambridge-ſh* where the King never came with his Army. Moſt their Tenants follow'd them, and moſt of the Po ſort of People throughout the Nation. On the Par ments ſide, were the ſmaller part of the Gentry moſt Counties, and the greateſt part of the Tra men and Freeholders, and the middle ſort of M eſpecially in thoſe Corporations and Countries wh depend on *Cloathing*, and ſuch Manufactures. To th alſo adher'd the far Greater Part of thoſe thro' Nation, who were Friends to a *Religious Strictneſs*, Enemies to *Formality* and *Profaneneſs*, *Superſtition* *Immorality*. It was not indeed properly *Bellum Epi pale*, the Biſhops War, tho' by many ſo ſtil'd. Thouſands that wiſh'd for *Good Biſhops*, were on Parliaments ſide. But the Generality of thoſe were call'd *Puritans* and *Preciſians*, and were for ſ ous Godlineſs, both Miniſters and People adher the Parliament. On the other ſide, they who for *Looſeneſs*, *Swearing*, *Gaming*, and *Drinking*; Miniſters and People who were againſt the ſtrict ſervation of the *Lord's Day*, and fond of Dancing Recreations at thoſe ſacred Seaſons, that plac'd their *Religion* in going to *Church*, and hearing *Com*

Pre

yer, that were againſt ſerious Preaching, and for *An.* 1641.
ning down all thoſe who were ſtricter than themves, theſe adher'd all along to the King. Which Conſideration was the thing that determin'd many er and *honeſt* Perſons which ſide to take. The Nan was long before divided into two Parties, with ſpect to *Religious Matters*, the brief Conſideration of Riſe and Progreſs of which Diviſion, adds not a le Light to the *Animoſities* which were at that time Foot. Thus then ſtood the Caſe.

It unhappily fell out in the Days of Q. *Mary*, that *Some Reflections on the Eccleſiaſtical Differences in the Nation from the time of the Reformation.*
Reformers being Fugitives at *Frankford*, fell into a viſion: One part of them were for *Dioceſans*, and *Engliſh Liturgy* and *Ceremonies*, that they might no re than needs depart from the *Papiſts*, nor ſeem Inſtant by departing from what King *Edward* had ben. The other were for *Calvin*'s *Diſcipline* and *Way Worſhip*; for the ſetting up of *Parochial Diſcipline* in- of *Dioceſan*; and to have a *Government* in every rticular Church, and not only One over a Thouſand many Hundred Churches; and for a plain and ſeus Way of Worſhip, ſuited as near as poſſible to Word of God.

Theſe two Parties returning into *England*, the *Dion Party* got Q. *Elizabeth*'s Countenance, and were ferr'd, and their Way ſet up. The other Party ition'd, and Hop'd, and Waited, but were Diſntenanc'd, Rebuk'd, and by Law Suppreſs'd. The countenanc'd Party were fervent Preachers, and Holy Lives: And ſo were many of the Biſhops alſo thoſe Days. Had they who ſucceeded them bin ein generally like them, they had in all probability more Honour'd and leſs Aſſaulted. But when el, *Pilkinton*, *Grindal*, and ſuch like were Dead, ny ſucceeded them, who were Men of another mp. The ſilenc'd *Diſciplinarians* (as they were 'd) did by their Writings, ſecret Conference and aching, and their Godly Lives, work much upon h as were Religiouſly Addicted. So that this Oion ſpread very much, *That a juſt Parochial Diſcie would very much Reform the Church, and that Dions by excluding it cheriſh'd Vice.* The Prelatical ty finding their Places and Power, Lands and Lordſhips

An. 1641. Lordſhips, aſſaulted by this Opinion, tho't it neceſſa
more and more to ſuppreſs the Promoters of it. He
upon, putting Epiſcopacy, Liturgy and Ceremon
into the Subſcriptions which they impos'd on all th
would be Miniſters or Schoolmaſters, they kept a
caſt out many worthy Men. For ſome that were
Liturgy and Ceremonies, were not for Dioceſans, b
for Pariſh Diſcipline; and ſome that were for Biſho
were not for the Ceremonies; and ſome that were
the reſt, yet ſcrupled ſome one; and he that cou
not ſubſcribe to all, was forbidden to Preach the G
pel: Whereas, in the mean time, many Biſho
Preach'd but ſeldom, and abundance of Places h
ignorant Readers who could not Preach, or we
Preachers whoſe Performances were very mean, a
many of them were alſo Scandalous in their Lives.

Hereupon, the *Diſciplinarians* cry'd out of the *Se*
rity and *Impoſitions* of the Prelates, and the *Ignora*
and *Scandalous Lives* of many of their Miniſters: A
they on the other ſide, vehemently inveigh'd again
the *Nonconformiſts*. They call'd them *Puritans*, whi
was the Name whereby they were commonly know
And in proceſs of time, the Vitious Multitude call'd
Puritans that were Strict and Serious in a Holy Li
tho' ever ſo Conformable. So that the ſame Name
a Biſhop's Mouth, ſignify'd a *Nonconformiſt*; and in
ignorant Drunkard's or Swearer's Mouth, a *Godly Obe*
ent Chriſtian. Now the ignorant Rabble hearing th
the *Biſhops* were againſt the *Puritans*, were the mo
embolden'd againſt all thoſe which they gave th
Name to, and their Rage againſt the Godly was t
more encreas'd; and they cry'd up the *Biſhops*, part
becauſe they were againſt the *Puritans*, and partly b
cauſe they were earneſt for that way of Worſh
which they found moſt ſuitable to their Ignoran
Careleſsneſs and Formality; and thus the Intereſt
the *Dioceſans*, and of the Prophane and Ignorant p
of People, was unhappily twiſted together in t
Nation.

Many alſo were much ſet againſt the *Biſhops*,
obſerving Men of Parts and Piety ſilenc'd, while i
ſufficient and vicious Men were encourag'd and p
ferr'd among the Clergy, and many Thouſands of t
Peo

People were perishing in Ignorance and Sin, for want of Help. And it not a little disturb'd them, to see Fasting and Praying, and other Religious Exercises which they found Beneficial, so strictly look'd after, and punish'd in the *High Commission* and the *Bishops Courts*, as if more Perilous than Common Swearing and Drunkenness prov'd to the Ungodly: And it added to their Disturbance, to have a Book publish'd for Recreations on the *Lord's-Day*, with the Bishops Approbation, as if they concurr'd with the Profane: That *Afternoon Sermons* and *Lectures*, tho' carry'd on by Conformable Men, were put down in divers Counties: That so Great a Number of Conformable Ministers were *suspended* or *punish'd* for not Reading the Book of Sports, or about Altars, *&c.* And so many Thousand Families, and many worthy Ministers, driven out of the Land: That Bowing towards Altars, and other Innovations, were daily bro't in by the *Hyper-Conformists*, none knowing where they would end: And finally, That the Bishops proceeded so far, as to Swear Men to their whole Government by the *Et cætera Oath*, and that *they approv'd of Ship-Money*, and other such Encroachments on their Civil Interests. These were the Causes why so many of those who were Counted most Religious fell in with the Parliament. *An.* 1641.

It hath indeed bin asserted, *That it was Seditious Preachers who stirr'd up the People, and were the Cause of the Commotions.* Which is a Notorious Falsity. Many indeed there were, who discover'd their Dislike of the Book of Sports, and Bowing to Altars, and Diminishing Preaching, and Silencing Ministers, *&c.* and were glad that the Parliament attempted a *Reformation*; but very few even of these stirr'd up to War, but were fearful of the Consequences: But this is certain, That whether they did so more or less, they were almost all of them Conformable Ministers, the Laws and Bishops having cast out the *Nonconformists* long before. They who made up the Assembly at *Westminster*, and who thro' the Land were the Honour of the Parliament's Party, were almost all such as had all then Conform'd, and took those things to be Lawful in case of Necessity, but long'd to have that Necessity remov'd.

Having afterwards the Advantage to be on the Risin
ſide, it had poſſibly bin both their Wiſdom and the
and the Nations Intereſt, to have kept ſome Bound
without running things to Extremity. Had they en-
deavour'd only the Ejection of Lay-Chancellours, th
Reducing the Dioceſſes to a narrower Compaſs, or th
Setting up a Subordinate Diſcipline, and the Correc
ing and Reforming the Liturgy, ſo as to leave nothin
juſtly Exceptionable, in all probability it had bin pa
tiently born, and the Confuſions the Nation afte
wards run into had bin prevented. There is goo
Reaſon to ſuppoſe it, becauſe Bp. *Uſher*, *Williams*, an
Morton, and many other Epiſcopal Divines with them
agreed in certain Points of *Reformation* *. They ha
Cenſur'd the moſt remarkable *Innovations*, both i
Doctrine and Diſcipline; and concurr'd in alterin
the *Common-Prayer*, ſo as to obviate the Objections a
gainſt it; and if any thing of this Nature would ha
ſuffic'd, had bin likely to have fallen in heartily wi
the Parliament's Intereſt: But finding an univer
Change inſiſted on, and that nothing ſhort of the u
moſt extremity would ſatisfy, they turn'd againſt th
Parliament and their Intereſt, and were as much di
pleas'd as any; except Arch-Biſhop *Williams*, who a
terwards took up Arms for the Parliament.

* *See this Paper in the large Life. Pag.* 369.

The Reaſons of the Parliamentarians.

The Reaſons alledg'd by thoſe who adher'd to th
Parliament, were briefly theſe. They tho't the Da
ger of the State evident from ſundry Matters of Fa
Ship-Money they found threaten'd the Overthrow
Property. Many Parliaments had bin diſſolv'd
Diſpleaſure, after they had bin long forborn. T
calling up the Army, and demanding the Membe
ſatisfy'd them that the Ruin of the Parliament was
ſign'd. And the Murder of ſo many Thouſands
Ireland convinc'd them they were far from being
cure, while Men of the like Malignity were protect
and could not be kept out of Arms nor bro't to
ſtice. They tho't the Preſervation of a Kingdom
ſuch an End to aim at, as would make any neceſſ
Means lawful, which God himſelf had not forbidd
The Parliament having a part in the Legiſlative P
er, they tho't had ſo far inherently a Power to def
it, which no Law can ſuppoſe them to give aw
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and as the Peoples Representatives they ſuppos'd them *An.* 1641.
truſted to ſecure their reſerved Liberties, which the law giveth not the King any Authority to take away. They tho't that the Judgments and Executions of the Courts of Juſtice, being the Effects of Laws which King and Parliament have made, are of greater Authority than contrary Commiſſions or Commands from the King alone. It confirm'd them to hear it own'd generally, that the Sheriffs of Counties may in ſome caſes raiſe the *Poſſe Comitatus*, tho' the King forbid it, or grant a Commiſſion to hinder it. They ſaid, That belongeth to the Parliament to judge its own Members, and that if on pretence of puniſhing ſuch of them as do offend, the King may come and fetch away, or demand thoſe that diſpleaſe him, Parliaments and Liberties, and all the Security of them is gone. Many were confirm'd by the King's Anſwer to their Propoſitions, wherein it was declar'd, *That the Legiſlative Power was in King, Lords and Commons; and that the Government was mix'd, and not Arbitrary*; which they thought it muſt be, if his Commiſſions were of greater Power than his Laws and Courts, and if no reſiſtance might be made againſt ſuch as executed an illegal Commiſſion. The War (they ſaid) was not againſt the King, but his Delinquent Subjects. They readed, *Barclay*, *Grotius de Jure Belli & Pacis*, *Hooker* and *Bilſon*, who all own the Lawfulneſs of Reſiſtance in ſome Caſes, and in ſuch Circumſtances as theirs then were. *Grotius* ſays particularly, *That if ſeveral Perſons have a part in the* Summa Poteſtas, *(of which* Legiſlation *is a Chief Act) each part hath naturally the Power of defending its own Intereſt in the Sovereignty againſt the other part if they invade it. And that if in ſuch a War they Conquer, the Conquer'd Party looſeth to them his Share.* And that *this* is ſo true, that it *holdeth, tho' the Law expreſly ſay, That one of the Parties ſhall have the Power of the Militia: It being to be underſtood that he ſhall have it againſt Foreign Enemies, and Delinquents, and not againſt the other Part.* But to go on with the Hiſtory.

A further Account of the War. An. 1642.

The King marching from *Nottingham* to *Shrewsbury*, fill'd up his Army out of *Shropshire*, *Worcestershire*, *Herefordshire*, and *Wales*. And the Earl of *Essex* march'd with a Gallant Army to *Worcester*. Many excellent Divines were Chaplains to the several Regiments; Mr. *Stephen Marshal* and Dr. *Burgess*, to the General's own Regiments. Mr. *Obadiah Sedgwick*, to Col. *Hollis*'s Regiment. Dr. *Calibute Downing*, to the Lord *Roberts*'s Regiment. Mr. *John Sedgwick*, to the Earl of *Stamford*'s Regiment. Dr. *Spurstow*, to Mr. *Hampden*'s. Mr. *Perkins*, to Col. *Goodwin*'s. Mr. *Moor*, to the Lord *Wharton*'s. Mr. *Adoniram Byfield*, to Sir *Henry Cholmley*'s. Mr. *Nalton*, to Col. *Grantham*'s. Mr. *Simeon Ash*, either to the Lord *Brook*'s, or the Earl of *Manchester*'s. Mr. *Morton* of *New-Castle*, with Sir *Arthur Haslerigg*'s Troop. With many more. On *October* the 23d 1642, was the Battle at *Edge-Hill*, between the two Armies; in which the Advantage was on the Parliament side. The King's Army drew off towards *Oxford*; and *Essex*'s towards *Coventry*, for Refreshment. There were a great many other Fights particularly related by the Historians of those times who may be consulted by such as therein desire Information. But that which upon the whole was the great Cause of the Parliament's Strength; and the King's Ruin, was that the Debauched Rabble thro' the Land, emboldened by his Gentry, and seconded by the Common Soldiers of his Army, took all that were call'd *Puritans* for their Enemies. And tho' some of the King's Gentry and Superiour Officers were so Civil, that they would do no such thing, yet there was no Security to the Country, while the Multitude did what they list. So that if any one was noted for a strict and famous Preacher, or for a Man of a Pious Life, he was either plunder'd or abused, and in danger of his Life. So that if a Man did but pray in his Family, or were but heard repeat a Sermon, or sing a Psalm, they presently cry'd out *Rebels*, *Roundheads*, and all their Money and Goods that were portable prov'd Guilty, how Innocent soever they were themselves. This was it that fill'd the Armies and Garrisons of the Parliament with Sober, Pious Men. The Lands had no mind to meddle with the Wars, but great

Troop or Company was to be diſpos'd off, or any conſiderable Officer's Place was void, he was ſure to put a Sectary into the Place. And when the Brunt of the War was over, he look'd not ſo much at Valour as Opinion: So that by Degrees he had Headed the greateſt Part of the Army with *Anabaptiſts*, *Antinomians*, *Seekers* or *Separatiſts*, at beſt; and he ty'd all together by the Point of *Liberty of Conſcience*, which was the Common Intereſt wherein they united. At length the Parliament came to be ſolicitous about keeping them from Tumults and Diſobedience. But Sir *Henry Vane* *An.* 1646. Confederating with them, they procur'd the Houſe to *An.* 1647. Disband almoſt all the honeſt County Forces and Garriſons, which might have oppos'd them in their Deſigns, and ſo the Army went on with little fear of Oppoſition. The next Deſign of *Vane* and *Cromwel*, was to uſe the Army to model the Parliament. With this Aim they ſtir up the Houſe to paſs ſome Votes, which they knew would be moſt diſpleaſing to the Army, and then ſtir up the Army to the deepeſt Reſentment. The Parliament Voted, *That part of the Army ſhould go for* Ireland, *part be Disbanded, and part continu'd.* The Officers told the Army, *This was to Divide them, and Deprive them of their Pay, and to get an Advantage on them to Ruin them as Sectaries*, &c. A rare Reward for all their Services! At *Triploe-Heath* they enter'd into an Engagement to ſtick together, and were drawing up a Declaration of their Grievances. Col. *Edward Harley* acquainted the Houſe with it. *Cromwel* ſtifly deny'd it, and ſaid it was a Slander, altho' deep in the Secret, as he afterwards acknowledg'd, when he Headed them in their Rebellion. The Parliament order'd all that were Faithful to forſake them; and ſeveral Officers, as General *Fincher*, Major *Alſop*, Major *Huntington*, and others, with a conſiderable Number of Common Soldiers, did ſo; but not being able to make a Body to reſiſt them, it prov'd a great Addition to their Strength. For now all that were againſt them being gone, they fill'd up their Places with Men of their own mind, and ſo were ever after the more Unanimous. ---- Upon this, *Cromwel* and his *Obedient Lambs* (as he call'd them) advanc'd in their Deſign, came nearer the City, and drew up an Impeachment

againſt 11 of the moſt Active Members of the Houſe; Sir *Philip Stapleton*, Sir *William Lewis*, Col. *Hollis*, Sir *John Maynard*, Mr. *Glyn*, Col. *Edward Harley*, &c. And when they had forc'd the Houſe to ſeclude them as under Accuſation, they let fall their Suit, and never proſecuted them, nor prov'd them guilty. Having advanc'd thus far, they expected to have found the Houſe very Pliable and Yielding, but were ſtill diſappointed. The City took Courage, and under the Conduct of two Major-Generals, *Maſſey* and *Poyntz*, were for defending the Parliament againſt the Army; but the Army ſpeedily advancing, the Hearts of the Citizens fail'd them, and they let the Army enter the City in Triumph. Whereupon, *Maſſey* and *Hollis*, and others of the Accuſed Members, fled into *France*, and among the reſt Sir *Philip Stapleton*, who dy'd of the Plague near *Callice*.

Of the King's flying to the Scots: and what afterwards befell him, to the time of his Death.

As for the King, when *Oxford* was Beſieg'd by the Parliament's Forces, having no Army left, he eſcaped to the North, and caſt himſelf upon the *Scots*, who lay there with an Army. The *Scots* were puzled how to ſteer in this Critical Juncture: To ſend him back to the *Engliſh* Parliament, ſeem'd Unfaithful, when he had caſt himſelf upon them: To keep him, would divide the two Kingdoms, and be follow'd with War from *England*, for which they were not provided. After long Conſultations, the Terrour of the Conquering Army made them deliver him to the Parliaments Commiſſioners, upon two Conditions: That the King's Perſon ſhould be preſerv'd in Safety and Honour; And that their Army ſhould have half the Pay that was due to them advanc'd immediately. The Parliament hereupon appointed Col. *Greaves*, and Major-General *Brown*, to attend the King at *Holmby-Houſe* in *Northamptonſhire*. Cornet *Joice* by Conduct with the Leading Part of the Army, fetcht him thence and kept him amongſt them, 'till they came to *Hampton-Court*, where he was Guarded by Col. *Whalley*. The Army fawn'd upon the King at firſt; they blam'd the Auſterity of the Parliament, who had denyed him the Attendance of his own Chaplains; and of his Friends, in whom he took moſt pleaſure. They gave Liberty for his Friends and Chaplains to come to him

reatly desired to live Peaceably at home, when the
Rage of Soldiers and Drunkards would not suffer
hem. Some stay'd 'till they had bin Imprison'd.
ome 'till they had bin Plunder'd twice or thrice
ver, and had nothing left them. Some were quite
ired out with the Abuse of all Comers that quarter'd
n them; and some by the Insolency of their Neigh-
ours. But most were afraid of their Lives; and so *An.* 1644.
ought Refuge in the Parliament's Garrisons.

After the War had bin carry'd on for some time, *Of the laying aside the Earl of Essex.*
ith Great Uncertainty in what it would Issue;
ere was at length a great Change made on the Parlia-
ent's side, which had Considerable Consequences.
he Earl of *Essex* being weaken'd by a great Loss in
rnwall, was laid by, and another General chosen.
he *Reasons* given for this Change were these. Because
the *Dissoluteness* of many of his Soldiers, who were
own too like the King's Soldiers in *Profaneness* and
ndness: And withal, it was urg'd, That the Re-
lt of Sir *Faithful Fortescue*, Sir *Richard Greenville*,
l. *Urrey*, and others, was a sufficient Evidence,
at they who had not a Sence of Religion, were not
uch to be trusted, but might easily be hired by Mo-
y to betray them. It was discover'd, That the
rl's Judgment was against Ending the War by the
ord, and that he and the wisest Men about him,
re for aiming only to Force a *Pacificatory Treaty*,
d against a Conquest. For he tho't, if the King
uld Conquer, the Government of the Kingdom
uld become Arbitrary, and the Subjects Property
d Liberty lost: And that if *he* should Conquer, the
rliament would swallow up the *Prerogative* of the
ng, and the *Priviledges* of the Lords, and not know
w to settle the Estate of the Kingdom or the Church,
thout injuring others, and running into Extreams,
d falling into Divisions amongst themselves. And
efore the New Regulatours tho't that by Delay,
gave the King an Advantage, and weary'd out and
n'd the Country, and said, *That at* Edge-Hill, New-
y, *and other Places, he had not prosecuted his Victory, stood still, and saw the King's Army Retreat, and never id them, when it had bin easy to have ended the Wars.*
the main Spring of the Alteration, was the Pre-

lence of the *Sectarian* Interest in the House, joyn'd with *Cromwel*'s in the Army, which now began to carry all before it. Many honest and intelligent People indeed were for New Modelling the Army, putting out the Looser Men, and taking in those who were more strict and sober, but *Vane* and *Cromwel* joining together, outwitted and over-reacht the rest, and carry'd on their own Particular Interest successfully. The Method they took for compassing this Design without Disturbance, by stirring up against themselves the Forces they disbanded, was by a *Self-denying Vote* in the House, pass'd to this purpose: *That because Commanders in the Army had much Pay, and Parliament Men should keep to the Service of the House, therefore no Parliament Men should be Members of the Army.* This put out at once the E. of *Essex*, and the E. of *Manchester*, the 2 Generals; and Sir *William Waller*, a valiant Major-General, and a great many Colonels; and to avoid Suspicion, *Cromwel* himself was put out at the first. They then chose for General Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, Son to the Lord *Ferdinando Fairfax*, who had bin in the War beyond Sea, and had fought valiantly for the Parliament in *Yorkshire*. He was therefore chosen, because neither too Great nor too Cunning to be commanded by the Parliament; nor too Subtle for *Cromwel* to make a Tool of. He being chosen, *Cromwel*'s Men could not be without Him: And therefore the *Self-denying Vote* must be thus far dispens'd with, That *Cromwel* may stay in the Army, tho' no other Member of the House were allow'd it; and so he was made Lieutenant General.

An. 1645. *Cromwels Interest in the New-model'd Army, and their Proceedings.*

The Army being thus New Modell'd, was really in the Hands of *Cromwel*, tho' seemingly under *Fairfax*'s Command. Not long after the Change, was the Fight at *Naseby*, where the King's Army was totally routed and put to flight, and about 5000 Prisoners taken with all the King's Ordnance and Carriage, and abundance of his own Letters to the Queen and others of his Cabinet: Which Letters the Parliament printed, thinking they contain'd such things as greatly clouded the Reputation of his Word and Cause. *Cromwel* in the Army did all, and chose almost all the Officers: He first made *Ireton* Commissary-General; and when a

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tenant. At the time of the King's Death, he was in wonderful Perplexity, and when Mr. *Calamy*, and ſome other Miniſters who were with him, would have perſwaded him to Reſcue the King, his Troubles ſo confounded him, that they durſt let no Man ſpeak to him. *Cromwel* (as it was ſaid) kept him Praying and Conſulting, 'till the Stroke was given. But when a little after, War was determin'd againſt *Scotland*, he laid down his Commiſſion, and never had to do with the Army more: And *Cromwel* became General in his ſtead.

Agreeable whereto is the Account given by Dr. Peter du Moulin *in his* Vindication of the Sincerity of the Proteſtant Religion, *written in Anſwer to a Jeſuitical Libel, call'd* Philanax Anglicus; *where he tells us, That the Year before the King's Death, a Select Number of Engliſh Jeſuites were ſent from their whole Party in* England, *firſt to* Paris, *to conſult with the Faculty of* Sorbon, *then altogether Jeſuited, to whom they put this Queſtion in Writing; That ſeeing the State of* England *was in a likely Poſture to Change Government, whether it was Lawful for the Catholicks to work that Change, for the Advancing and Securing of the Catholick Cauſe in* England, *by making away the King? Which was anſwer'd Affirmatively. After which, the ſame Perſons went to* Rome, *where the ſame Queſtion being propounded and debated, it was concluded by the Pope and his Council That it was both Lawful and Expedient for the Catholicks to promote that Alteration of State. When the Blow was actually given, and the Fact exclaim'd againſt, the Pope commanded all the Papers about that Queſtion to be gather'd and burnt. According to which Order, a Romaniſt at Paris had a Copy of thoſe Papers which he had by him, demanded from him; but he refus'd to give it, and ſhew'd it a Proteſtant Friend of his. This Account Dr.* Du Moulin *firſt publiſh'd in the Year* 1662. *It immediately ſtruck a Terrour at* Somerſet-Houſe. *where the Queen Mother then reſided with her Jeſuites about her, and where ſhe at that time entertain'd the very Lord who conducted the Jeſuites in their Progreſs forementioned, as a Principal Officer of her Houſe. By her Means they demanded Juſtice of the King againſt this Author, for the Affront he had put upon them by publiſhing ſuch a Narrative. The Doctor offer'd to give full Proof in Juſtification of his Report, whenſoever he was required by Authority, and to produce living Witneſſes of the Truth of it. Upon conſideration therefore they tho't it beſt to keep Silence, not daring to exaſperate him. And they inſiſted no farther than that the Secretary of State, Sir* William Morrice, *ſhould be order'd to write to him, to charge him to forbear Printing any thing for the future in Engliſh, conſidering it was not his Native Language. This was accordingly done. And tho' the ſame Book was Printed ſeveral times afterwards, and the Challenge as oft repeated; yet did they think fit to continue ſilent, without ever calling him into Queſtion before the Judges, according to his deſire. To this Mr.* Prynn's *Account may be added, who in*

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a Book called The True and Perfect Narrative *p.* 46. *relates this Passage: That King* Charles, *having in the Treaty in the* Isle of Wight, *agreed to* ſ *ſtrict Bills againſt Popery, the Jeſuits in* France *at a General Meeting there, preſently reſolv'd to bring him to Juſtice, and take off his Head, by the Power of their Friends in the Army; of which the King himſelf was certify'd by an Expreſs from thence, and wiſh'd to provide againſt it, but two Days before his Removal by the Army from that Iſland, in Order to this Execution. All which conſider'd, makes the Paſſage related by Mr.* Baxter, *in his Hiſtory, Part* 2. *p.* 373. *much the more Credible; the Story is this. One Mr.* Atkins *of* Glocesterſhire, *Brother to Judge* Atkins, *being beyond Sea, with others that had ſerv'd King* Charles *the Firſt, fell into intimate Acquaintance with a Prieſt, that had bin (or then was) Governour of one of their Colledges in* Flanders. *They agreed not to meddle with each other about Religion, and ſo continu'd their Friendſhip long. A little after the King was Beheaded, Mr.* Atkins *met this Prieſt in* London, *and going into a Tavern with him, ſaid to him in his Familiar way:* What Buſineſs have you here? I'll warrant you come about ſome Roguery or other? *Whereupon the Prieſt told him, as a Great Secret,* That there were 30 of them here in *London,* who by Inſtructions from Cardinal *Mazarine,* did take care of Publick Affairs, and had ſate in Council, and debated the Queſtion, Whether the King ſhould be put to Death, or not? And that it was carry'd in the Affirmative, and there were but two Voices for the Negative, which was his own and anothers. And that for his Part he could not concur with them, as foreſeeing what Miſery this would bring upon his Country. *This Paſſage was firſt told to Mr.* Baxter, *by Mr.* James Stanfield, *a* Glocesterſhire *Miniſter, who had it from Mr.* Atkins *himſelf: And afterwards relating it to Dr.* Thomas Goad, *who was well Acquainted with the ſaid Mr.* Atkins, *he deſired him to enquire of him concerning it; and he afterwards told him,* That Mr. *Atkins aſſur'd him it was true. Which Particularity of* 30 *of the Jeſuitical Crew coming about that time from* France *with a Special Commiſſion, agrees very well with the Account given in a Book call'd,* The Fair Warning, *printed many Years before; wherein is this Paſſage:* That 30 Prieſts were met by a Proteſtant Gentleman between *Roan* and *Diep,* to whom they (taking him for one of their Party) declar'd, That they were going in

The Miniſters all this Time generally Preach'd and Pray'd againſt Diſloyalty. They drew up a Writing to the Lord General, (which was printed) declaring their Abhorrence of all Violence againſt the Perſon of the King, and urging him and his Army to take heed of ſuch an Action: And they preſented it to him, when the King was in danger. Neither was this the Act only of a few; for there were 60 of the Presbyterian Miniſters of *London,* who ſubſcrib'd the Writing, together with many Country Miniſters.

And

nd pretended that they would ſave him from the In-
ivilities of the Parliament and Presbyterians. And
when the Parliament made him Propoſals, they pre-
ented him with Propoſals of their own. But all on a
uddain they began to cry for *Juſtice* upon him. A
Council of *Agitatours* was choſen among them, of
which Col. *James Berry* was Preſident. They drew
p a Paper call'd, *The Agreement of the People*, as the
Model or Form of a New Common-wealth. *Cromwel*
eems to be againſt them; and while they were con-
ending, a Letter came to Col. *Whalley*, (from an un-
nown hand) intimating a Deſign of theſe *Agitatours*
o Surprize and Murder the King. Some think that
his was ſent from a Real Friend, but moſt think it
was contriv'd by *Cromwel*, to affright the King out of
he Land, or into ſome deſperate Courſe, which might
ive them Advantage againſt him. The Colonel gave
he King a ſight of the Letter; and he thereupon eſca-
ed ſecretly with two Confidents only to the *Iſle of*
Wight, committing himſelf to Col. *Hammond*, who
as Governour of a Caſtle there: And here *Cromwel*
ad him in a Pinfold, and was more ſecure of him
an before. While the King was confin'd, ſeveral
rmies were rais'd in his Favour. One in *Pembroke-*
ire, by Major-General *Langhorn*; another in *Scotland*,
y the Duke of *Hamilton*; a third in *Kent*, by the
ord *Goring*; and a fourth in *Eſſex*, by Sir *Charles*
ucas: But were all Defeated. At length the Parli-
ment ſent to the King, while he continu'd in this
and, ſome Propoſitions to be conſented to in order
his Reſtoration. Some of them he Granted, and
hers he Refus'd. The Chief thing he ſtuck at, was
e utter Aboliſhing of Epiſcopacy, and the Alienating of
ſhops and Dean and Chapters Lands. Upon which
r. *Marſhal*, Mr. *Vines*, and Dr. *Seaman*, were ſent
wn as Commiſſioners to diſcourſe with him about
in order to his Satisfaction. They debated the
atter with Arch-Biſhop *Uſher*, Dr. *Hammond*, Dr.
eldon, and others of the King's Divines. The De-
tes were printed, and each Party tho't they had the
tter. Arch-Biſhop *Uſher* then offer'd the King his
eduction of Epiſcopacy to the Form of Presbytery,
ich the King would have accepted; and had it bin
accepted

accepted on the other ſide, might have bin the Foundation of a laſting Agreement.

The King ſending his Final Anſwers to the Parliament, there were warm Debates among them, *Whether they ſhould acquieſce in them as a ſufficient Ground for Peace?* and at laſt they Voted his *Conceſſions* a ſufficient Ground for a Perſonal Treaty with him, and were for ſending for him up accordingly. But *Cromwel* and his Confidents, ſeeing all their Deſigns would be utterly diſappointed by this Method of Procedure, ſent Col. *Pride* to the Houſe with a Party of Soldiers who Guarded the Door. Such Members as were to their Purpoſe they let in, others they turn'd away, and ſome they Impriſon'd; and the Remainder of the Houſe was henceforward call'd the *Rump*. The Secluded and Impriſon'd Members publiſh'd a Writing call'd their *Vindication*; and ſome of them would afterwards have thruſt into the Houſe, but the Guard of Soldiers kept them out; and the *Rump* were cry'd up for the only Honeſt Men. They paſs'd a Vote to eſtabliſh a Government without a King and Houſe of Lords; and ſo the Lords diſſolv'd, and theſe Commons ſate and did all alone. They erected an High-Court of Juſtice *, brought the King to his Tryal, Condemned him, and erected a Scaffold at *White-Hall-Gate*, and there before a full Aſſembly of People Beheaded him. The Lord General *Fairfax* ſtood by all the while, full of Regret, but Trick'd and Overpower'd by his Lieu-

That the Papiſts tho' they Acted behind the Curtain, had a conſiderable

Hand in theſe Commotions and their Tragical Iſſue, there is very good Evidence. In the Collection of Letters at the end of Dr. Parr's *Life of Archbiſhop* Uſher, *there is one written by Bp.* Bramhall *(then abroad) to the Arch-Biſhop. 'Tis Num.* 293. *wherein is this Account. That in* 1646. *Order from* Rome, *above a* 100 *of the Romiſh Clergy were ſent into England, conſiſting of* Engliſh, Scots, *and* Iriſh, *who had bin Educated in* France, Italy, Germany, *and* Spain: *Who were moſt of them Soldiers in the Parliament's Army, and were to hold Correſpondence with the Romaniſts that were in the King's Army, who were not as yet admitted to the Grand Secret. Upon conferring together in* 1647. *enquiring into the Reaſons of each others Meaſures, they produc'd Bulls and Licenſes for their Warrant. Upon which, ſeeing their Capacity of having Secret Influence, they went to their ſeveral Convents, eſpecially the* Sorboniſts, *to know whether the taking off the King was a thing to be ſcrupled? The Anſwer return'd was this, That it might Lawfully be done, for Mother Churches Advancement.*

tenan

And thus theſe Inteſtine Commotions came to an iſſue, little tho't off at firſt by any that began them, which cannot but ſurprize all future Generations.

to *England* and would take Arms in the *Independant*

rmy, and endeavour to be *Agitatours*.

Notwithſtanding the Abundant Evidence of the Concern of the Papiſts *this Affair, many have taken the freedom to Charge it on the* Presbyteri-ns, *but very unjuſtly. He that would ſee them fully Vindicated, may Con-lt* The Conformiſts firſt Plea for the Nonconformiſts, *where there is* Appendix *deſign'd on purpoſe to wipe off that Aſperſion. Their Carriage the whole matter is there particularly related, and their Innocence clear'd Authentick Evidence.*

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Reflections on Publick Transactions, from the Death of King Charles *the First, to the Restauration of King* Charles *the Second.*

An. 1649. *The Engagement.*

THE King being taken out of the way, *Cromwel* pretends to be for a Common-wealth, 'till he had laid a sufficient Foundation for his own Advancement. The *Rump* presently drew up a Form of an *Engagement*, to be Subscrib'd by all Men of the Age of 18 Years and upwards; *viz. I do promise to be True and Faithful to the Common-wealth as it is now established, without a King or House of Lords.* Without this *Engagement* no Man must have the Benefit of Suing another at Law, nor have any Mastership in the Universities, nor Travel above so many Miles from their Houses, *&c.* Mr. *Vines* and Dr. *Rainbow* were hereupon put out of their Headships in the University, and Mr. *Sympson* and Mr. *Sadler* put in their Places. Dr. *Reynolds* also was cast out of the Deanry of *Christ Church, Oxon.* and Dr. *Owen* succeeded him. The *Covenant* was now laid aside, as an Almanack out of Date. Many Episcopal Divines wrote for the *Engagement*, and pleaded for taking it, upon the same Distinction of *De Facto & De Jure*, as hath since bin Celebrated among us. But the Moderate Church Party and the Presbyterians refus'd it *.

Cromwels Difficulties.

Tho' *Cromwel* had Conquer'd *England* and *Ireland*, tho' the Parliament was Imprison'd and Cast Out, the King cut off, and the *Rump* Establish'd as a New Common-wealth; yet were there still several Impediments to his laying hands upon the Crown according to his desire. There were still many Cavaliers, who

* *Many of the Ministers of* Cheshire *and* Lancashire, *and the Parts joyning, publish'd the Reasons of their Refusal of this* Engagement, *which many of the Prelatical Stamp printed their Reasons for taking it.*

ere ready for New Enterprizes againſt him. The
ots reſolv'd to ſtick to the Covenant and the King.
he Army alſo created him no ſmall Difficulty, who
uſt be untaught all the Principles which he had bin
ſtilling into them with ſo much care. For he well
new, that thoſe Principles that were requiſite to bring
m to the Crown, would be the worſt in the World,
hen once he had gotten it. And at the ſame time he
new very well, that the Miniſters of *England* and
otland, and the ſober People who regarded them,
ere very much againſt him. As for the Royaliſts,
after ſome Struggling cruſh'd them, making his
dvantage by all their Enterprizes. As for the Army,
was never wholly without his Uneaſineſs. As for
e Body of the Miniſters, and the ſoberer Part of the
ation, he could never get them heartily to fall in
th his Ambitious Deſigns: They kept quiet indeed,
t never were in his Intereſt, and waited but for a
ourable Opportunity to turn the Scale. And as
the *Scots*, tho' they put him to it at firſt, yet he at
gth overcame them, and reach'd his Deſigns upon
m. Quickly after the King's Death, they diſpatch-
Meſſengers to his Son, *Charles* the Second, to deſire
n to come over to them, and take the Crown: But
t they treated with him about taking the Covenant,
d renouncing the Wars, and the Blood that had bin
d in them by his Father's Party. So great were his
ceſſities, that he could not but comply with them.
took the Covenant, and publiſh'd a Declaration to
World, *That he did it Voluntarily and Heartily, and
t he Lamented the Sins of his Father's Houſe, acknow-
ging the Guilt of the Blood of the late Wars*, &c. and
eupon had the whole Kingdom at his Command
d Diſpoſal. This was no ſooner underſtood, than *An.* 1650.
Invaſion of the *Scots* was reſolv'd on, to keep them
m Invading *England*, without ſtaying 'till they
de an Entrance upon the Land as formerly. So that
mwel was upon them with an Army, before they
e well ſettled in their Affairs. Without any De-
he advanced towards *Edinburgh*, where the *Scotch*
my lay entrench'd: But after long Skirmiſhing and
ectations, when he could neither draw the *Scots*
of their Trenches to a Fight, nor yet paſs forward,

his

His Success in Scotland. Soldiers fell Sick, and were Impatient of the Pover of the Country; and so with a weakned ragged Arm he drew off to return to *England*: and had the Sc but let him go, or cautiously follow'd him, they h in all probability secur'd themselves, and broken h Honour. But at length they drew out, and follow him, and overtaking him neat *Dunbarr*, forc'd him a Fight by engaging his Rear. They were totall routed in Fight, and had their Foot taken, and th Horse pursu'd to *Edinburgh*. Ten Thousand Prison were bro't to *New-Castle*, where being neglected th were most of them Famish'd. The Colours that we taken, were hung up as Trophies in *Westminster-Ha* and never taken down 'till the King's Restauratio *Cromwel* enters *Edinburgh* Triumphantly, and driv the *Scots* to *Sterling*, beyond the River, where th fortify'd themselves. He took the impregnable Ca of *Edinburgh*, after a short Siege, and then pass'd h Army over *Sterling* River, in pursuit of the Sc King *Charles* with the *Scotch* Army, not being able fight him, hastily advances towards *England*, hopi that Great Numbers of the *English* would join the selves to him. But many things concurr'd to hind his expected Encrease. The manner of the *Scots* co ing away, perswaded People that Necessity forc'd the and they were rather look'd upon as Flying than Marching into *England*. And few will put the selves into a Flying Army, which is pursu'd by Conquering Enemy. Withal, it was altogether u certain, how the Country would have bin treat had they now appear'd for the King, before they w assur'd of an Amnesty of past Disorders, and an abatement of their former Burthens. And at the s time, the Event was very uncertain, the Fame of late Victory at *Dunbarr* had made great Impres and *Cromwel*'s speedy Pursuit rais'd such an Expect on, that People were generally willing to see h things would encline upon an Engagement betw the two Armies, before they'd discover themsel So that tho' the Earl of *Darby*, the Lord *Talbot*, some Gentlemen, joyn'd themselves to the King's my, yet the Country in general would not follow t Example. The King came by the way of *Lanca*

and ſummon'd *Shrewsbury* in vain, as he paſs'd thro *Shropſhire*: But when all tho't he was haſtning towards *London*, where it was commonly apprehended he might have attain'd his Ends, encreas'd his Strength, and had no Reſiſtance, he turn'd to *Worceſter*, and there refreſh'd his Army. *Cromwel* overtook him there, and ought to ſtraiten him: But not enduring to be pent p, the King reſolv'd to Charge him; and the *Scots* at *An.* 1651. *The Fight at Worceſter.* irſt behav'd themſelves gallantly: but at length, inking they had a Security behind them, they re-eated into the City, and at the ſame time *Cromwel's* oldiers purſu'd them ſo cloſe at the Heels, that they nter'd the City with them. The Surprize of this as ſo great, that the whole Army fled thro' the City great Confuſion, many being trodden down and ain in the Streets, and they were utterly routed. In eir flight, the Troopers that were ſcatter'd up and own the Country, diſpatch'd many of them. The arqueſs of *Hamilton* (late Earl of *Lanerick*) was in. The Earl of *Derby* and Capt. *Benbow* of *Shrews-ry* were both taken, and put to Death. The Earl of *uderdale*, and the Earl of *Craford*, were ſent Priſon-s to *Windſor-Caſtle*, where they were detain'd 'till the ng's Reſtoration. As for King *Charles*, when he ſe-rated himſelf from his Lords, he went to *Boſcobel* the *White Ladies*, where he was hid in an *Oak*, in a nner ſufficiently declar'd to the World; and thence *Moſely*: After which he accompany'd Mrs. *Lane* as Traveller, and eſcap'd all the Searchers Hands, 'till came ſafe beyond Sea.

The *Scots* Army being utterly diſpers'd in *England*, d many of the Priſoners of Foot ſent to the *Barba-s* and other *American* Plantations, part of *Cromwel's* my was diſpatch'd into *Scotland* to proſecute the Vi-ry there. All their Garriſons at laſt were taken, the Earl of *Glencarn*, and the Noble Earl of *Bal-res*, (who kept up the laſt Forces there for the g) were forc'd to fly to King *Charles* beyond Sea. on which Major-General *Monk* was left there, h ſome Forces to keep the Country in Subje-n.

An. 1651. *Mr.* Love's *Tryal and Execution.*

A little before the Fight at *Worceſter*, divers Perſons were ſeiz'd on in *London* for holding Correſpondence with the King. Many of them were *Presbyterian* Miniſters, who for meeting together to contrive how to raiſe a ſmall Sum of Money for *Maſſey*'s Relief in *Scotland*, were charg'd with *Plotting againſt the Government.* Eight of them were ſent to the Tower, Mr. *Arthur Jackſon*, Dr. *Drake*, Mr. *Watſon*, Mr. *Love*, Mr. *Jenkins*, &c. and Mr. *Nalton* and Mr. *Caughton* fled into *Holland*. Mr. *Love* was Try'd at a Court of Juſtice, where *Edmund Prideaux* Eſq; a Member of the *Rump*, and Solicitor for the *Common-wealth*, tho' his Place allow'd him to plead againſt the Life and Blood of the Innocent. Mr. *Love* was Condemn'd and Beheaded, dying neither Timerouſly, nor Proudly in any deſperate Bravado, but with as great Alacrity and fearleſs Quietneſs, and freedom of Speech, as if he had but gone to Bed, and had bin as little concern'd as the Standers-by. A worthy Gentleman Mr. *Gibbons*, was Beheaded with him for the ſame Cauſe. And at the time of their Execution, or very near it on that Day, there was the dreadfulleſt Thunder, Lightning and Tempeſt, that was heard or ſeen of a long time before. This Blow ſunk deeper towards the Root of the New *Common-wealth*, than will eaſily be believ'd at a diſtance. The reſt of the Miniſters were releas'd upon Mr. *Jenkins*'s Recantation, and Submiſſion to the Government.

Cromwel *diſcards the Rump Parliament.*

Cromwel, being fluſh'd by his Succeſs in *Scotland*, tho't he might now do what he pleas'd. Having thus far ſeem'd to be a Servant to the Parliament, and have work'd for his Maſters the *Rump* or *Common-wealth*, he was at length for ſetting up for himſelf. In order to this, he firſt ſerves them as he had before done the Presbyterians, ſeeking to make them odious by his Speeches throughout his Army, as if they intended to perpetuate themſelves, and would not be Accountable for the Money of the Common-wealth, &c. and then he treats privately with many of them to diſſolve themſelves, that another free Parliament might be choſen: But they perceiv'd the danger, and were further for filling up their Number by New Elections, which he was utterly againſt. Impatient at laſt of

her delay, he ſuddainly took *Harriſon* and ſome Sol-
iers with him, and in a ſort of a Rapture went to the *An.* 1653.
houſe, and reproveth the Members for their Faults,
nd pointing to *Vane* calls him a Jugler, and to *Henry*
Martin, and calls him Whoremaſter; and having two
ch to inſtance in, takes it for granted that they were
l unfit to continue in the Government, and ſo he
iſcards them. Few People being griev'd at their be-
g laid aſide, tho' all except the Sectaries and the Ar-
y, took him for a Traytor that was the Inſtru-
ent.

The Young Common-wealth was thus left Head- *The Little*
ſs. Nothing might now ſeem to ſtand between *Parlia-*
romwel and the Crown. For a Governour there muſt *ment.*
e: And who fitter than himſelf? But Care muſt
ſt be taken to make the Neceſſity of his Government
ndeniable, and to make his Soldiers out of love with
emocracy, or at leaſt to make them hateful that adher'd
it. And therefore a Parliament muſt be call'd, but
e ungodly People are not to be truſted with the
hoice; therefore the Soldiers, as more Religious,
uſt be the Chooſers: And two out of a County are
oſen by the Officers, upon the Advice of their Se-
arian Friends in all Parts. This was in Contempt
ll'd *The Little Parliament*. This Conventicle made
n Act, *That Magiſtrates ſhould Marry People inſtead*
Miniſters; and then they came to the Buſineſs of
thes and Miniſters. Before this, *Harriſon* being au-
oriz'd thereto, had at once put down all the Pariſh
iniſters of *Wales*, becauſe that moſt of them were
norant and Scandalous, and had ſet up a few Itine-
nt Preachers in their ſtead, who were for Number
competent for ſo great a Charge, there being but
ne to many of thoſe wide Pariſhes: So that the
ople having a Sermon but once in many Weeks, and
thing elſe in the mean time, were ready to turn Pa-
ſts, or any thing elſe. And this is the Plight which
e *Anabaptiſts*, and other Sectaries, would have bro't
e whole Land to. And all was with this Deſign,
hat the People might not be tempted to think the
aniſh Churches to be true Churches, or Infant Bap-
m true Baptiſm, or themſelves true Chriſtians; but
ight be convinc'd, That they muſt be made Chriſti-

ans and Churches in the way of the *Anabaptists* a
Separatists. Hereupon, *Harrison* became the Head
the *Sectaries*, and *Cromwel* now began to design t
Heading of a Soberer Party, that were for Learni
and Ministry, while yet he was the Equal Protect
of all. At length it was put to the Vote in this P
liament, *Whether all the Parish Ministers of* Engla
should at once be put down or no? And it was but ac
dentally carry'd in the Negative by two Voices. A
it was taken for granted, that *Tythes* and *Univers*
would next be voted down; and now *Cromwel* m
be their Saviour, or they must perish: When he h
purposely cast them into the Pit, that they might
beholding to him to pull them out. In the Issue, S
C. W. and some others, take their time, and put it
the Vote, *Whether the House, as incapable of serving*
Common-wealth, should go and deliver up their Power
Cromwel, *from whom they had receiv'd it?* They c
ry'd it in the Affirmative, and away they go, and
lemnly resign their Power to him; who then car
all before him. His Subtilty lay here; he caus'd a
permitted Destruction to hang over the Nation,
Necessitate them, whether they would or not, to t
him for their Governour, that he might be their P
tector. A *Junto* of Officers drew up a Writing, c
led, *The Instrument of the Government of the Comm*
wealth of England, Scotland *and* Ireland. This Instr
ment made *Oliver Cromwel* Lord Protector of the Co
mon-wealth. The Lord Mayor and Aldermen, t
Judges and Officers of the Army were suddain
drawn together to *Westminster-Hall*, and upon t
Reading this Instrument install'd *Cromwel* in the Off
of *Protector*, and swore him accordingly; and thus t
Common-wealth seem'd once more to have a Head.
As for the Proceedings of the Parliaments which
call'd in his Protectorship, their displeasing him
Ravelling his Instrument, and his rough and resol
dissolving them, the Particulars may be seen in t
Common Historians of the Times.

The Triers of Ministers. One of his Chief Works was the *Purging of the M*
nistry. The *Synod of Westminster* was dissolv'd with t
Parliament: And therefore a Society of Ministers w
some others, were chosen by *Cromwel* to sit at *Whi*
Ha

ll, under the Name of *Triers*, who were moſtly In-pendents, but had ſome Presbyterians join'd with 'em, d had Power to try all that came for Inſtitution or duction, and without their Approbation none were mitted. They themſelves examin'd all that were e to come up to *London*: But if any were unable, of doubtful Qualifications, they referr'd them to me Miniſters in the County where they liv'd, and prov'd them, if they approv'd them: And with all ir Faults, thus much muſt be ſaid of theſe *Triers*, t they did a great deal of Good to the Church, y ſav'd many a Congregation from ignorant un-ly Drunken Teachers. That ſort of Miniſters that er preacht againſt an Holy Life, or preacht as Men t never were acquainted with it; all thoſe that d the Miniſtry but as a Common Trade to live by, l were never likely to Convert a Soul, all theſe they ally rejected; and in their ſtead admitted of any t were able ſerious Preachers, and liv'd a Godly , of what Opinion ſoever they were that was to-ble.

He had the Policy not to exaſperate the Miniſters others, who conſented not to his Government; he let Men live quietly, without putting any ths of Fidelity upon them; except his Parliaments, ch were not ſuffer'd to enter the Houſe, 'till they ſworn Fidelity to him. The Sectarian Party in Army and elſewhere he chiefly truſted to, and s'd, 'till by the Peoples Submiſſion and Quietneſs ho't himſelf well ſettled: And then he began to ermine them, and by Degrees to work them out. l tho' he had ſo often ſpoken for the *Anabaptiſts*, he finds them ſo heady, and ſo much againſt any ed Government, and ſo ſet upon the promoting of Way and Party, that he doth not only begin to e their Unrulineſs, but alſo deſigneth to ſettle ſelf in the Peoples Favour by ſuppreſſing them. *reland* they were grown ſo high, that the Soldiers many of them Rebaptiz'd, as the way to Pre-ent: And they who oppos'd them were cruſht uncharitable Fierceneſs. He ſent his Son *Henry* *wel* into *Ireland*, who mightily ſuppreſt them, carry'd it ſo obligingly to all, that he was gener-

An. 165 6 Cromwels *Conduct while Pr tector.*

ally belov'd. So that Major-General *Ludlow*, w
headed the *Anabaptists* in *Ireland*, was forc'd to s
mit. And tho' he long conniv'd at his Old Fri
Harrison, the Head of the *Anabaptists* here, yet findi
it would be an acceptable thing to the Nation to s
press him, he doth it in a Trice; and makes him C
temptible, who but yesterday tho't himself not m
below Him. As easily also to the full doth he lay
Lambert: Which were very pleasing Actions.

An. 1658. *His Death and Character.* At length *Cromwel*, who had escap'd the Attem
of many who sought to dispatch him, could not es
the Stroke of God, but dy'd of a Feaver, before
was aware. He dy'd very suddainly, tho' a b
Man, (one of the then prevailing Party) praying
him, had said, *Lord! we ask not for his Life, for
we are sure of; but that he may serve thee better than
he has done*; to the Dishonour of that Presumpti
which some Men call a Particular Faith; that i
Believing that they shall receive whatsoever they
if they can but stedfastly believe that they shall
ceive it; tho' it be such as they have no other
mise for, but that of *Hearing Believing Prayers*, w
they misunderstand. Never Man was highlier
toll'd, or baselier reported of, and vilify'd than
Man, according as Mens Interests led their Ju
ments *. The Soldiers and Sectaries highly magni
him, 'till he began to seek the Crown, and the E
blishment of his Family: And then there were so

* *There is a very memorable Passage concerning him, related in B*
Hacket's *Life of Arch-Bishop* Williams. *'Tis this:* — *That Bp.* Will
(*who was perhaps as well acquainted with Men and Things as most St*
men we have ever had in this Nation) *being in the Year* 1644 *sent for*
Charles *the first out of* Wales, *whither he had retired, he attended*
accordingly at Oxford. *Among other Advice he gave the King at*
time, he assur'd him, That *Cromwel*, who was lately taken into the
liament's Army by his Cousin *Hambden*, was the most dangerous
my that his Majesty had: *And therefore he advis'd him*, Either to
him by Promises of fair Treatment, or catch him by some Strat
and cut him short. *Nay* (*saith Bp.* Hacket) *his Servants often*
him say long before the Event, That they would live to see the
when *Cromwel* would bear down all other Powers before him,
set up himself.

y that would be half Kings themſelves, that a King eem'd intollerable to them. The Royaliſts abhorr'd im as a moſt Perfidious Hypocrite; and the Presby-erians tho't him little better in his Management of Publick Matters. Upon the whole, Mr. *Baxter* hath eft this as his Judgment concerning him: *That he began n, and roſe higher in his Reſolutions as his Condition oſe: And the Promiſes which he made in his lower Con-ition, he us'd as the Intereſt of his higher following Con-ition did require; and kept as much Honeſty and Godli-eß, in the main, as his Cauſe and Intereſt would allow im, and there they left him. And that his Name ſtand-h as a Monitory Monument or Pillar to Poſterity, to tell em the Inſtability of Man in ſtrong Temptations, if God ave him to himſelf. What Pride can do, to make Man elfiſh, and Corrupt the Heart with Ill Deſigns: What elfiſhneß and Ill Deſigns can do, to Bribe the Conſcience, orrupt the Judgment, make Men juſtify the greateſt Er-rs and Sins, and ſet againſt the cleareſt Truth and Du-: What Bloodſhed, and great Enormities of Life, and n erring deluded Judgment may draw Men to do, and Pa-onize; And that when God hath Dreadful Judgments to ecute, an Erroneous Sectary, or a Proud Self-ſeeker, is tner his Inſtrument, than an Humble Lamb-like Inno-nt Saint.*

Cromwel being dead, his Son *Richard*, by his Will nd Teſtament and the Army, was quietly ſettled in is Place. The ſeveral Counties, Cities and Corpora-ons of *England*, ſend up their Congratulations, to wn him as *Protector*. He Interr'd his Father with eat Pomp and Solemnity. He call'd a Parliament ithout any ſuch Reſtraints as his Father had us'd. he Members took the *Oath of Fidelity* to him, before ey entred the Houſe. And all Men wondred to all ſo quiet, in ſo dangerous a Time. Many ſo-r Men, that call'd his Father no better than a *Trai-rous Hypocrite*, began to think that they ow'd him bjection. But the Army it ſeems ſet him up only on Tryal, reſolving to uſe him as he behav'd him-lf. And tho' they ſwore Fidelity to him, they eant to keep it no longer than he pleas'd them: nd when they ſaw that he began to favour the ſo-r People of the Land, to Honour Parliaments, and

Richard's *Succeſſion.*

to Respect the Ministers call'd *Presbyterians*, they pre-
sently resolv'd to make him know his Masters, and
that it was *they*, and not he, that were call'd by
God to be the *Chief Protectours of the Interest of the Na-
tion.* He was not so *formidable* to them as his Father
and therefore every one in a little time boldly spurn'd
at him. The *Fifth Monarchy Men* under Sir *Henry
Vane*, rais'd a violent Clamorous Party against him a-
An. 1659. mong the City Sectaries. *Rogers* and *Feake*, and such
like Firebrands, blow'd the Coals: But the Assembly
at *Wallingford-House* did the main Business. It was
there determin'd, *That* Richard's *Parliament must be*
And Depo- *dissolv'd*; and then he quickly fell himself: And it
sition. was as soon done almost as determin'd. Tho' Col.
Ingolsby, and some others, would have stuck to the
Protector, and have ventur'd to surprize the Leaders
of the Faction, and the Parliament would have been
true to him; Yet *Berry*'s Regiment of Horse and
some others were just ready to begin the Fray again
him. And he, as he sought not the Government, so
was resolv'd it should cost no Blood to keep him in it.
And therefore he resign'd it by a Writing under his
Hand, and retired himself, and left them to govern
as they pleas'd. His Good Brother-in-Law *Fleetwood*
and his Uncle *Desborough*, were so Intoxicated as to
be the Leaders of the Conspiracy. The Core of the
Business was this; That *Oliver* had once made *Fleet-
wood* believe, that he should be his Successor, and
drawn an Instrument to that purpose; but his Last
Will disappointed him. However, now they set up
a few of themselves, under the name of a *Council of
State*, wherein *Fleetwood* was uppermost, and *Lambert*
next him.

King The Nation being tired with Changes, soon discov-
Charles's ver'd their Uneasiness. Sir *George Booth* and Sir *Tho-
Restauration.* *mas Middleton*, rais'd Forces in *Cheshire* and *North-
Wales* for King *Charles*, but being fail'd by the Cava-
liers that should have joyn'd with them, *Lambert*
soon routed them: And at the same time Sir *Arthur
Haslerigge* seizes *Portsmouth* for the *Rump*. *Monk* purges his Army in *Scotland* of *Anabaptists*, and marches
into *England*. The *Rump Party* with *Haslerigge* di-
vided the Army at Home, and so disabled them to
oppose

ppoſe *Monk*, who march'd on to the great Surprize of
l. At firſt, he joyn'd with the *Rump* againſt the
itizens, and pull'd down the City Gates to terrify
em: But at length, being invited into the City by *An.* 1660.
r *Thomas Allen*, then Lord-Mayor, he joyn'd with
em againſt the Rump, which was the very thing
at turn'd the Scales, and bro't in the King. *Monk*
lls together the *Old Secluded Members*, agreeing
ith them, *That they ſhould ſit but a few Days, and then*
ſſolve themſelves, and call another Parliament. They
nſented, appointed a *Council of State*, and diſſolv'd
emſelves. In this Council of State, it was put to
e Queſtion, *Whether they ſhould call in the King upon*
reaty and Covenant, or entirely confide in him? And it
as Reſolv'd to truſt him Abſolutely, Mr. *A.* parti-
larly ſo perſwading. The New Parliament meet-
g, preſently appointed a Day of Faſting and Prayer
themſelves. The *Houſe of Commons* choſe Dr. *Gau-*
n, Mr. *Calamy*, and Mr. *Baxter*, to carry on the
ork of the Day. The very next Morning, *May* 1.
60, they unanimouſly Voted home the King, *Ne-*
ne Contradicente. The King being ſent for over from
lland, certain Divines and others were ſent by the
rliament and City to attend him; *viz.* Mr. *Calamy*,
. *Manton*, Mr. *Bowles*, and others: And his Maje-
gave ſuch encouraging Promiſes, as rais'd in ſome
them very high Expectations. And when he came
as he paſs'd thro' the City towards *Weſtminſter*, the
ndon Miniſters in their Places attended him with
clamations, and by the Hands of Old Mr. *Arthur*
ckſon, preſented him with a richly adorn'd Bible,
ich he receiv'd, telling them, *It ſhould be the Rule*
his Actions.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

His Conduct of Himself during these Public Commotions and frequent Alterations. His Behaviour in the Army and towards Crom-wel. *His Trouble from the* Sectaries *of those Times; with an Account of their Rise and Prevalence, Principles and Practises.*

EXTREAMS are very pleasing to Human Nature: Most Men are so fond of them, that they'll run as far as from one Pole to another in a Breath, rather than stop in a more Temperate Region. Such is their Eagerness, that nothing but what is *violent* and *furious* can suit them: And such their Stupidity, that they'll on each side entertain more favourable Tho'ts of those in the opposite Extream, than of such as keep in the Mid-way; being unwilling to bend towards the one side or the other, any further than a Cogency of Reason sways them. And therefore it hath bin oft observ'd, *That Men of a Calm and Healing Spirit, whose great Aim it hath bin to avoid Extreams, have bin assaulted on both sides with equal Fury, as if they were a sort of Common Enemies.* Hardly any Man ever had more Experience of this than Mr. *Baxter*; who, in *Political Matters*, endeavour'd equally to shun the Slavish Principles of the Assertors of *Absolute Monarchy*, and the Confounding Notions of *Democratical Projectors*: And at the same time, in *Ecclesiastical Matters*, was equally fearful of the Arbitrary Encroachments of *Assuming Prelates*, and the Unchristable and Dividing Principles and Practises of the *Sectaries*. This expos'd him to the Effects of the Malignity of each Party, and created him a great deal of Trouble: But at the same time his Conscience was perfectly satisfy'd in the Measures he took; and he doubted not but Posterity, when the Heats were over, would judge more favourably of his Conduct, than many of his Cote-

Cotemporaries, who were acted by Malice and Fury, blind Zeal and Bigottry, in the Cenſures they paſs'd upon him.

He was far from encouraging *ſuddain Impulſes*, the Danger of yielding to which he was well aware of; and yet was once carry'd quite beyond his Intentions in a Publick Performance, the Manner and Conſequence of which was Remarkable. Mr. *Madeſtard* (whom he had aſſiſted at *Bridgnorth*) dying, after he had bin a little while fix'd at *Kederminſter*, He was deſired to Preach his Funeral Sermon. He diſcharg'd that Office under ſo deep a Senſe of the Miſery of the unprofitable People of that Town, and the deep Groans he had heard from their Faithful Paſtor for their Obdurateneſs, that he could not forbear to tell them his Fears, *That ſome ſuddain Judgment would come upon that Place*; which they were more capable of laying to Heart, than their Paſtor's Death. Neither did he, either before or after, preſume upon ſuch kind of Predictions; but the Expreſſion of that Fear he could not then ſuppreſs. His Text was *Ezek.* 33. 33. *And when this cometh to paſs, (lo, it will come) then ſhall they know that a Prophet hath bin among them.* And when the War was begun, the Town being againſt the Parliament, was a Garriſon for the King, kept by the Neighbouring Gentlemen of the Country, who fortify'd the Caſtle. When the Parliament's Forces came to take the Town, they by their Fire-works from the Caſtle burnt it to the Ground, together with the Church where that Sermon was preach'd, and where Mr. *Madeſtard* was Interr'd. So that the Inhabitants were undone, and forc'd to lie under Hedges, 'till the Compaſſion of others afforded them Entertainment and Habitation. And as for their Church, it was a great while before it was rebuilt, and that after two General Collections for it. The firſt time he came among them when the War was over, he choſe the ſame Text again to Preach on, to call their Sins againſt their Faithful Paſtor to remembrance: But both Speaker and Hearers were ſo interrupted with Tears, that it was not without much Difficulty, and after ſeveral Pauſes, that he was able to proceed on to the End.

A Remarkable Paſſage.

He

Mr. Baxter *adheres to the Parliament.*

He adher'd to the *Long Parliament*, as far as he could apprehend their Cauſe and their Motions juſtifiable; but no Hopes or Fears could draw or drive him any farther. Upon Occaſion of the *Iriſh* Maſſacre, they made an Order, *That all the People ſhould take a Proteſtation, to defend the King's Perſon, Honour and Authority, the Power and Priviledges of Parliament, the Liberties of the Subject, and the Proteſtant Religion, againſt the Common Enemy*. Herein he readily obey'd, and joyn'd with the Magiſtrate in offering this *Proteſtation to the People*; tho' ſome were much offended at it. Soon after, the King's Declarations were read in the Market-Place at *Kederminſter*, and the Commiſſion of Array was ſet a foot; the Lord *Howard*, who was the Parliament's Lieutenant for the Militia of the County of *Worceſter*, not appearing. Hereupon, the Rabble grew ſo Riotous and Furious, that a Sober Man could hardly hope for Safety: For in the Preparation to the Approaching War, they had got the word amongſt them, *Down with the Roundheads*; inſomuch, that if a Stranger in many places happen'd but to paſs by, that had ſhort Hair, and a civil Habit, the Cry was, *Down with the Roundheads*, and on they fell, knocking them down in the Open Streets, none daring to appear in their Defence.

Retires to Glouceſter.

To avoid Uproars of this kind, he was adviſ'd to withdraw a while from Home; and follow'd the Advice. As he paſs'd but thro' a Corner of the Suburbs of the City of *Worceſter*, the Multitude, tho' they knew nothing of him, cry'd, *Down with the Roundheads*; inſomuch, that he was glad to ſpur on and be gone. He retired to *Glouceſter*, where he found a Civil, Courteous and Religious People, as different from thoſe of *Worceſter*, as if they had liv'd under another Government. This County came in for the Parliament, while *Worceſterſhire*, *Herefordſhire* and *Shropſhire* were wholly for the King. It was in this Retirement that he met with the firſt *Anabaptiſts* that ever he was acquainted with. About a dozen Young Men, or more, of conſiderable Parts, had receiv'd the Opinion againſt Infant-Baptiſm, and were Re-baptiz'd, and labour'd to draw others after them, not far from *Glouceſter*. The Miniſter of the Place, Mr. *Winnel*, being hot and impatient

ient with them, it was tho't, harden'd them the more. He wrote a Conſiderable Book at that time againſt them: But the Nation having then no great Experience of the Tendency of their Principles; the People that were not of their Opinion, did but pity them, and think it was a Conceit that had no great Harm in it, and blam'd Mr. *Winnel* for his Aſperity towards them. But this was manifeſtly the Beginning of the Miſeries of *Glouceſter*: For while the *Anabaptiſts* encreas'd on one ſide, one Mr. *Hart* came out of *Herefordſhire* with Mr. *Vaughan* a Gentleman, who drew many to Separation on another ſide; and afterwards came Mr. *Bacon*, a Preacher of the Army, and he drew them to *Antinomianiſm* on another ſide, which together ſo diſtracted the good People, and eat out the Heart of Religion and Charity among them, that the City which before had as great Advantages for the Proſperity of Religion among them, as any in the Land, in the Civility, Tractableneſs and Piety of the People, became as Low and Poor as others, and the City of more Happy Places.

After about a Month's ſtay at *Glouceſter*, his Neighbours of *Kederminſter* deſired his return, leaſt the People ſhould interpret his Abſence, either as the effect of his Fear on the Account of ſome Guilt, or as ſignifying his being againſt the King. When he came Home, he found the Drunken Rabble very boiſterous, threatning all ſober People, and crying out as they met any of them in the Streets, *We ſhall take an Order with the Puritans e'er long*: They were like ty'd Maſtiffs newly looſed, flying in the Face of all that was Religious, Civil or Civil, which came in their way. This forc'd him to withdraw again. He ſpent a few Days in the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Army then about *Worceſter*, ſtaying with them 'till the March of the King's Army occaſion'd their Remove. On the Lord's-Day following, he Preach'd at *Alceſter*, and during his Preaching, the Noiſe of the Cannon inform'd them that the Armies were engag'd; and this was the Fight at *Edge-Hill*. In the Evening, many flying Troops aſſur'd them, *That all was loſt on the Parliament's ſide, and the Carriage taken and Waggons plunder'd before they came away*: But they afterwards got a better Account; *viz. That while*

Prince

Prince Rupert's *Men were plundering the Waggons of* Eſſex's *Left Wing which they had routed, the Main Body and the Right Wing prevail'd againſt the reſt of the King's Army, and got the Day.* The next Morning he went to ſee the Field where the Fight had bin the Day before, and found the Earl of *Eſſex* with the remaining part of his Army keeping the Ground, and the King's Army facing them upon a Hill a Mile off, and about a Thouſand dead Bodies in the Field between them, and neither of the Armies moving towards each other. But in a little time they on both ſides retired to Quarters of Refreſhment.

Retires to Coventry. At this time Mr. *Baxter* was very much at a Loſs and knew not what Courſe to take. To live at Home was very uncomfortable and hazardous, the Soldiers on one ſide or other ſtill paſſing to and fro, and being ready to make a Prey of whatſoever came before them. And yet he had not any thing to ſubſiſt on elſewhere in a Place of Safety. At length he determin'd to go to *Coventry*, where Mr. *Simon King*, who was his Acquaintance at *Bridgnorth*, was Miniſter, determining to ſtay there 'till one ſide or other had got the Victory and the War was ended. For ſo little acquainted was he, or indeed the Country round him, with Matters of War, that it was commonly ſuppos'd, a very few Days or Weeks by one other Battle, would bring things to an Iſſue. When he had continu'd with Mr. *King* a Month, he found the War as far from being like to End as before. This put him upon Tho'ts of making further Proviſion for himſelf, that he might not be burdenſome to his Friend; and while his mind was thus employ'd, as Providence order'd it, the Committee and Governour of the City of *Coventry* deſired him to ſtay with them, and Lodge in the Governour's Houſe, and Preach to the Soldiers. The Offer ſuited well with his Neceſſities; and tho' he was not enclin'd to be Chaplain to the Regiment, or take a Commiſſion; yet, ſince the meer Preaching of a Sermon once or twice a Week to the Garriſon would ſatisfy, he readily accepted the Offer 'till he could return Home in Safety. In this Poſt he follow'd his Studies as quietly as in a Time of Peace for about a Year, only Preaching once a Week to the Soldiers

d once on the *Lord's-Day* to the People, not taking y thing of them for either, excepting only his Diet. e had here a very Judicious Auditory: Sir *Richard effington*, Col. *Godfrey Boſvile*, Mr. *Mackworth*, Mr. *orge Abbot*, and many other Pious and Judicious entlemen were his conſtant Auditors. There were ſo about 30 worthy Miniſters in the City, who fled ither for Safety from Soldiers and Popular Fury, as had done, tho' they never meddled in the Wars. r. *Richard Vines*, Mr. *Anthony Burgeſs*, Mr. *Burdall*, r. *Brumskill*. Dr. *Bryan*, Dr. *Grew*, Mr. *Stephens*, r. *Craddock*, Mr. *Morton* of *Bewdley*, Mr. *Diamond*, r. *Overton*, were ſome of them. And he was exeding Thankful to God for the Quietneſs and Safety, d Sober, Wiſe and Religious Company, with Lirty to Preach the Goſpel, which he vouchſafed him this City, when other Places were in the Terrours d Flames of War. When he had bin above a Year *Coventry*, the War was ſo far from being ended, at it had diſpers'd it ſelf into almoſt all the Land. nly *Middleſex*, *Hertfordſhire*, moſt of *Bedford* and *orthamptonſhire*, being entirely for the Parliament, d ſome Quietneſs. And *Eſſex*, *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, *mbridgſhire*, and *Huntingdonſhire*, with the Iſle of y, which were call'd the *Aſſociated Counties*, liv'd in Peace, the King's Armies never coming near em. And it was ſo for the moſt part alſo with *ent*, *Surrey* and *Suſſex*. While on the other ſide, *reford ſhire*, *Worceſterſhire*, and *Shropſhire*, and almoſt l *Wales*, (*Pembrokeſhire* excepted) were only poſſeſs'd the King, and ſaw not the Forces of the Parliament. ut almoſt all the reſt of the Counties had Garriſons d Parties in them on both ſides, which caus'd a ar in every County, and there were but few Paſhes where at one time or other Blood had not bin ed. The Religious Part of the People of *Kedermin*r would gladly have liv'd quietly at Home, but re forc'd to be gone, and retired alſo to *Coventry*; here ſuch of them as had any Eſtate of their own, 'd at their own Charge; and the reſt were fain to e up Arms, and be Garriſon Soldiers to get them ead. In *Shropſhire*, where his Father dwelt, both and all his Neighbours, that were noted for Pray-

ing

ing and Hearing Sermons, were plunder'd by t
King's Soldiers, ſo that ſome of them had nothing
moſt but Lumber left in their Houſes: Tho' his F
ther meddled on neither ſide, but follow'd his ow
Buſineſs, and held no Correſpondence at all with h
Son. At length Col. *Mitton*, and other *Shropſh*
Gentlemen, reſolving to ſettle a Garriſon at *Wem*,
little Town in their own Country, 8 Miles fro
Shrewsbury, and Mr. *Mackworth*, Mr. *Hunt*, and
thers, preſſing him to go with them, he compli
partly becauſe 'twas his Native Country, and part
An. 1643. becauſe he ſhould be near his Father, and withal ho
ing he ſhould then have more of his *Kedermin*
Neighbours about him. Having ſtay'd there and
Longford Garriſon about 2 Months, and redeem'd h
Father out of Priſon at *Lillſhul*, he return'd to *Cov*
try, and ſettled in his former Habitation and Emplo
ment, and follow'd his Studies there in quietneſs
another Year.

The State of that City. The Garriſon of *Coventry* conſiſted half of Cou
trymen, and half of Citizens. The Countrym
were ſuch as had bin forc'd from their Dwellings
the Neighbouring Places; and were Men of as gr
Sobriety, and Soundneſs of Underſtanding, as w
in any Garriſon in *England*. But one or two of
Henry Vane's Party, who came out of *New-Engla*
and an *Anabaptiſt* Taylor, had almoſt troubled all t
Garriſon, by infecting the honeſt Soldiers with th
Opinions: So that he was forc'd to Preach over a
the Controverſies againſt the *Anabaptiſts*, and afte
wards againſt the *Separatiſts*, and ſo kept the Garri
ſound. The *Anabaptiſts* ſent to *Bedford* for one M
Benjamin Cox, an old *Anabaptiſt* Miniſter, a Biſho
Son, and no mean Scholar, with whom he had a D
pute firſt by Word of Mouth, and afterwards b
Writing, which he tho't fit at length to forbear. S
that upon the whole, a few Poor Townſmen o
were carry'd away, about a dozen Men and Wome
But the Soldiers, and the reſt of the City, kept ſou
from all Infection of Sectaries and Dividers. Wh
he liv'd here in Peace and Liberty, like one in a c
Houſe that hears Storms abroad, he was daily ente
tain'd with the News of ſome Fight or other, or
co

e Garriſon or other won or loſt, the Particulars hereof are related by the *Hiſtorians* of thoſe nes.

When the Earl of *New-Caſtle* had over-power'd the d *Fairfax* in the North, and the Queen bro't over ny Popiſh Soldiers from Foreign Parts, and other cumſtances concurr'd that made the *Royaliſts* For- lable; the Parliament was glad to deſire Aſſiſt- e from the *Scots*, whoſe Army was Paid off and banded before the *Engliſh* War: The *Scots* conſent- but withal offer'd a *Covenant* to be taken by both ions for a Reſolved *Reformation*, againſt *Popery*, *lacy*, *Schiſm* and *Profaneneſs*. This *Covenant* was os'd by the Parliament to the Conſideration of *Synod* at *Weſtminſter*. They ſtumbled at ſome gs in it, and eſpecially at the word *Prelacy*. Dr. *es*, the Prolocutor, Mr. *Gataker*, and ſeveral others, ar'd their Judgments to be for *Epiſcopacy*, even for *Ancient Moderate Epiſcopacy*, in which one ſtated ident with his Presbytery govern'd every Church: not for the *Engliſh Dioceſan Frame*, in which one op did without his Presbytery, by a Lay-Chan- ur's Court, govern all the Presbyters and rches of a Dioceſs, being many Hundred; and in a *Secular Manner*, by abundance of upſtart ar Officers, unknown to the Primitive Church. upon there was a Debate in the Aſſembly. Some cially the *Scottiſh* Divines) being againſt every ee of Biſhops, and others for a Moderate Epiſco- But the latter would not ſubſcribe the *Cove-* 'till there was an Alteration ſuited to their ments: And ſo a Parentheſis was yielded to, as bing that ſort of Prelacy which they oppos'd; [*That is, Church Government by Arch-Biſhops, Bi- Deans and Chapters, Arch-Deacons, and all other aſtical Officers depending on that Hierarchy.*] n it was thus agreed on, the Lords and Com- firſt took the Covenant themſelves, and Mr. s *Coleman* preach'd to the Houſe of Lords, and t them with this Publick Explication, *That by we mean not all Epiſcopacy, but only the Form is here deſcrib'd.* When the Parliament had ta-

Of the Covenant.

ken it, they ſent it to be taken by all the Garriſo and Armies; and commended it to all the People of Land. And when the War was ended, they cau all the Noblemen, Knights, Gentlemen, and Offic which had bin againſt them in the Wars, to take before they would admit them to Compoſition, a they did ſo. And they required all young Miniſt to take it at their Ordination. This Covenant be taken, the *Scots* rais'd an Army and came into E land, and clear'd the North; but afterwards lay and did no Service, and thereupon were burdenſ Which aroſe from the Policy of *Cromwel* and his P ty, who tho't them no fit Inſtruments for their P poſes, and thereupon kept them without Pay, without Marching Orders, *&c.*

The Aſſembly of Divines.

The Mention of the *Weſtminſter Synod*, upon occ on of this Covenant, ſeems to require ſome Acco of it. This Synod was not a Convocation accord to the Dioceſan way of Government, nor was it led by the Votes of the Miniſters according to Presbyterian Way: But the Parliament not inte ing to call an Aſſembly, which ſhould pretend Divine Right to make obliging Laws or Ca to bind their Brethren, but an Eccleſiaſtical C cil to be Adviſers to themſelves, did think they beſt knew who were the fitteſt to give t Advice, and therefore choſe them all themſ Some Counties had two, and ſome but one. becauſe they would ſeem Impartial, and that Party might have the Liberty to ſpeak, they alſo many of the moſt Learned Epiſcopal Div as Arch-Biſhop *Uſher*, Dr. *Holdſworth*, Dr. *mond*, Dr. *Wincop*, Bp. *Weſtford*, Bp. *Prideaux*, *Brownrigg*, Dr. *Sanderſon*, Dr. *Hacket*, and ſeve thers to joyn with them; but they refus'd to becauſe it was not a Legal Convocation, and cauſe the King declar'd againſt it. Some few deed came, and among the reſt Dr. *Featly*. being charg'd with ſending Intelligence to King at *Oxford* of what paſs'd in Synod and liament, he was Impriſon'd. Their firſt Prolo was Dr. *William Twiſs*, a Man very Famou

s Scholaſtical Wit and Writings. The Divines ere Men of Eminent Learning and Godlineſs, iniſterial Abilities and Fidelity. They were nfin'd in their Debates to ſuch things only as e Parliament propos'd. And many Lords and ommons were joyn'd with them, to ſee that ey did not go beyond their Commiſſion *. Six Seven Independents were joyn'd to them, that

* *The Members of Parliament that were Appointed to meet in this Aſſembly.*

re, Algernon *Earl of* Northumberland. William *Earl of* Bedford. ilip *Earl of* Pembroke. William *Earl of* Salisbury. Henry *Earl of* lland. Edward *Earl of* Manchester. William *Lord Viſcount* Say d Seal. Edward *Lord Viſcount* Conway. Philip *Lord* Wharton. Edrd *Lord* Howard. John Selden *Eſq;* Francis Rous *Eſq;* Edmund deaux *Eſq;* *Sir* Henry Vane *Sen. Kt.* John Glyn *Eſq;* *Recorder of* ndon. John White *Eſq;* Bulſtrode Whitlocke *Eſq;* Humphrey loway *Eſq;* *Mr. Serjeant* Wild. Oliver St. John *Eſq;* *his Majeſty's* icitor. *Sir* Benj. Rudyard *Kt.* John Pym *Eſq;* *Sir* John Clotrthy *Kt.* John Maynard *Eſq;* *Sir* H. Vane *Jun. Kt.* William rpoint *Eſq;* William Wheeler *Eſq;* *Sir* Tho. Barrington *Kt.* alter Young *Eſq;* *And Sir* John Evelin *Kt.*

The Miniſters that met in this Aſſembly were theſe. Dr. William iſs *of* Newbury, *Prolocutor. Dr.* Cornelius Burges *of* Watford, *Mr.* John White *of* Dorcheſter, *Aſſeſſors. Dr.* William Gouge *of* Blackyars London. *Mr.* Robert Harris *of* Hanwell *B. D. Mr.* Thomas taker *of* Rotherhithe *B. D. Mr.* Oliver Bowles *of* Sutton *B. D.* Edward Reynolds *of* Bramſton. *Mr.* Jeremiah Whitaker *of* Stret. *Mr.* Anthony Tuckney *of* Boſton *B. D. Mr.* John Arrowſmith Lynne. *Mr.* Simeon Aſhe *of St.* Brides. *Mr.* Philip Nye *of* Kimton. *Mr.* Jeremiah Burroughs *of* Stepney. *Mr.* John Lightfoot *of* nley. *Mr.* Stanley Gower *of* Brampton Bryan. *Mr.* Richard Heye *of* Manchester. *Mr.* Tho. Caſe *of* London. *Dr.* Thomas Temof Batterſey. *Mr.* George Gipps *of* Ayleſtone. *Mr.* Thomas Car. *Mr.* Humphrey Chambers *of* Claverton *B. D. Mr.* Thomas cklethwaite *of* Cherryburton. *Mr.* John Gibbon *of* Waltham. *Mr.* rift. Tiſdale *of* Uphusborne. *Mr.* John Phillips *of* Wrentham. *Mr.* orge Walker *B. D. Mr.* Edmund Calamy *of* Aldermanbury *B. D.* Joſeph Caryl *of* Lincolns-Inn. *Mr.* Lazarus Seaman *of* London. Henry Wilkinſon *Sen. of* Waddeſdon *B. D. Mr.* Richard Vines *of* lcot. *Mr.* Nicolas Proffet *of* Marlborough. *Mr.* Stephen Marſhal inchingfield *B. D. Dr.* Joſhua Hoyle. *Mr.* Thomas Wilſon *of* Om. *Mr.* Tho. Hodges *of* Kenſington. *Mr.* Thomas Bayly *of* Mangford Bruce. *Mr.* Francis Taylor *of* Yalding. *Mr.* Thomas Young Stowmarket. *Mr.* Thomas Valentine *of* Chalfont Giles *B. D. Mr.* liam Greenhill *of* Stepney. *Mr.* Edward Peale *of* Compton. *Mr.* n Green *of* Pencombe. *Mr.* Andrew Pern *of* Wilby. *Mr.* Samuel

de la Place. Mr. John de la March. Mr. John Dury. Mr. Philip

all sides might be heard. Five of these, *viz.* M
Philip Nye, Mr. *Thomas Goodwin*, Mr. *Jerem*
Burroughs, Mr. *Sydrach Sympson*, and Mr. *Willi*
Bridge, were call'd the Dissenting Brethren. Th
joyn'd with the rest, 'till they had drawn up t
Confession of Faith, and larger and smaller C

Calme.

Mr. Sydrach Sympson *of* London. *Mr.* John Langley *of* Westud
Mr. Richard Cleyton *of* Showel. *Mr.* Arthur Salwey *of* Seavernh
Mr. John Ley *of* Budworth. *Mr.* Charles Herle *of* Winwick,
was Prolocutor after Dr. Twiss. *Mr.* Herbert Palmer *of* Ashwell &
who was Assessor after Mr. White. *Mr.* Daniel Cawdrey. *Mr.* He
Painter *of* Exceter *B. D. Mr.* Henry Scudder *of* Colingburn.
Thomas Hill *of* Tichmarch *B. D. Mr.* William Reynor *of* Egham.
Tho. Goodwin *of* London *B. D. Mr.* William Spurstow *of* Hamp
Mr. Matth. Newcomen *of* Dedham. *Mr.* John Conant *of* Lyming
B. D. Dr. Edmund Staunton *of* Kingston. *Mr.* Anthony Burgess
Sutton Coldfield. *Mr.* William Rathband. *Mr.* Francis Cheyn
Oxon. *Mr.* Henry Wilkinson *Jun. B. D. Mr.* Obadiah Sedgwi
Cogshall *B. D. Mr.* Edward Corbet *of* Merton-College, Oxon.
Samuel Gibson *of* Burley. *Mr.* Thomas Coleman *of* Bliton.
Theodore Backhurst *of* Overton Watervile. *Mr.* William Carte
London. *Mr.* Peter Smith. *Mr.* John Maynard. *Mr.* Will. Pri
Paul's Covent-Garden. *Dr.* John Whincop *of St.* Martins *in*
Fields. Mr. William Bridge *of* Yarmouth. *Mr.* Peter Sterry *of* L
don. *Mr.* William Mew *of* Eslington *B. D. Mr.* Benj. Pickerin
Easthoatly. *Mr.* John Strickland *of* New Sarum. *Mr.* Hump
Hardwicke. *Mr.* Jasper Hickes *of* Lawrick. *Mr.* John Bond.
Henry Hall *of* Norwich *B. D. Mr.* Thomas Ford. *Mr.* Tho
Thorowgood *of* Massingham. *Mr.* Peter Clark. *Mr.* William G
Mr. John Foxcroft *of* Gotham. *Mr.* John Ward. *Mr.* Richard
field. *Mr.* Francis Woodcock. *Mr.* J. Jackson. *The Commissioner*
Scotland *were*, *Mr.* John Maitland. *Mr.* Alexander Henderson.
George Gillespie. *Mr.* Samuel Rutherford. *And Mr.* Robert Ba
The Scribes were, *Mr.* Henry Robrough. *Mr.* Adoniram Byfield.
Mr. John Wallis.

There was a Promise or Vow taken by every Member, who was ad
to sit in this Assembly, of this Tenour: I *A. B.* do seriously Promi
Vow, in the Presence of Almighty God, that in this Assembly wh
I am a Member, I will maintain nothing in Point of Doctrine,
what I believe to be most agreeable to the Word of God: N
Point of Discipline, but what may make most for God's Glory,
the Peace and Good of his Church.

This Assembly *first met in* July 1643. *their Number was design'd*
120. *The Episcopal Divines refusing to appear among them, and so*
thers that were nominated, absenting themselves, on the account of Ag

tech

hiſm: But when they came to Church Go-
nment, they engag'd them in Long Debates,
d kept the Matter as long as they could unde-
min'd: And after that, they kept it ſo long
executed in almoſt all Parts of the Land, ex-
t *London* and *Lancaſhire*, that their Party had

Indiſpoſition, many others were joyn'd to them, who were call'd the Super-

ed Divines. Each Member had 4 Shillings a Day allow'd him by the liament towards his Expences. They continu'd their Meetings in the s 1644 and 1645. But after the taking of Oxford, *when the Coun- was quiet, they moſt of them return'd to their own [illegible], and ſo the embly was reſolv'd into a ſort of* Committee *for the examining the A- ies and good Affections of ſuch as were preſented to Livings, but was r formally diſſolv'd by the Authority that call'd it.*

e Minutes of this Aſſembly *are yet reſerv'd in private Hands. The remarkable Hints concerning their* Debates *that are publiſh'd to the ld, are to be met with in the Life of Dr.* Lightfoot, *before his Works olio, and in the Preface to the ſame Doctors* Remains *in Octavo; for h we are indebted to the Ingenious Mr.* Strype, *preſent Incumbent of* Leyton. *The* Aſſembly *met with many Difficulties. They were not embarraſs'd by the* Diſſenting Brethren, *but by the Learned Mr.* Sel- *who often employ'd his Uncommon Learning, rather to perplex than the matters that came before them. The* Eraſtians *alſo that were in Aſſembly, of whom Mr.* Coleman *and Dr.* Lightfoot *were reckon'd rincipal Perſons, created them a great deal of Trouble. And yet after t muſt be acknowledg'd, they went as far towards clearing the matters r'd to them, as could be expected from Men in their Circumſtances.*

e of their firſt Publick Acts was the preſenting a Petition to the two es for a Faſt, which was readily comply'd with. After which they eded to draw up a Letter to the ſeveral Reformed Churches abroad, *an Account of their Circumſtances and Intentions. And being call'd er to give Advice concerning the ſettling of Doctrine, Worſhip and h Government they after ſome time preſented to the Parliament,* A eſſion of Faith: A larger and ſhorter Catechiſm: A Directory e Publick Worſhip of God throughout the 3 Kingdoms of *Eng- Scotland* and *Ireland*: And their Humble Advice concerning th Government. *After the laſt had bin preſented, the two Houſes rliament agreed upon ſundry Ordinances, Directions, and Votes for the Eſtabliſhment of the Presbyterial Government. They were publiſh'd theſe Titles.* Directions for the Chooſing of Ruling Elders in all regations, *Auguſt.* 19. 1645. Rules and Directions concerning ntion from the Sacrament of the Lord's-Supper, in Caſes of Igno- and Scandal, *Oct.* 20. 1645. An Ordinance for keeping of Scan- Perſons from the Lord's-Supper, *March* 14. 1646. An Ordi- for the preſent ſettling (without further delay) of the Presbyte- overnment in the Church of *England*, *Jun.* 5. 1646. Remedies

for removing some Obstructions in Church Government, *April* 22. 1647. An Ordinance for the Ordination of Ministers by Classical Presbyters, *Aug.* 28. 1646. An Ordinance for the speedy dividing and settling the several Counties of the Kingdom, into distinct Classical Presbyteries, and Congregational Elderships, *Jan.* 1647. ---*After which*, the Debates between the Dissenting Brethren and the rest of the Assembly, about Church Government, *were ordered to be printed by the Parliament*; *and there was an End of the intended Settlement.*

time to strengthen themselves in the Army and Parliament, and hinder the Execution after all, and keep the Government determin'd of, a Stranger to most of the People of the Nation, who knew it but by Hear say, as it was represented by Reporters.

There is one Work unjustly Ascrib'd to this Assembly, *and that is* Annotations on the Bible, *which commonly bear their Name. It is true as is hinted in the Preface before the said Notes, the same Parliament that call'd the* Assembly, *employ'd the Authors of those Annotations: For Letters were directed to them by the Chairman of the Committee for Religion, urging their undertaking of that Work: And they were by Order of the Committee furnish'd with whatsoever Books were needful. It is also true That several of those that were concern'd in it, were Members of the Assembly: And yet it was not undertaken by the Direction or with the Consent of the Assembly; nor were the major part Members of the Assembly: Nor did any deputed by the Assembly review the Work when it was finish'd: So that it cannot, upon any account, be said to be theirs. However, it was a good Work in its season; and I shall add the Names of the true Authors, as far as my best Enquiry would help me to Intelligence.* Mr. Ley, *Sub-Dean of* Chester, *did the* Pentateuch. *Dr.* Gouge *the* 2 *Books of* Kings, *and* Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah *and* Esther *in his Province.* Mr. Meric Casaubon *did the* Psalms. *Mr.* Francis Taylor *the* Proverbs. *And Dr.* Reignolds, Ecclesiastes *and* Solomon's Song. *The Learned* Gataker *did* Isaiah, Jeremiah, *and* Lamentations: *All (in the Opinion of many Competent Judges) exceeded by no Commentators Antient or Modern, on those Books.* Ezekiel, Daniel, *and the small Prophets, were in the first Edition done by* Mr. Pemerton, *and in the second by Bishop* Richardson. *The Notes on the Four Evangelists are* Mr. L. *and those on St.* Paul's *Epistles Dr.* Featly's; *which latter are broken and imperfect, on the Account of the Author's dying before he had revised and finish'd them. There were also* 2 *other Persons concern'd in this Work, viz.* Mr. Downame *and* Mr. Reading, *who might probably have the Remaining Parts of Scripture allotted them, that are not here mention'd.*

Among other Parts of their Truſt, one was to approve of all that ſhould be admitted into any *Church Livings*. They had no Power to put any out, but only were to judge of the Fitneſs of ſuch as were taken in. The Power of Caſting Out was in a Committee of Parliament Men at *London*, and partly alſo in the Committees of the ſeveral Counties. Thoſe that were *Sequeſtred*, were generally by the Oaths of ſeveral Witneſſes prov'd *inſufficient* or *ſcandalous*, or both; eſpecially guilty of *Drunkenneſs* and *Swearing*: And thoſe that were Able and Pious *Preachers*, that were caſt out for the War alone, as for Opinions ſake, were comparatively few: 'Tis pity indeed there were any. And tho' now and then an unworthy Perſon by Siniſter Means crept into their Places, yet commonly thoſe that were put in, were ſuch as ſet themſelves laboriouſly to ſeek the Saving of Souls. But to return to Mr. *Baxter*.

After the Great Fight at *Naſeby*, which was not far from *Coventry*, he went into the Army, to viſit ſome few of his old intimate Friends. He ſtay'd a Night with them, and got ſuch Intelligence as to the State of the Army, as amaz'd him; he found Plotting Heads were hot upon what intimated their Intention to Subvert both *Church* and *State*. *Independency* and *Anabaptiſtry* extreamly prevail'd among them; and *Antinomianiſm* and *Arminianiſm* were equally diſtributed: And *Thomas Moor*'s Followers, had made a ſhift to joyn theſe two Extreams together. Many Common Soldiers, and ſome of the Officers, were *honeſt*, *ſober* and *orthodox* Men; but a few proud, ſelf-conceited, hot-headed Sectaries, had got into the higheſt Places, and were *Cromwel*'s chief Favourites, and by their very Heat and Activity bore down the reſt, or carry'd them along with them, and were the Soul of the Army, tho' much fewer in Number than the reſt. They tho't *Providence* would caſt the Truſt of Religion and the Kingdom upon them as Conquerors; they made nothing of all the moſt Godly and Wiſe Men in the Armies and Garriſons, that were not of their way: *Per fas aut nefas*, By Law or without it, they were reſolv'd to take down not only *Biſhops*, *Liturgies*,

An. 164⁵. *He Viſits the Army.*

Liturgies, and *Ceremonies*, but all that did withstand them. *Separatists* and *Sectaries* were the Persons most Honour'd; but *Cromwel* and his Council joyn'd in with no Party, being for the Liberty of all. Upon this he Lamented that the Ministers had forsaken the Army, betaking themselves to an easier and quieter Way of Life, as they had most of them done, after *Edge-Hill* Fight: For by their Staying and Diligence they might in all probability have prevented the Infection of the Army, and the Mischief that follow'd upon it. Neither could he forbear Reflecting with Regret upon his own Refusal to comply with an Invitation from *Cromwel*; who when he first rais'd his Troop (which was to be a gather'd Church) that was afterwards so Famous, sent to him from *Cambridge* to *Coventry*, an Invitation to come and be their Pastor; which was universally Subscrib'd. He sent them a Denial, reproving their Attempt, and telling them wherein his Judgment was against the Lawfulness and Convenience of their way, and so he heard no more from them. But afterwards meeting *Cromwel* at *Leicester*, he expostulated with him for his refusal. Those very Men who then invited him to be their Pastor, were the Men that afterwards headed much of the Army, and some of them were the forwardest in all the Publick Changes; which made him wish he had gone among them, when all the Fire was in one Spark. Cap. *Evanson* told him, *'Twas not yet too late to do Service; that the Regiment he was of, was one of the most Religious, Valiant and Successful of the Army, but in as much Danger as any*; and therefore he press'd him to come among them. He was loath to leave his Studies, Friends and Quietness at *Coventry*, to go into an Army of such a Complexion; but he tho't the Publick Good commanded him, so he gave him some Encouragement: Whereupon he told his Colonel (*Whalley*) who was an Orthodox Man, but engag'd to *Cromwel* by Kindred and Interest: *He invited him to be Chaplain to his Regiment*; which he took a Day's time to consider of, before he gave his Answer.

Coming home to *Coventry*, he consulted the Ministers that were there about the matter: He acquainted them with the Intelligence he had gotten, and the Invitation

itation that was made him. He told them, *That all as in Danger; that the Fate of the Kingdom was like to llow the Diſpoſition and Intereſt of the Conquerours; and hat for his part, tho' he knew his Weakneſs to be ſuch that e ſhould run the Hazard of his Life; and tho' he could ot but expect the Effects of their Fury, and tho' he knew was not much that one Man could do, yet if they appre-ended it to be his Duty, he would venture his Life a-ong them; and did not know but ſome other Miniſters ight be drawn in, and ſo more of the Evil be prevented.* r. *Bryan*, Dr. *Grew*, and other Miniſters then preſent, nding his own Judgment for it, and being mov'd ith the Cauſe, unanimouſly gave their Judgment r his going. Upon which he went directly to the *mmittee*, and told them, *He had an Invitation to the rmy, and deſired their Conſent to go.* After ſome Con-ltation, they left it wholly to the Governour; tel-ng him, *That if he conſented, they ſhould not hinder m.* His Conſent he ſoon obtain'd; for Col. *Barker* as juſt then going out, and was therefore the more illing to yield to Mr. *Baxter*'s going, that he him-f might be miſs'd the more. Whereupon, he ſent ol. *Whalley* word, *That he would ſpeedily be with him.* he *Committee* afterwards was much againſt his going, t he pleaded their Conſent, and told them, *He had miſs'd, and therefore was poſitive*; but he gave them Reaſons, taken from the State of the Army; which l. *Pureſoy*, who was one of them, and a Confident *Cromwel*'s, took care to give him Intelligence about. hich was the Cauſe that, when he came to the Ar-, *Cromwel* but coldly welcom'd him, and never ke one word more to him while he was there. And Secretary gave out, *That there was a Reformer come he Army to undeceive them, and to ſave Church and te*; whereby he underſtood that his Diſcourſe be-e the *Coventry Committee*, was got to the Army be-e him.

Becomes a Chaplain to a Regiment.

Here he ſet himſelf from Day to Day, to find out Corruptions of the Soldiers, and to Diſcourſe and ſpute them out of their Miſtakes, both Religious Political. His Life amongſt them was a daily ntending againſt *Seducers*. He found that many neſt Men of weak Judgments, and little Acquain-

The State of the Army and his Pains among them.

tance

tance with such Matters, had bin seduc'd into a disputing Vein, and made it too much of their Religion to talk for this or that Opinion: Sometimes they would *vehemently* contend for *State Democracy*, and at other times for *Church Democracy*; sometimes against *Forms of Prayer*, and sometimes against *Infant Baptism*; sometimes against *Set-times of Prayer*, and against the *Tying* of our selves to any Duty before the Spirit moves us; and sometimes about *Free-Grace* and *Free-Will*; &c. all the Points of *Antinomianism* and *Arminianism*. So that he was almost always Disputing with one or other of them, sometimes for *Civil Government*, and sometimes for *Church Order* and *Government*; sometimes for *Infant Baptism*; and often against *Antinomianism*, and the Contrary Extream. But their most frequent and vehement Disputes were for *Liberty of Conscience*, as they call'd it; that is, That the Civil Magistrate had nothing to do in Matters of Religion, by Constraint or Restraint, but every Man might not only Hold and Believe, but Preach and do in Matters of Religion what he pleas'd. He found that one half almost of the Religious Party among them, were such as were either Orthodox, or but lightly touch'd with their Mistakes; and almost another half were Honest Men, that stept further into the Contending Way, than they could again get out of, but with competent Help might be recover'd. But a few fierce selfconceited Men among them kindled the rest, and made all the Noise and Bustle, and carry'd about the Army as they pleas'd. With these he endeavour'd to be Acquainted, and he would be often Disputing with them in the hearing of the rest; and he found that they were generally Men that had bin hatcht up in *London* among the *Old Separatists*, and made it all the Matter of their Study and Religion to rail against Ministers, Parish Churches and Presbyterians, and had little Knowledge, but were fierce with Pride and Selfconceit, having gotten a great Conquest over their Charity to all other Parties but their own. Some of these Men became the Laughing Stock of the Soldiers before he left them: And when they Preach'd (for they were great Preachers) their Weakness expos'd them to Contempt. A great part of the M-
ch-

chief they did was by diſperſing Pamphlets, which the Soldiers would eagerly read in their Quarters, when there was none to contradict them. But there was a yet more Dangerous Party among them, (only in Major *Bethel*'s Troop, in *Whalley*'s Regiment) who took the direct Jeſuitical Way. They firſt moſt vehemently declaim'd againſt the Doctrine of Election, and for the Power of Free-Will, *&c.* Then they as fiercely cry'd down the Preſent Tranſlation of Scriptures, and debas'd their Authority, tho' they did not deny them to be Divine. They cry'd down the Miniſtry of all ſorts, and all our Churches, they vilify'd almoſt all our Ordinary Worſhip, eſpecially Singing of Pſalms, and Conſtant Family Worſhip; they allow'd of no Argument from Scripture but in expreſs Words; were vehement againſt all Government but Popular; and utterly againſt any Concern of Magiſtrates in Religious Matters. Whenever they Diſputed, 'twas with as much Fierceneſs as if they had bin ready to draw Swords. They truſted more to Policy, Scorn and Power, than to Argument. Theſe People avoided Mr. *Baxter* as much as poſſible; but if ever they engag'd, they drown'd all Reaſon in Fierceneſs and Vehemence, and Multitudes of Words. They greatly ſtrove for Places of Command; and when any Place was due by Order to one that was not of their mind, they would be ſure to work him out, and be ready to Mutiny if they had not their Will. It look'd as if they were Acted by the Jeſuits, but the ſecret Spring was out of ſight *. Theſe were the Men, who were afterwards call'd *Levellers*, and roſe up againſt *Cromwel*, and were ſurpriz'd at *Burford*. *Thomſon* their General, who was ſlain upon the Inſurrection in 1649, was no greater Man than one of the Corporals of this Troop; the Cornet and others being worſe than he.

* *We may very well ſuppoſe ſome of thoſe* Emiſſaries *mention'd pag.* 58, &c. *to have bin here at Work. And had other Regiments bin as ſtrictly obſerv'd by others as Col.* Whalley's *was by Mr.* Baxter *in that little time he was among them, many of their Deeds of Darkneſs might have bin bro't to light.*

He

His Motions with the Army. He march'd with the Army Westward against my Lord *Goring*, and was at the taking of *Bridgwater*, the Siege of *Bristol*, and *Sherborn-Castle*; and as they march'd along the Country, they were every where entertain'd with *strange Relations* of the *Horrid Impiety* and *Outrages* of the Lord *Goring*'s Soldiers. A sober Gentleman he quarter'd with at *South-Pederton* in *Somersetshire*, averr'd to him, *That with him a Company of them prickt their Fingers, letting the Blood run into a Cup, in which they drank a Health to the Devil.* He was with the Army 3 Weeks at the Siege of *Exceſter*: And *Whalley* being order'd thence with a Party of Horſe to keep in the Garriſon of *Oxford*, 'till the Army could come to Beſiege it, he accompany'd him; was with him 6 Weeks before *Banbury-Caſtle*; and 11 Weeks at *An.* 1646. the Siege of *Worceſter*. And Col. *Whalley* being ſuſpected by the Sectarian Commanders at the Head Quarters for his Chaplain's ſake, loſt the Government of that City when he had taken it, which was given to Col. *Rainsborough*, who was more for their turn; under whom tho' the *Sectaries* proſper'd in the City, yet the Country round remain'd free from their Infection. All this while he had full Employment in *Preaching*, *Conference* and *Diſputing*, againſt the *Sectarian Errours*. The Soldiers of that Stamp much infected the Countries by their Pamphlets and Converſe, and the People admiring the Conquering Army, were ready to receive what ever they commended to them. Quartering at *Agmondeſham* in *Buckinghamſhire*, he found ſome Sectaries of *Cheſham* had ſet up a Publick Meeting by way of Conference, to propagate their Opinions thro' all the Country, and that in the Church, by the Encouragement of an Ignorant Lecturer. There he had a Conference with them of a whole Day's Continuance, with good Succeſs. When the uſual time of their Meeting came, *Bethel*'s Troopers (then Capt. *Pitchford*'s) with other Sectarian Soldiers, muſt be there, to confirm the *Cheſham* Men, and make People believe that the Army was for them. Mr. *Baxter* tho't it his Duty to be there alſo, and took divers ſober Officers with him, to let them ſee that more of the Army was againſt them than for them. He took the Reading Pew, and *Pitchford*'s Cornet and Troopers took

His Publick Diſpute with the Sectaries.

took the Gallery. There was a crowded Congregation of poor well-meaning People, who came in the Simplicity of their Hearts to be deceiv'd. The Leader of the *Cheſham* Men began; *Pitchford*'s Soldiers followed; and he diſputed with them 'till it was almoſt Night, determining not to leave them behind him; knowing very well that if he had gone firſt, they would have Boaſted extravagantly, and made People believe that they had Baffled him. Their Nonſenſical Diſcourſe, may be ſeen in *Edwards*'s *Gangræna*, in which a Narrative of the Affair is publiſh'd, without the mention of Mr. *Baxter*'s Name, according to the Account which he gave to a Friend in a Letter. He had many Thanks for that Day's Work, & amongſt the reſt from Dr. *Crook*, and Mr. *Richardſon*, the Rector and Curate of the Place, who being Royaliſts, durſt not open their Mouths for fear of Danger. The Sectaries were hereby ſo diſcourag'd, that they never met there any more.

His great Impediments as to the Succeſs of his Endeavours, lay in the Diſcountenance of *Cromwel* and his Chief Officers, who kept him a Stranger to their Meetings and Councils; and the Incapacity he was under of ſpeaking to many, the Quarters of the Soldiers being ſo ſcatter'd. So that the moſt of the Service he did beyond *Whalley*'s Regiment, was by the Help of Capt. *Lawrence*, with ſome of the General's Regiment, and with Major *Harriſon*, and ſome few others. But by what Succeſs he had, he found reaſon to apprehend, that if there had bin a competent number of Miniſters, each doing their Part, the whole Plot of the Furious Party might have bin broken, and King, Parliament and Religion preſerv'd. *Saltmarſh* and *Dell* were the two great Preachers at the Headquarters; only Honeſt and Judicious Mr. *Edward Bowles* kept ſtill with the General. At length Mr. *Cook* of *Roxhal* alſo came to the Army, to give Aſſiſtance; but he was ſoon weary. Major-General *Berry*, tho' his Old Friend, never once came to viſit him in the whole 2 Years he was in the Army, nor gave him the leaſt Encouragement; but look'd always askew on him.

When

When *Worceſter* Siege was over, he went and viſited his Flock at *Kederminſter*, who expected that the Country being clear'd, he ſhould return to them, and ſettle in Peace among them. But going to *Coventry*, he again conſulted the Miniſters there about his Duty; he told them what Succeſs he had already had, and with what difficulty. He told them, *That the greateſt Service with the greateſt Hazard was yet behind. That the War being ended, the Army would certainly ſhortly ſet up for themſelves; that tho' he could not ſay he could do any great Matter to hinder it, yet he having ſome Intereſt, was willing to improve it to the utmoſt for the Publick Good.* Upon the whole, the Miniſters adviſ'd him to remain with the Army, and yet for ſome time longer to abſent himſelf from his Flock. Accordingly he return'd to the Army for a little while, but was ſoon ſeparated from them by his Great Weakneſs, occaſioned by the Loſs of a Gallon of Blood at the Noſe. Upon which retiring to Sir *Tho. Rouſe*'s, he was taken up with daily Medicines to prevent a Dropſy, and was in continual expectation of Death. By this Providence, God unavoidably prevented the Effect of his Purpoſes, in his laſt and chiefeſt Oppoſition to the Army; and took him off at the very time when his main Attempt ſhould have begun. His Purpoſe was to have done his beſt, firſt to take off the Regiment which he was with, and then with Capt. *Lawrence* to have try'd upon the General's Regiment, (in which were *Cromwel*'s chief Confidents) and then to have joyn'd with others of the ſame mind. But the Determination of God againſt it was very obſervable. For at the very time that he was Bleeding, the Council of War ſate at *Nottingham*, where they firſt began to open their Purpoſes and act their Part: And preſently after they enter'd into their Engagement at *Triploe Heath*. Tho' had he had Scope for the Attempt he deſign'd, in all probability he had had but ſmall Succeſs; and had bin much more likely to have loſt his Life among them in their Fury, than to have reached his End.

He leaves the Army.

And here the Account which Mr. *Baxter* hath given to Poſterity of the *Sectaries* in General, comes in very naturally. Theſe are the People whom he moſt inſtriouſly in theſe Times ſet himſelf to oppoſe, foreſeeing the ill Tendency of their Principles and Practiſes. Take his own words. "Theſe are they (*ſays he*) who have bin moſt addicted to Church-Diviſions, and Separations, and Sidings, and Partics, and have refus'd all Terms of Concord and Unity. Who tho' many of them weak and raw, were yet prone to be puff'd up with high Tho'ts of themſelves, and to over-value their little Degrees of Knowledge and Parts, which ſet them not above the Pity of underſtanding Men. They have bin ſet upon thoſe Courſes which tend to advance them above the Common People, in the Obſervation of the World, and to ſet them at a farther diſtance from others than God alloweth, and all this under the Pretence of the *Purity of the Church*. In Proſecution of their Ends, there are few of the *Anabaptiſts* that have not bin the Oppoſers and Troublers of the Faithful Miniſters of God in the Land, and the Troublers of their People, and Hinderers of their Succeſs; ſtrengthening the Hands of the Profane. The *Sectaries* (eſpecially the *Anabaptiſts*, *Seekers*, and *Quakers*) choſe out the moſt able zealous Miniſters, to make the Marks of their Reproach and Obloquy, and all becauſe they ſtood in the way of their Deſigns, and hindred them in the propagating their Opinions. They ſet againſt the ſame Men as the Drunkards and Swearers ſet againſt, and much after the ſame manner; reviling them, and raiſing up falſe Reports of them, and doing all that they could to make them odious, and at laſt attempting to pull them all down: Only they did it more Prophanely than the Prophane, in that they ſaid, *Let the Lord be glorified, Let the Goſpel be propagated*; and abus'd and profan'd Scripture, and the Name of God, by entitling him to their Faction and Miſcarriages. Yea, tho' they tho't themſelves the moſt Underſtanding and Conſciencious People of the Land, yet did the Gang of them ſeldom ſtick at any thing which ſeem'd to promote their Cauſe; but

A General View of Sectaries.

" but what ever their Faction in the Army did, they
" pleaded for it, and approv'd it. If they pull'd
" down the Parliament, Impriſon'd the Godly Faith-
" ful Members, and kill'd the King; if they caſt out
" the *Rump*, if they choſe a *Little Parliament* of their
" own, if they ſet up *Cromwel*, if they ſet up his Son
" and pull'd him down again, if they ſought to ob-
" trude Agreements on the People, if they one Week
" ſet up a Council of State, and if another Week the
" *Rump* were reſtor'd, if they ſought to take down
" Tythes and Pariſh Miniſters, to the utter Confuſion
" of the State of Religion in the Land; in all theſe
" the *Anabaptiſts*, and many of the *Independents* in the
" 3 Kingdoms follow'd them, and even their Paſtors
" were ready to lead them to conſent.

" And all this began but in *unwarrantable Separati-*
" *ons* and *too much aggravating the Faults of the Churches*
" *and Common People, and Common-Prayer Book, and*
" *Miniſtry*; which indeed were none of them without
" Faults to be lamented and amended. But they
" tho't that what ever needed Amendment required
" their *Obſtinate Separation*, and that they were al-
" low'd to make odious any thing that was amiſs.
" And becauſe it was faulty, if any Man had rebu-
" ked them for belying it, and making it far more
" faulty than it was, inſtead of confeſſing their Sin
" they call'd their Reprover a Pleader for Antichriſt or
" Baal. Every Errour in the Mode of the Common
" Worſhip, they had no fitter Name for than Idola-
" try, Popery, Antichriſtianiſm, Superſtition, Will-
" worſhip, *&c.* When in the mean time, many of
" their own Prayers were full of Carnal Paſſion, Self-
" iſhneſs, Faction, Diſorder, Vain Repetitions, un-
" ſound and loathſome Expreſſions, and their Doc-
" ctrine full of Errours and Confuſion: And the
" Beams in their own Eyes, were Matter of no Of-
" fence to them. They would not Communicate
" with that Church where ignorant Perſons or Swear-
" ers were tolerated, (tho' they themſelves never did
" their Part to have them caſt out, but look'd that the
" Miniſters ſhould do all without them) but without
" any Scruple they would Communicate with them
" that had broke their Vow and Covenant with God
" an

" and Man, and rebell'd againſt all kind of Govern-
" ment that was ſet up, (even by themſelves) and did
" all the fore-recited Evils.

" I know *(ſays he)* the ſame Accuſations are laid
" by ſome in Ignorance or Malice, againſt many that
" are guilty of no ſuch things, and therefore ſome
" will be offended at me, and ſay I imitate ſuch Re-
" proaches: But ſhall none be Reprov'd, becauſe
" ſome are Slander'd? Shall Hypocrites be free from
" Conviction and Condemnation, becauſe Wicked
" Men call the Godly *Hypocrites?* Woe to the Man
" that hath not a Faithful Reprover; but a thouſand
" Woes will be to him that *hateth Reproof:* And
" Woe to them that had rather Sin were credited and
" kept in Honour, than their Party Diſhonour'd:
" And Woe to the Land where the Reputation
" of Men doth keep Sin in Reputation. The Scrip-
" ture it ſelf will not ſpare a *Noah*, a *Lot*, a *David*,
" an *Hezekiah*, a *Joſiah*, a *Peter*; but will open and
" ſhame their Sin to all Generations: And yet alas!
" the Hearts of many, that it is to be hop'd are truly
" Religious, will riſe againſt him that ſhall yet tell
" them of the Miſdoings of thoſe of their Opinion,
" and call them to Repentance. The poor Church of
" Chriſt, the ſober, ſound, Religious Part, are like
" Chriſt that was Crucify'd between 2 Malefactors;
" the Profane and Formal Perſecutors on one hand,
" and the Fanatick Dividing Sectaries on the other
" hand, have in all Ages bin grinding the Spiritual
" Seed, as the Corn is ground between the Milſtones:
" And tho' their Sins have ruin'd themſelves and us,
" and ſilenc'd ſo many hundred Miniſters, and ſcat-
" ter'd the Flocks, and made us the Hatred and Scorn
" of the ungodly World, and a By-word, and De-
" ſolation in the Earth, yet there are few of them
" that Lament their Sin, but juſtify themſelves and
" their Miſdoings, and the Penitent Malefactor is
" unknown to us. And ſeeing Poſterity muſt know
" what they have done, to the Shame of our Land,
" and of our ſacred Profeſſion, let them know this
" much more alſo, to their own Shame, that all the
" Calamities which have befallen us by our Diviſi-
" ons, were long foreſeen by many, and they were

" told and warn'd of them Year after Year. They
" were told, that *a House divided against it self could*
" *not stand*, and that *the Course they took would bring*
" *them to shame, and turn a hopeful Reformation into a*
" *Scorn, and make the Land of their Nativity a Place of*
" *Calamity and Woe*; but the Warning signify'd no-
" thing to them; but these Ductile Professors blindly
" follow'd a few selfconceited Teachers to this Misery,
" and no Warning or Means could ever stop
" them.

" A few *Dissenting Members* of the *Westminster Sy-*
" *nod* began all this, and carry'd it far on. That
" Good Man Mr. *Jeremiah Burroughs* joyn'd himself
" to them in Name; but as he never practis'd the
" *Church-gathering* way, so at last he was contented
" to have united, upon the Terms which were offer'd
" them, and wrote an excellent Book of *Heart Divi-*
" *sions*. Afterwards they encreas'd, and others joyn'd
" themselves to them, who partly by Stiffness and
" partly by Policy, encreas'd our Flames, and kept
" open our Wounds, as if there had bin none but
" they Considerable in the World: And having an
" Army and City Agents, fit to second them, effec-
" tually hindred all Remedy, 'till they had dash'd
" all into Pieces as a broken Glass. O what may not
" Pride do, and what Miscarriages will not false
" Principles and Faction hide! One would have thought
" that if their *Opinions* had bin *Certainly True*, and
" their *Church Order Good*; yet the Interest of Christ
" and the Souls of Men, and of Greater Truth
" should have bin so regarded by the *Dividers of*
" *England*, as that the Safety of all these should have
" bin preferr'd, and not all ruin'd, rather than their
" Way should want its Carnal Aim and Liberty,
" and that they should not tear the Garment of
" Christ all to pieces, rather than it should want the
" Lace.

Many New *Sects* also sprang up in these Times, whose Doctrines were almost the same, tho' they went on different *Names* and *Shapes*.

Sir *Henry Vane* had a ſet of Diſciples, who firſt ſprang under him in *New-England*, when he was Governour there. But their Notions were then raw and undigeſted, and their Party quickly confounded by God's *Providence*, as appears from Mr. *Tho. Weld*'s Account. *One Mrs.* Dyer, *a Chief Perſon of the Sect, did firſt bring forth a Monſter, which had the Parts of almoſt all ſorts of Living Creatures; ſome Parts like Man, but moſt ugly and miſplac'd; and ſome like Beaſts, Birds, and Fiſhes, having Horns, Fins and Claws: And at the Birth of it the Bed ſhook, and the Women were forc'd to leave the Room.* Mr. *Cotton* was too favourable to them, 'till this helpt to recover him. Mrs. *Hutchinſon*, the chief Woman among them, and their *Teacher*, (to whoſe Exerciſes a Congregation of them us'd to aſſemble) brought forth about 30 *Miſhapen Births* at once; and being baniſh'd into another Plantation, was kill'd there by the *Indians*. Sir *H. Vane* being Governour, and found to be the Life of their Cauſe, was fain to ſteal away by Night, and take Shipping for *England*, before his Year of Government was at an End. Coming over into *England*, he prov'd an Inſtrument of greater Calamity to a ſinful People. Being choſen a Parliament Man, he was very Active at firſt for the bringing Delinquents to Puniſhment. He was the Principal Man that drove on the Parliament with that vehemence againſt the King. Being of ready Parts, great Subtilty, and unwearied Induſtry, he labour'd, and not without Succeſs, to win others in Parliament, City, and Country to his way. When the E. of *Strafford* was accus'd, he got a Paper out of his Father's Cabinet, (who was *Secretary of State*) which was the chief Means of his Condemnation. To moſt of the Changes that follow'd, he was that within the Houſe, that *Cromwel* was without. His great Zeal to inflame the War, and to cheriſh the Sectaries, and eſpecially in the Army, made him above all Men to be valu'd by that Party.

Of Sir H. Vane *and his Followers.*

His Unhappineſs lay in this, That his *Doctrines* were ſo cloudily form'd and expreſs'd, that few could underſtand them; and therefore he had but few true Diſciples. The Lord *Brook* was ſlain before he had brought him to Maturity. Mr. *Sterry* is tho't to have

bin of his Mind, being his Intimate; but he was famous for his Obſcurity in *Preaching*. Sir *Benj. Rudiard* us'd to ſay of him, *That he was too high for this World, and too low for the next.* Mr. *Sprigg* is the Chief of his open Diſciples, and he is too well known by a Book of his Sermons. Sir *Harry*'s Obſcurity was by ſome imputed to his not Underſtanding himſelf, but by others to Deſign; becauſe he was able enough to ſpeak plain, when he pleas'd. The 2 Courſes in which he had moſt Succeſs, and ſpake moſt plainly, were his *Earneſt Plea* for Univerſal *Liberty of Conſcience*, and againſt the Magiſtrates intermedling with Religion; and his Teaching his Followers to *revile the Miniſtry*, calling them ordinarily *Black Coats*, *Prieſts*, and other Names which ſavour'd of Reproach. When *Cromwel* had ſerv'd himſelf by him as his ſureſt Friend as long as he could, and gone as far with him as their way lay together, (*Vane* being for a *Fanatick Democracy*, and *Cromwel* for *Monarchy*) at laſt there was no Remedy, but they muſt part; and he caſt him off with Diſdain. *Vane* thus laid by, wrote his Book call'd, *The Retired Man's Meditations*; wherein the beſt Part of his Opinions are ſo expreſs'd, as will make but few Men his Diſciples. His *Healing Queſtion* is written more plainly. When *Cromwel* was dead, he got Sir *Arthur Haſlerigge* to be his cloſe Adherent on Civil Accounts, and got the Rump ſet up again, and a Council of State, and got the Power much into his own Hands. When in the height of his Power, he ſet upon the Forming a New *Common-wealth*, and with ſome of his Adherents drew up the Model, which was for *Popular Government*; but ſo that Men of his Confidence muſt be the People.

It griev'd ſuch a Man as Mr. *Baxter* to the Heart, to ſee a poor Kingdom ſo toſs'd up and down in Unquietneſs, and the Miniſters made odious, and ready to be caſt out, and a Reformation trodden underfoot, and Parliaments and Piety made a Scorn, and all this while ſcarce any one doubted but he was the *Principal Spring* of all. Therefore, being writing againſt the Papiſts, and coming to Vindicate the *Reform'd Religion* againſt them, when they impute to the Proteſtants the Blood of the King, he prov'd, That the Proteſtants

particularly the *Presbyterians*, abhorr'd it, and ſuf-
fer'd greatly for oppoſing it; and that it was the Act
of *Cromwel*'s Army and the *Sectaries*, among which he
nam'd the *Vaniſts* as one ſort, and he ſhew'd that the
Fryars and *Jeſuites* were their Deceivers, and under
ſeveral Vizors were diſpers'd amongſt them. And
Mr. *Nye* having told him, That he was long in *Italy*,
he ſaid, *It was conſiderable how much of his Doctrine he*
bro't from thence; whereas it prov'd, That he was
only in *France* and *Switzerland*, upon the Borders of
Italy. Upon this Sir *Harry* being exceedingly pro-
vok'd, threaten'd him much, and ſpoke againſt him
in the Houſe: And one *Stubbs*, (that had bin whip'd
in the *Convocation Houſe* at *Oxford*) wrote a Bitter
Book in his Defence, and from a *Vaniſt* he afterwards
turn'd a *Conformiſt*, and afterwards a *Phyſician*, and
was Drown'd in a ſmall Puddle or Brook, as he was
riding near the *Bath*. Mr. *Baxter*'s Writing againſt
him was a Means to leſſen his Reputation, and make
Men take him for what *Cromwel* (who better knew
him) call'd him, *viz.* a *Jugler*. And he wiſh'd there-
fore he had taken the ſame Method much ſooner. But
the whole Land rang of his Anger, and Mr. *Baxter*'s
Danger, and all expected his preſent Ruin by him.
But to ſhew him that he was not about Recanting,
as his Agents would have perſwaded him) he wrote
ſo againſt his *Healing Queſtion*, in a Preface before
is *Holy Common-wealth*. And the ſpeedy turn of Af-
airs ty'd up his Hands from Executing his Wrath up-
on him.

When King *Charles* came in, he was queſtion'd
with others by the Parliament, but ſeem'd to have his
life ſecur'd. But being bro't to the Bar, he ſpake ſo
boldly in Juſtifying the *Parliament's Cauſe*, and what
he had done, that it exaſperated the King, and made
him reſolve upon his Death. When he came to *Tow-*
r-Hill to die, and would have ſpoken to the People,
he began ſo reſolutely, as caus'd the Officers to ſound
the Trumpets and beat the Drums, to hinder him
from ſpeaking. No Man could die with greater Ap-
pearance of a Gallant Reſolution, and Fearleſneſs than
he did, tho' before ſuppos'd a Timerous Man. Inſo-
much, that the manner of his Death procur'd him

more Applauſe than all the Actions of his Life. And when he was dead, his intended Speech was printed, and afterwards his Opinions more plainly expreſs'd by his Friends than himſelf.

Seekers. Another Sect that then roſe up were the *Seekers*. They taught, *That the Scriptures were uncertain; That preſent Miracles were neceſſary to Faith; That our Miniſtry is null, and without Authority; And our Worſhip and Ordinances unneceſſary or vain.* The true Church, Miniſtry, Scripture, and Ordinances being loſt, for which they were ſeeking. The *Papiſts* hatcht and actuated this Sect. Some of them were real *Papiſts*, and others *Infidels*. However, they clos'd with the *Vaniſts*, and ſhelter'd themſelves under them, as if they had bin the very ſame.

Ranters. Another Sect were call'd *Ranters*. They made it their Buſineſs, as the former, to ſet up the *Light of Nature*, under the name of *Chriſt in Men*, and to diſhonour and cry down the Church, Scriptures, Miniſtry, Worſhip and Ordinances; and call'd Men to hearken to Chriſt within them. But withal, they conjoyn'd a curſed Doctrine of *Libertiniſm*, which brought them to abominable Filthineſs of Life. They taught as the *Familiſts*, *That God regardeth not the Actions of the outward Man, but of the Heart: And to the Pure, all things are Pure, even things forbidden.* And ſo as allow'd by God, they ſpoke moſt hideous words of Blaſphemy, and many of them committed Whoredoms commonly: Inſomuch, That a Matron of great Note for Sobriety, being perverted by theſe People, turn'd ſo ſhameleſs a Whore, that ſhe was Carted in the Streets of *London*. There could never Sect ariſe in the World, that was a louder Warning to Profeſſors of Religion, to be *humble*, *fearful* and *watchful*. Never could the World be told more loudly, Whither the Spiritual Pride of ungrounded Novices in Religion tendeth, and whither they may be carry'd in the Stream of Sects and Factions. Often would they vent the moſt horrid Oaths, Curſes and Blaſphemy, as the Effect of Knowledge, in a Fanatick Strain, which they would father upon the Spirit of God. But the horrid Villanies of this Sect, did not only ſpeedily extinguiſh it, but alſo did as much as any thing

did to disgrace all *Sectaries*, and to restore the Credit of the Ministry, and of sober Christians. So that the Devil and the Jesuites quickly found that this way serv'd not their turn, and therefore they suddainly took another, and turn'd themselves into

Quakers, who were but the *Ranters* revers'd: turn'd from horrid *Profaneneß* and *Blaſphemy*, to a Life of extream Austerity. Their Doctrines were mostly the same with the *Ranters*. They make the Light which every Man hath within him a sufficient Rule; and consequently the Scripture and Ministry are set light by. They speak much for the Dwelling and Working of the Spirit in us, but little of Justification, Pardon of Sin, and Reconciliation with God thro' Jesus Christ. They pretend their Dependance on the Spirit's Conduct against set times of Prayer, and against Sacraments, Scripture, and Ministry. They will not have the Scriptures call'd the Word of God. Their Principal Zeal lieth in railing at Ministers as *Hirelings*, *Deceivers* and *False Prophets*, and in refusing to Swear before a Magistrate, *&c.* At first they us'd to fall into Trembling; and sometimes Vomitings in their Meetings, and pretended to be violently Acted by the Spirit: But now that is ceased, they only meet, and he that pretendeth to be moved by the Spirit, Speaketh; and sometimes they say nothing; but sit an Hour or more in Silence, and then depart. One while several of them went Naked, thro' many chief Towns and Cities of the Land, as a Prophetical Act. Some of them having famish'd and drown'd themselves in Melancholly, others have undertaken by the Power of the Spirit to raise them; as *Susan Pierson* did at *Claines* near *Worcester*, where they took a Man out of his Grave, who had so made himself away, and commanded him to Arise and Live; but to their shame. Their Chief Leader *James Nayler*, acted the part of Christ at *Bristol*, according to much of the History of the Gospel, and was long laid in *Bridewel* for it, and his Tongue bor'd as a Blasphemer by the Parliament. Many *Franciscan* Fryars, and other Papists have bin prov'd to be disguis'd Speakers in their Assemblies. But *William Penn*, their Modern Leader, hath undertaken the Reforming the Sect, and set up a kind of Ministry among them. *Quakers.*

Behmenists The *Behmenists* are another Sect, whose Opinions were much like the former; they being for the Sufficiency of the Light of Nature, and a Dependence on Revelations, *&c.* but they were fewer in number, and of much greater Meekness than the rest. Their Doctrine is to be seen in *Jacob Behmen*'s Books, by one that hath nothing else to do, but to bestow a great deal of time to know, that his bombast Words do signify nothing more, than before was easily known by Common and Familiar Terms. Dr. *Pordage* and his Family were of this Sect, who liv'd together in Community, and pretended to hold visible and sensible Communion with Angels, whom they sometimes saw and sometimes smelt. And they profess'd to wait for such a Coming Down of the Holy Ghost upon them, as should send them out as his Missionaries, to unite and reconcile, and heal the Churches; and do Wonders in the World.

Gibbon, Gell, Parker, & with Biddle. Another Sectmaster was Dr. *Gibbon*, who had taken a great deal of Pains to beat out a *Scheme of Theology* which he went about the Country to make *Proselytes*. This Scheme of his he recommended as containing the only Terms and Method to resolve all Doubts whatever in Divinity, and unite all Christians thro' the World. His Frame was the Contrivance of a Strong Head Piece, and was Secretly and Cunningly fitted to usher in a Socinian Popery, or a mixture of Popery, and half Socinianism. There were many more Sectmakers: As Dr. *Gell*, well known by a Printed Volume in *Folio*: And one Mr. *Parker* who got an Interest in the Earl of *Pembroke*, and wrote a Book against the *Assemblies Confession*, in which he taketh up most of the Popish Doctrines, and riseth up against them with Papal Pride and Contempt, but owneth not the Pope himself, but headeth his Body of Doctrine with the Spirit, as the Papists do with the Pope. Many of these tho' they own'd not themselves to be Papists, did yet with subtle Diligence promote most of the Papal Cause, and get in with the Religious sort, either upon Pretence of *Austerity*, *Mortification*, *Angelical Communion*, or *clearer Light*. Those amongst the *Cromwelians* that he suspected for Papists, were some that began as Strangers among us

Con-

ommon Soldiers, and by degrees roſe up to ſome In-
riour Offices, and were moſt Converſant with the
ommon Soldiers; but none of the Superiour Officers
em'd ſuch, tho' ſeduc'd by them. The *Socinians* al-
, in theſe Times, made ſome Increaſe by the means
one Mr, *Biddle*, ſome time Schoolmaſter in *Glouce-*
r, who wrote againſt the *Godhead of the Holy Ghoſt*,
d afterwards of *Chriſt*. His Followers inclin'd much
meer *Deiſm*, and *Infidelity*.

To return to Mr. *Baxter*. It was his *Endeavour* to
ep his People in *Kederminſter* as free from any Con-
rn in the *Publick Changes* as was poſſible. He kept
em from taking the *Covenant*, as fearing it might be
Snare to their Conſciences: Nay, he prevented its
ing much taken in the County, by his keeping the
iniſters from offering it to their People; except in
e City of *Worceſter*, where he had no great Intereſt.
nd yet where Perſons took it, he could not ſee *how*
ey could have a *Diſpenſation* as to the Obligation of
He could never judge it ſeemly for one Believing
God, to play *faſt* and *looſe* with a Dreadful Oath,
if the Bonds of *National* and *Perſonal Vows* were as
ily ſhak'd off as *Sampſon*'s Cords. When the *En-*
gement came out, he Spake and Preach'd againſt it,
d diſſwaded Men from taking it. When he firſt
rd of it, being in Company with ſome Gentlemen
Worceſter-ſhire, he preſently wrote down above 20
eries againſt it, intending as many more almoſt
ainſt the *Obligation*, as thoſe were about the *Senſe*
d *Circumſtances*. One that was preſent got the Co-
of them, and ſhortly after they were publiſh'd in
ook of Mr. *Henry Hall*'s as his own; who was the
e Perſon that was long Impriſon'd for writing
ainſt *Cromwel*. Some *Epiſcopal Divines* who wrote
it, thus explain'd it. By the *Common-wealth*, they
uld mean the ſort of Common-wealth that then
s in *being*. *Eſtabliſh'd*, they would take as meant
y *de Facto*, and not *de Jure*, and by *without a King*,
they meant, altho' there were no King for a time:
hat they thus explain'd it; *I will be true to the Go-*
nment of England, *tho' at the preſent the King and*
ſe of Lords are put out of the Exerciſe of their Pow-
Mr. *Baxter* endeavour'd to convince People, that
this

Mr. Baxter's *Conduct as to Publick Oaths.*

this was meer Juggling and Jesting with Matters too great to be jested with: And that as it might be easily known that the Imposers had another Sense, so it was also evident, that the Words in their own obvious usual Sence among Men, were the *Promise* or *Engagement* of a Subject as such to a Form of Government, pretended to be establish'd; and that the Subject's Allegiance or Fidelity to his Rulers, could not be acknowledg'd and given in plainer words: And that by such *Interpretations* and *Stretchings* of *Conscience*, any Treasonable Oath or Promise might be taken; and that no Bonds of Society could signify much with such Interpreters.

His Dispute with Mr Tombs

He had not bin long return'd to *Kederminster* after his leaving the Army, before there was a mighty Contest between him and Mr. *Tombs*. He was his Neighbour at *Bewdley*, which was not above 2 Miles distant; and denying *Infant Baptism*, and having written a Book or two against it, he was not a little desirous of propagating his Opinion, and promoting the Success of his Writings; and he tho't Mr. *Baxter* his Chiefest Hinderer, tho' he never meddled with the Point. Whereupon he constantly attended on his weekly Lecture at *Kederminster*, waiting for an Opportunity to fall upon that Controversy in his Conference with him. But he so studiously avoided it, that he knew not how to begin. At length, he urg'd him to give him his Judgment of his Writings, which he really tho't unanswerable. Mr. *Baxter* freely told him, *That they did not satisfy him to be of his mind*; but went no farther with him. Upon this, he forbore attending any longer upon his Lecture, and unavoidably drew him into a Controversy with him, tho' he did all he could to shun it. There came to him 5 or 6 of his Chief Proselytes, as if they were yet unsolv'd, and desired him to give them in Writing the Arguments which satisfy'd him for *Infant Baptism*. He ask'd them, *Whether they came not by Mr.* Tombs's *Direction?* Which they confess'd. He ask'd them, *Whether they had read the Books of Mr.* Cobbet, *Mr.* Marshal, *Mr.* Church, *and Mr.* Blake, *for Infant Baptism?* And they told him *No.* He desired them *read the Books that were already written, before they call'd*

ore, and then to come to him again, and tell him what ey had to ſay againſt them. This they would by no eans do, but told him, *They muſt have ſomething of is Writing upon that Subject: And that if he refus'd, d they turn'd againſt Infant-Baptiſm, they would lay e blame upon him.* He ask'd them, *Whether they would ntinue unreſolv'd, 'till Mr.* Tombs *and he had done eir Writings, which might be ſome Years, as it had bin, nce Mr.* Blake *and he had bin engag'd on that Subject, ithout having bro't the Controverſy to an Iſſue.* But no eaſoning would ſerve their turn, they muſt have s written Arguments. At laſt he bid them tell Mr. mbs, *That if they muſt needs contend, 'twere beſt to do in the ſhorteſt and moſt ſatisfactory way, which he tho't uld be by ſpending one whole Day, in a Diſpute at his n Church, where he would attend him, that his People ight not remain unſatisfy'd, 'till they ſaw which had the ſt Word: And that afterwards they might conſider of riting.* Mr. *Tombes* accepting the Motion, Mr. *Bax-* went to *Bewdley*, and held a Diſpute in his Church ere, upon a Day agreed on, from Nine a Clock in e Morning, 'till Five at Night, in a crowded Con-egation. The whole time was ſpent in manag-g one Argument, *From Infants Right to Church-Mem-ſhip, to their Right to Baptiſm.* This Diſpute ſatis-'d all the People of *Kederminſter*, and the Country und, who came in to hear it, and Mr. *Tombs*'s own wnſmen, except about 20 whom he had perverted, o gather'd into his Church, which never, as could learn, encreas'd to above Two and Twen-

When the Army was going againſt K. *Charles* the cond, and the *Scots*, he wrote Letters to ſeveral of Soldiers to tell them of their Sin, and deſired 'em laſt to begin to know themſelves. Telling them, *at it ſeem'd ſtrange that they who had ſo much boaſted of ve to all the Godly, and pleaded for tender dealing with m, and condemn'd thoſe who perſecuted them, or re-in'd their Liberty, ſhould at laſt be ready to imbrew ir Hands in the Blood of thoſe People, the Piety of many hom they could not deny.* At the ſame time the p made an Order, *That all Miniſters ſhould keep ir Days of Humiliation, to Faſt and Pray for their Suc-ceſs* *An.* 1651. *His Oppoſition to the Rump.*

ceſs in Scotland, *and their Days of Thankſgiving for their Victories there, upon pain of Sequeſtration.* Mr. *Baxter* and his Neighbours hereupon expected to be turn'd out. But tho' there was a general Noncompliance in thoſe Parts, all except one eſcap'd. For his Part, inſtead of Praying and Preaching for them, when any of the Committee or Soldiers were his Hearers, he labour'd to help them to underſtand, what a Crime it was to force Men to pray for the Succeſs of thoſe who were violating their Covenant, and going in ſuch a Cauſe to kill their Brethren: And what it was to force Men to give God thanks for all their Bloodſhed, and to make God's Miniſters and Ordinances vile and ſerviceable to ſuch Crimes, by forcing Men to run to God upon ſuch Errands of Blood and Ruin. And what it was to be ſuch Hypocrites as to perſecute and caſt out thoſe that Preach the Goſpel, while they pretended the Advancement of the Goſpel, and the Liberty of tender Conſciences. His own Hearers were ſatisfy'd with his Doctrine, but the Committee Men look'd ſower, but let him alone. And the Soldiers ſaid he was ſo like to *Love*, that he would never be quiet 'till he was ſhorter by the Head. Yet none of them meddled with him farther than by the Tongue, nor was he by any of them in all thoſe Times forbidden to Preach one Sermon, excepting only that when once the High-Sheriff had ſpoken to him to Preach at the Aſſizes, he afterwards ſent him word, as from the Committee, to forbear: Saying that by Mr. *Moor*'s means, (the Independent Preacher at the College at *Worceſter*) the Committee told him That they deſired he might forbear Preaching before the Judges, becauſe he Preach'd againſt the State. But afterward they excus'd it, as done meerly in kindneſs to him, to prevent his running himſelf into Danger and Trouble.

When *Cromwel* had got the Aſcendant, ſober People were divided about their Conduct towards him. He had bro't things to that Paſs, that there was no Proſpect of any thing but Deſtruction, if he was not taken for Governour. He made more uſe of the wild-headed Sectaries, than barely to Fight for him. They at laſt ſerv'd him as much by their Hereſies, their E-

mu-

ity to Learning and the Miniſtry, and their Perni-
ous Demands, which tended to Confuſion, as they
d done before by their Valour in the Field. Herein
much of his Art, that he could conjure up at plea-
re ſome terrible Apparition of *Agitators*, *Levellers*,
ſuch like, who as they affrighted the King from
mpton-Court, ſo were they afterwards as uſeful in
righting the People to fly to him for Refuge, that
e Hand that wounded them, might heal them. At
gth he was as forward as any in exclaiming againſt
e Giddineſs of theſe unruly Men, and he pleaded
neſtly for Order and Government, and would needs
come the Patron of the Miniſtry, yet ſo as to ſecure
others of their Liberty. Some that ſaw his De-
ns cry'd out, *We will rather all Periſh, and ſee both*
hes and Univerſities overthrown, than we will any way
mit to ſuch deceitful Uſurpations. Others ſaid, *It is*
Providence of God, who ever be the Inſtrument, which
t us into this Neceſſity, which we are unable to pre-
t: And being in it, we are not bound to chooſe our
Deſtruction. Neceſſity therefore requires us to accept
ny one to Rule us, that is like to deliver us. But the
nerality of the Miniſters went the middle way, and
ir Conſciences thus repreſented the State of their
ty at that time.

The Conduct of the Miniſters towards Cromwel *when Protector.*

We acknowledge, that God Almighty hath over-rul'd in
theſe great Mutations, and hath permitted the Perfidi-
eſs of Men, and their Succeſs. And the Common
d being the end of all juſt Government, we may not do
thing againſt it, much leſs to the Deſtruction of it,
r pretence of reſiſting an Uſurper, or of reſtoring the
hful Governour. If the Univerſities be overthrown,
Fabricks demoliſh'd, the Lands alienated, the Miniſtry
down, the Tythes ſold or given to the People, to engage
all to be againſt any Means which tend to a Recove-
hat ever we contribute to it, we do againſt the King
Kingdom, and do but cut his Throat in Kindneſs. For
ull down the Houſe that he may be Maſter of it, and
y the Common-wealth that he may be Head of it: And
rengthen his Enemies by our imprudent Paſſions. But
e muſt neither do nor approve of Evil, for any Good
nor forbear in our Places ſeaſonably to reprehend it.
fore, it is unlawful for us to Conſent to any Govern-

our

our but the King, or take an Engagement, or Oath of A-legiance to them: But it is not unlawful to ſubmit to them by living quietly in our Places, and to make uſe of the Courts of Juſtice eſtabliſh'd by Law, yea, and to demand Protection even from an Uſurper. For his ſtepping into the Ruler's Place, and uſurping the Government, obliges him to do all the Parts of the Governour's Office, while he is there; and warranteth us to demand it, and accept it from him: But it doth not at all oblige us to Obey him, Conſent to his Uſurpation: Even as we may demand Juſtice of a General of Rebels, or a Captain of Thieves; of Pyrates that ſhall ſurprize the Ship that we are in, but we are not bound to conſent to his Government, or Formally Obey him; but on the contrary, to diſown his Villany and do all that we can againſt his Tyranny, which tendeth not to the Hurt of the Society: So here, it is our Duty to keep the State of Things as entire as we can, 'till God be pleas'd to reſtore the King, that he may find it a whole, and not a ruin'd irrepairable State.

Mr. Baxter's Carriage towards him.

Agreeable hereto was Mr. *Baxter*'s Practiſe, who ſeaſonably and moderately, by Preaching and Printing, condemn'd the *Uſurpation*, and the *Deceit* which was the Means to bring it to paſs. He did in one Conference declare *Cromwel*, and his Adherents, to be Guilty of *Treaſon* and *Rebellion*, aggravated with Hypocrifidiouſneſs and Hypocriſy. But yet he did not think it his Duty to Rave againſt them in the Pulpit, or make his Invectives ſo unſeaſonably or imprudently as might irritate him to Miſchief. And the rather becauſe as he ſeem'd to keep up his Approbation of Godly Life in the general, and of all that was Good except that which the Intereſt of his Sinful Cauſe engag'd him to be againſt; ſo he perceiv'd it was his Deſign to do Good in the main, and to promote the Goſpel, and the Intereſt of Godlineſs, more than he had done before him, except in thoſe Particulars where his own Intereſt was againſt. And it was the Principal Means that after he was once got into the Saddle he truſted to for his Eſtabliſhment, even by doing Good: That the People might love him, or at leaſt be willing to have his Government for that Good, though were againſt it as it was an Uſurpation.

He once Preach'd before *Cromwel*, after he was Pro- *His Preaching before him, and Conference with him.*
ctor, by means of my Lord *Broghill*, and the Earl *Warwick*, when he was in Town, upon the Occasi- which we ſhall hear of in the next Chapter. He ew not which way to provoke him better to his uty, than by Preaching on 1 *Cor.* 1. 10. againſt e Diviſions and Diſtractions of the Church; ſhew- how Miſchievous a thing it was for Politicians to intain ſuch Diviſions for their own Ends, that they ght fiſh in Troubled Waters, and keep the Church its Diviſions in a State of Weakneſs, leaſt it ſhould able to offend them. A while after, *Cromwel* ſent ſpeak with him; and when he came, he had only f his Chief Men with him. He begun a long and ious Speech to him, of God's Providence in the ange of the Government, and how God had own'd and what great things had bin done at Home and road, in the Peace with *Spain* and *Holland*, &c. hen he had continu'd ſpeaking thus about an hour, . *Baxter* told him, *It was too great Condeſcention to uaint him ſo fully with all theſe Matters which were e him: But that the Honeſt People of the Land took r Antient Monarchy to be a Bleſſing, and not an Evil, humbly crav'd his Patience that he might ask him, they had forfeited that Bleſſing, and unto whom the feiture was made?* Upon that Queſtion he was a- ken'd into ſome Paſſion, and told him, *There was Forfeiture, but God had chang'd it, as pleas'd him:* d then he let fly at the Parliament which thwart- him, and eſpecially by Name at 4 or 5 Members ich were Mr. *Baxter*'s Chief Acquaintance, whom reſum'd to defend againſt the Protector's Paſſion. d thus were 4 or 5 Hours ſpent, tho' to little pur-

A few Days after, he ſent for him again, to hear his gment about *Liberty of Conſcience*, which he pre- ed to be moſt Zealous for; and almoſt all the Pri- Council were preſent. After he had made ano- ſlow and tedious Speech, he told him a little of udgment: And when two that were preſent had out a great deal more time in Speeching it, ſo that or five Hours were ſpent, he told him, *That if ould be at the labour to read it, he could tell him more*

of

of his mind in Writing in two Sheets, than in that way Speaking in many Days; and that he had a Paper on the Subject by him, written for a Friend, which if he would peruse, and allow for the Change of the Person, he might fully know his Sense. He afterwards sent him the Paper, but question'd whether he ever read it. For it was manifest to such as had any Conversation with him, that what he learn'd must be from himself; he being more dispos'd to Speak many Hours than to Hear one; and little heeding what another said, when he himself had once spoken.

CHA

CHAP. VII.

His General Uſefulneſs in the whole County, while he remain'd in Worceſter-ſhire: *His Publick Service by his Pacificatory Endeavours, and other ways.*

IN the time of the Civil War, and afterwards, the Controverſies about Church-Government were in moſt Mens mouths, and made a great Noiſe; being hotly agitated by Stateſmen and Divines, by Word and Writings; which made Mr. *Baxter* think it neceſſary to ſet himſelf to the moſt ſerious Study of thoſe Points; the reſult of which was his Settlement in this Judgment: that of the four Contending Parties, the *Eraſtian*, *Epiſcopal*, *Presbyterian*, and *Independent*, each had ſome peculiar Truths which the other overlook'd, or took little notice of, and each their proper Miſtakes, which gave Advantage to their Adverſaries; tho' all of them had ſo much Truth in common among them, as would have made theſe Kingdoms happy, had it bin unanimouſly and ſoberly reduc'd to Practice, by prudent and charitable Men.

The *Eraſtians* he tho't aſſerted more fully than others the Magiſtrates Power in Matters of Religion, that all Coercive Power is only in their hands; and that no ſuch Power belongeth to the Paſtors or People of the Church. He could not but approve their Holding the Paſtoral Power to be only Perſwaſive, tho' Authoritative and by Divine Appointment: And that Paſtors were Officers of God's Inſtitution, who were to only to perſwade by Sermons or General Speeches, but by Particular Overſight of their Particular Flocks; and could as the Ground of their Perſwaſions produce God's Commiſſion or Command for what they ſaid or did: But that as Paſtors they had no ſecular or Governing Power; And that unleſs the Magiſtrate authorize them as his Officers, they could not touch Mens Goods or Eſtates, but had to do with the Conſcience

The *Episcopal* Party seem'd to him thus far to have Reason on their side, that there was a *Superiority* in the *Primitive Church* over fix'd Bishops or Pastors, maintain'd by the *Apostles* and *Evangelists*, and other general unfix'd Church Officers: Tho' he tho't it a Question, *Whether they were proper Governours, or only over-rul'd them by the Eminence of their Gifts, and Priviledge of Infallibility?* And as to fixed Bishops of particular Churches, Superiour in Degree to *Presbyters*, tho' there is nothing favouring them in Scripture, yet the Reception of them in all the Churches was so early and so general, that he was free to admit them, and resolv'd never to oppose.

As for the *Presbyterians*, he could not but approve of their main Principle: For he found that the Office of *Preaching Presbyters* was allow'd by all: And that this Office did subserviently to Christ participate of the Prophetical, the Priestly, and the Governing Power, he tho't Self-evident. It appear'd to him both from Scripture, Antiquity, and the Perswasive Nature of Church-Government, that all *Presbyters* were *Church Governours* as well as *Church Teachers*; and that the Association of Pastors and Churches for Agreement, and their Synods in Cases of Necessity are a plain Duty; and ordinary stated Synods very Convenient. And he found that they who were of this Denomination in the Land were Men of eminent Learning, Sobriety and Piety; and the Ministers among them contributed much to the keeping up *Religion* in the Land.

As for the *Independents*, he found most of them zealous, and many of them *learned*, *discreet* and pious, capable of being very Serviceable in the Church. Searching Scripture and Antiquity, he found that the beginning a Govern'd Church, and a Stated Worshipping Church, were all one: That Churches were at first no bigger than our Parishes now: That they were Societies of Christians united for Personal Communion, and not only for Communion by Meeting of Officers and Delegates in Synods, as many Churches in Association be. Also he saw a Commendable Care of serious Holiness and Discipline in most of the *Independent* Churches. And found that some *Epis-*

Men (Bp. *Uſher* for one, as he had it from himſelf) held, *That every Biſhop was Independent as to Synods, and Synods not ſo much for Government as for Concord.*

Other Controverſies alſo in *Religion* were very hotly Agitated, and in all he was willing to keep himſelf and others from Extreams. As for the *Anabaptiſts*, (tho' he had written much againſt them) he found many of them ſober, godly People, not differing but in the Point of *Infant-Baptiſm*. And as to that, conſulting Antiquity, he obſerv'd, That tho' *Infant-Baptiſm* was held Lawful by the Church, yet ſome, with *Tertullian* and *Nazianzen*, tho't it moſt convenient to make no haſt; and the reſt left the time of Baptiſm to every one's Liberty, and forc'd none to be Baptiz'd. So that not only *Conſtantine*, *Theodoſius*, and ſuch as were Converted at Years of Diſcretion, but *Auguſtine* alſo, and many Children of Chriſtian Parents had their Baptiſm long deferr'd. Nothing more free than Baptiſm in the Primitive Times. To ſome 'twas adminiſtred in Infancy, to ſome at ripe Age, and to ſome a little before their Death. All the Penalty of a Delay, was the being ſtill numbred with *Catechumens* or *Expectants*.

In the Differences between the *Arminians* and *Anti-Arminians*, he ſoon perceiv'd it hard to find a Man that diſcern'd the true State of the ſeveral Controverſies: And that when unreveal'd Points are laid aſide, and the Controverſies about Words juſtly ſeparated from thoſe about Things; the Differences about things which remain'd, were fewer and ſmaller than moſt of the Contenders would believe. Nay, he found the Doctrinal Differences with the Papiſts very much darkned, and ſeldom well ſtated. In the Points of *Merit*, *Juſtification*, *Aſſurance of Salvation*, *Perſeverance*, *Grace*, *Free-Will*, &c. Miſunderſtanding was common, and juſt Diſtinction and Explication very rare. Upon the whole, he fix'd in this Concluſion: That he that would procure the Welfare of the Church, muſt do his beſt to promote all the Truth and Good which was held by every Part, and to leave out all their Errors and their Evil; and not take up all that any Party had eſpous'd as their own. And indeed there was not a Party in which

there was not something he disliked as Erroneous and Evil.

Three things he disliked in the *Erastians*. Their *Making too light of the Power of the Ministry and Church, and of Excommunication:* Their *Making the Articles of the Holy Catholick Church, and the Communion of Saints, too insignificant, by making Church Communion more common to the Impenitent than Christ would have it:* And their *Injuring their Brethren in charging them with claiming, as from God, a Coercive Power over Mens Bodies or Purses, which is what is disclaim'd by all Temperate Christians, who pretend not to any Power of Force, but only to apply God's Word unto Mens Consciences.* There were many things which he utterly disliked in the *Diocesan Party*. Their extirpating the true Discipline of Christ, which their Principles and Church State seem to make unpracticable and impossible; while one Bishop, with his Consistory, had the sole Government of a Thousand or many Hundred Churches, even over many Thousands whose Faces they were never like to see; without setting up any Parochial Government under them: Their turning Parochial Churches into Christian Oratories and Schools, while Pastors have only a Power of Teaching and Worshiping, and not of Governing: Their Altering the Ancient Species of Presbyters and Bishops: Their Exercise of Church Government in a Secular way; and their vexing honest Christians, who esteem'd their Ceremonies unlawful, and silencing able godly Preachers, that durst not *Subscribe and Swear Obedience to them*, &c. In the *Presbyterian* way, he disliked the Order of Lay-Elders, who had no Ordination, nor Power to Preach, nor to Administer Sacraments. Some of them were for binding the Magistrate to Confiscate or Imprison Men, meerly because they were Excommunicate: and so forcing People to keep in the Church against their Wills, for fear of being undone in the World: Whereas he was fully satisfy'd, *That a Man whose Conscience cannot feel a just Excommunication, unless it be back'd with Confiscation and Imprisonment, is no fitter to be a Member of a Christian Church in the Communion of Saints, than a Corps is to be a Member of a Corporation.*

Some

Some of them he found as much too much againſt Liberty as others were too much for it, and that they ſeem'd to think by Votes and Number to do that which Love and Reaſon ſhould have done. And when the *Independents* ſaid, *A Worſhipping Church, and a Govern'd Church, is and muſt be all one*, and the *Presbyterians* ſaid, *They may be all one, tho' it be not neceſſary*; yet in their Practiſe they would have ſo ſettled it, that they ſhould no where be all one, but 10 or 12 Worſhipping Churches ſhould have made one Govern'd Church. Now tho' 10 or 12 Churches may be better manag'd than a Thouſand or many Hundred; and tho' it were better for the Paſtor of each Church to have the Government of his own Flock, in Conjunction with the Presbytery or Synod, than not at all, and ſo this were vaſtly preferable to the *Dioceſan* Frame; yet it ſeem'd to prepare the way for it. In the way of the *Independents*, he diſlik'd their making too light of Ordination; their having alſo among them the Office of Lay-Elderſhip; and their being ſtricter about the Qualifications of Church Members, than Scripture, Reaſon, or the Practiſe of the Univerſal Church would allow. For if once you go beyond the Evidence of a *ſerious ſober Confeſſion*, as a credible and ſufficient Sign of a Title, you will never know where to reſt; but the Churches Opinion will be both Rule and Judge, and Men will be let in or kept out, according to the various Latitude of Opinions or Charity, in the ſeveral Officers or Members of Churches. He diſcern'd a great Tendency in this way of theirs, to Diviſions and Subdiviſions, and the nouriſhing of Hereſies and Sects: And could not at all approve of their making the People, by majority of Votes, to be Church-Governours in *Excommunications, Abſolutions*, &c. which Chriſt hath made Acts of Office; and letting them govern their Governours, and themſelves. He alſo diſlik'd their too much exploding Synods, their over-rigidneſs againſt the Admiſſion of Chriſtians of other Churches, and their making a Miniſter to be as no Miniſter to any but his own Flock. In many of which things, the Moderation of a Synod of *New-England* found out a much better Temper than their Brethren here could light upon.

on. And as for the *Anabaptists*, he knew that they injuriously excluded the Infants of the Faithful from solemn Entrance into the Covenant and Church of God; and as sinfully made their Opinion a Ground of their *Separation* from the *Churches* and *Communion of their Brethren*; and that among them grew up the Weeds of many Errours, and that Divisions, Subdivisions, Reproach of Ministers, Faction, Pride, and Scandalous Practises were fomented in their way.

Having made these Remarks, he for some Years stood still as a Looker-on, and contented himself to wish and pray for Peace, dropping only now and then a Word towards it in his Practical Writings: But at length the Sense of his Duty engag'd him to do his utmost, in a way of Endeavour, to bring all these contending Parties to a Concordant Practise of so much as they were all agreed in; to set all that together which was True and Good amongst them all, and to promote that as far as he was able, rejecting the rest and to further the reviving *Christian Charity*, which Faction and Disputes had lamentably extinguish'd. And tho' he had no Prospect herein of any great Success, yet resolv'd to do his best, and leave the Success to God. He wrote several Letters about these matters to Mr. *Anthony Burgess*, Mr. *Richard Vines*, and Mr. *Baxter*, and motion'd the setting up some Regular Discipline by Agreement among the *London* Ministers which would make it more generally taking than coming from a private Corner, but was put off with various Excuses. But his own Circumstances forc'd him to seek for some certain Regular Method of Discipline, *&c.* among his own People; and he with apprehended, that if several Ministers could accord together in one way, the People would much more easily submit, than to the way of any Minister that was Singular. As for his own People, they were honest, humble and tractable, engag'd in no Party, and Haters of Schism, which they perceiv'd tended to the ruin of Religion. The Ministers in the Country round him were Pious, Serious, Humble Men, that were also disengag'd; which was a great Advantage in his Design. He open'd his Mind to them in a Meeting which he procur'd, after a Lecture at *Worcester*. The

all approv'd of his Motion, and it was their common desire, that he would draw up the Form of an Agreement, that should contain only *So much Church Order and Discipline, as the Episcopal Presbyterian and Independant are agreed in, as belonging to the Pastors of each Particular Church.* For it was intended that nothing should be inserted that any one should need disown: It not being the aim to dispute each other into a nearer Agreement in Opinions, but first to agree in the Practise of what was own'd by all. Accordingly he drew up some Articles for common Consent, in order to the reducing the Churches to some Order, the satisfying Ministers in Administring the Sacraments, and stopping the more Religious from Separation, and that without contradicting the Judgment of either of the 3 Parties mention'd. After several Meetings to consider and examine them, and the altering some particular Passages, they were unanimously agreed to, by the Ministers of *Worcestershire*, and several in the Neighbourhood; who associated for mutual Help and Concord in their Work: Their Names were as follows. Mr. *Andrew Tristram*, Minister of *Bridgnorth*. Mr. *Tho. Baldwin* of *Chadsley*. Mr. *Tho. Baldwin* of *Clent*. Mr. *Joseph Baker* of *Worcester*. Mr. *Henry Oasland* of *Bewdley*. Mr. *William Spicer* of *Stone*. Mr. *Richard Sergeant*, last Minister of *Stone*. Mr. *Wilsby* of *Womborne*. Mr. *John Reignolds* of *Wolverhampton*. Mr. *Joseph Rocke* of *Rowley*. Mr. *Richard Wolley* of *Sallwarp*. Mr. *Giles Wolley*. Mr. *Humphrey Waldern* of *Broome*. Mr. *Edward Bowchier* of *Churchhill*. Mr. *Ambrose Sparry* of *Martley*. Mr. *William Kimberley* of *Ridmarley*. Mr. *Benjamin Baxter* of *Upton* upon *Severn*. Mr. *Dowley* of *Stoke*. Mr. *Stephen Baxter*. Mr. *Thomas Bromwick* of *Kemsey*. Mr. *J. Nott* of *Sheriffhales*. Mr. *George Hopkins* of *Evesham*. Mr. *John Spilsbury* of *Bromsgrove*. And Mr. *Juice* of *Worcester*. All of them Worthy Men, Eminent for Piety, and Moderation, and Ministerial Abilities. Having all agreed in this Association, they propos'd publickly to their People so much as requir'd their Consent and Practise, and gave every Family a Copy in Print, and a sufficient time to consider and understand it, and then put it in Execution. Mr. *Baxter* pub-

The Worcestershire *Agreement for Church Order and Concord.*

publiſh'd the whole, with the Reaſons and Explication of the ſeveral Particulars, in a Book call'd *Chriſtian Concord*. ---In their Aſſociation they agreed upon a monthly Meeting at certain Market-Towns, for Conference about ſuch Caſes of Diſcipline as requir'd Conſultation and Conſent: And they were conſtantly kept up at *Eveſham* and *Kederminſter*. At *Kederminſter* there was once a Month a Meeting of 3 Juſtices of the Peace, who liv'd with them, and 3 or 4 Miniſters, (for ſo many they had in the Pariſh) and 3 or 4 Deacons, and 20 of the Antient and Godly Men of the Congregation, who pretended to no Office as Lay-Elders, but only met as Truſtees of the whole Church; and were choſen Annually for that purpoſe. At this Meeting they admoniſh'd thoſe who remain'd Impenitent in any Scandalous Sin, after more Private Admonition before two or three; they with all poſſible Tenderneſs perſwaded them to Repent, and labour'd to convince them of their Sin and Danger; and pray'd with them if they conſented. If they could not be prevail'd with to Repent, they requir'd them to meet before all the Miniſters at the other monthly Meeting, which was always the next Day after this Parochial Meeting. There the Admonitions and Exhortations were renew'd, and ſome Miniſters of other Pariſhes labour'd to ſet it home, that the Offender might not think it was only the Opinion of the Miniſter of the Place, and that he did it out of Ill-Will or Partiality. If the Offender yielded penitently to confeſs his Sin, and promiſe Amendment, (more or leſs publickly according to the Nature of the Scandal) they then joyn'd in Prayer for his true Repentance and Forgiveneſs, and exhorted him farther to his Duty for the Future. But if he ſtill continu'd obſtinately Impenitent, by the Conſent of all, he was by the Paſtor of the Place to be publickly admoniſh'd, and pray'd for by that Church uſually 3 ſeverally Days together: And if ſtill he remain'd Impenitent, the Church was requir'd to avoid him, as a Perſon unfit for their Communion. And the like Method was follow'd by all the Aſſociated Miniſters and Churches. ----At the ſame time the Miniſters of *Cumberland* and *Weſtmoreland* fell alſo upon

the ſame Courſe, and took much the ſame Method for the Exerciſe of Church Diſcipline; and correſponded with the Miniſters of *Worceſterſhire* about it: And ſo alſo did ſome other Counties.

The Lord's-Day Lecture in the County.

In theſe Meetings of the *Worceſterſhire* Miniſters, they ſtudy'd how to have the Lectures they ſet up among them extend to every Place in the County that had need. For when the Parliament purg'd the Miniſtry, they caſt out thoſe who were moſt Inſufficient and Scandalous, as groſs Drunkards, and ſuch like; and alſo ſome few Civil Men that had bin againſt them in the War, or ſet up *Bowing to Altars*, with the like Innovations: But they had left in, near half the Miniſters that were not good eno' to do much ſervice, nor bad eno' to be caſt out as utterly intolerable. There remain'd a company of weak Preachers, that had no great Skill in Divinity, nor Zeal for Godlineſs; but preach'd weakly that which was true, and liv'd in no groſs notorious Sin. Theſe Men not being caſt out, their People greatly needed Help: for their dark ſleepy Preaching did but little good. 'Twas therefore reſolv'd, *That ſome of the abler Miniſters ſhould often voluntarily help them.* Mr. *Baxter* procur'd the 30 *l.* that was collected at the yearly Feaſt of the *Londoners* of that County, for the Support of ſuch a Lecture for one Year, and ſo the Deſign was cover'd under the name of *The Londoners Lecture*; which took off the Offence. They choſe 4 Worthy Men, Mr. *Andr. Triſtram*, Mr. *Henry Oaſland*, Mr. *Thomas Baldwin*, and Mr. *Joſ. Noble*; who undertook to go each Man his Day once a Month, which was every *Lord's-Day* between the Year, and to Preach at thoſe places which had moſt need twice on the *Lord's-Day*; but to avoid all *Ill Conſequences* and *Offence*, they were ſometimes to go to other Mens Congregations, and where ever they came to ſay ſomewhat to draw the People, to the Honour and ſpecial Regard of their own Paſtors; that how weak ſoever they were, they might ſee the Deſign was not to draw away the Hearts of the People from them, but to ſtrengthen their Hands, and help them in their Work. This Lecture did a great deal of good; and tho' the *Londoners* gave their Aſſiſtance but one Year, yet having once ſet it on foot, they continu'd

nu'd it voluntarily, Mr. *Baxter* being as forward as any; and they held on 'till they were ſilenc'd, and had the Church Doors ſhut upon them.

The Worceſterſhire *Petition.* But it was not eno' to ſuch a Man as Mr. *Baxter* to be uſeful in the Particular County he liv'd in; he was earneſt in ſeeking, and careful in improving, all *Opportunities* of *General Service.* In the time of the *Rump* or *Common-wealth*, the *Anabaptiſts*, *Seekers*, &c. flew ſo high againſt Tithes and the Miniſtry, that it was much fear'd they would have prevail'd at laſt. Hereupon he drew up a Petition for the Miniſtry, and got many Thouſand Hands to it in *Worceſterſhire*, on which Account it was printed with the Title of that County's Petition. It was preſented by Mr. *Thomas Foley*, and Col. *John Bridges*, and a kind and promiſing Anſwer was given to it, which ſeem'd to lead to ſome good Reſolutions. The Sectaries greatly rag'd againſt the Petition, and one wrote a vehement Invective againſt it, which Mr. *Baxter* anſwer'd in a Paper call'd *The Defence of the* Worceſterſhire *Petition*, a Copy of which he gave to each Parliament Man at the Door: But within a Day or Two after they were diſſolv'd.

The Debate about Fundamentals. In the *Inſtrument* whereby *Oliver* was made Protector, it was declar'd, *That all ſhould have Liberty for the free Exerciſe of their Religion, who profeſs'd Faith in God by Jeſus Chriſt.* This *Inſtrument* being examin'd in Parliament, when they came to thoſe words, ſome honeſt Members affirm'd, *That if they ſpake* de re, *and not* de nomine, *Faith in God by Jeſus Chriſt, could contain no leſs than the Fundamentals of Religion.* So that it was purpoſed, That all ſhould have a due meaſure of Liberty, who profeſs'd the Fundamentals. Hereupon the *Committee* appointed to that Buſineſs, were required to nominate certain Divines, to draw up *in terminis* the *Fundamentals of Religion*, to be as a Teſt to this Toleration. The *Committee* being about fourteen nam'd every one his Man.

The Lord *Broghill* (afterwards Earl of *Orery*, and Lord-Preſident of *Munſter*) nam'd Arch-Biſhop Uſher; who refuſing the Service, he nominated Mr. *Baxter* in his ſtead; upon which he was ſent for up to *London*, and drawn into a Difficult Piece of Servi

in which tho' he could eaſily foreſee he ſhould be hamper'd by the Narrowneſs of ſome and the Shyneſs of others, he yet freely engag'd. The other Perſons employ'd, were Mr. *Marſhal*, Mr. *Reyner*, Dr. *Cheynel*, Dr. *Goodwin*, Dr. *Owen*, Mr. *Nye*, Mr. *Sydrach Sympſon*, Mr. *Vines*, Mr. *Manton*, and Mr. *Jacomb*. And he found they had begun, and drawn up ſome few of the Propoſitions, which they call'd *Fundamentals* before his Arrival. For his own part, he apprehended, that in ſtating ſo Nice a Queſtion as that, *What are your Fundamentals?* Great Care ought to be taken to diſtinguiſh between the Senſe or Matter, and the Words: That the Senſe only is primarily and properly *Fundamental*, and the Words no farther than as they are needful to expreſs that Senſe. In reality therefore he took no more to be Eſſential or Fundamental in Religion, but what is contain'd in our Baptiſmal Covenant, *I believe in God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, and give up my ſelf in Covenant to him, renouncing the Fleſh, the World, and the Devil.* And as to Words, he took no particular words in the World to be Eſſentials of our Religion; otherwiſe, no Man could be ſav'd without the Language which thoſe words belong to. And as to Publick Profeſſions upon Admittance to Communion, he tho't thus much might very well ſuffice: *In general, I do believe all that is contain'd in the Sacred Canonical Scriptures, and particularly I believe all explicitly contain'd in the Antient Creeds, and I deſire all that is contain'd in the Lord's Prayer, and I reſolve upon Obedience to the Ten Commandments, and what ever elſe I can learn of the Will of God.* And for all other Points, he judg'd it eno' to preſerve both Truth and Peace, that Men promiſe not to preach againſt them, or contradict them, tho' they do not ſubſcribe them. And therefore he propos'd the Offering to the Parliament, the *Creed*, *Lord's Prayer*, and *Ten Commandments*, as the Eſſentials or the Fundamentals of Chriſtianity, containing all that is neceſſary to Salvation. When they objected, *That this might be ſubſcrib'd by a Papiſt or Socinian*; his Anſwer was, *That it was ſo much the better, and the fitter to be the Matter of Concord: But that if they were afraid of Communion with* Papiſts *and* Socinians, *it ſhould not be avoided*

avoided by making a New Rule or Teſt of Faith, which they will not ſubſcribe to, or by forcing others to ſubſcribe to more than they can do, but by calling them to Account, when ever in Preaching or Writing they contradict or abuſe the Truth to which they have ſubſcrib'd. They reſolv'd however to hold on in the way they had begun, and ſo all that he had left to do, was to uſe his Endeavours to prevent their multiplying Fundamentals needleſly. At length this Propoſition was bro't in among others under the Head of the Scriptures, *That no Man could know God to Salvation by any other means.* This he aſſerted was neither Fundamental nor Truth, for that Faith may be wrought by the Teaching of another, without ever knowing that there is a Scripture. He argu'd the Point, and afterwards gave them his Reaſons in Writing: And if he did no other Service among them, at leaſt prevented the running many things ſo high as might otherwiſe have bin expected. When after many long Debates, they had printed 20 of their Propoſitions for the Parliament, that was diſſolv'd, and ſo all came to nothing.

Truth and Peace were the Matter of this Good Man's Purſuit all his Days. He ſtuck at no Pains that might contribute to either. He reſolv'd to take fitting opportunities of dealing with all the ſeveral Parties into which the Nation was unhappily divided, hoping that at leaſt he might help to pave the way for the Succeſs of others, when the happy Juncture ſhould arrive, tho' his Endeavours ſhould prove fruitleſs and abortive. Mr. *Vines* extolling the Judgment and Learning of Dr. *Ralph Brownrigg*, Biſhop of *Exceſter*, and adviſing him to chooſe him as the fittest Man to treat with for Concord with the *Dioceſan* Party, he wrote to him, and ſent him ſome Terms of Concord. He return'd him a very kind Letter, profeſſing his Willingneſs to proſecute that Work, and ſending a particular Anſwer to his Propoſals, granted the main Matters which he deſired, and which would have united all Parties, if yielded to when the King came in. For he granted, with Biſhop *Uſher*, that every Presbyter is and muſt be a Governour, as well as a Teacher, of his own Flock; and that ſubordinate Aſſemblies

Aſſemblies, like Rural Deanries, might be ſet up in every Market Town, or in certain limited Diviſions. And ſome good Agreement with the Epiſcopal Party, might have bin even then hop'd for, had not *Oliver*, when he had the Government in his hands, put in among the Scandalous Miniſters, who were thereupon to be Ejected all thro' the Nation, all thoſe who took part with the King againſt the Parliament: With which they were ſo exaſperated, as to lay aſide all motions of Agreement.

A Debate concerning the Neceſſity of a clear Succeſſion in the Miniſtry.

Mr. *Martin Johnſon*, a Neighbouring Miniſter at *Tomborne*, who tho' *high* in his Principles, was yet a Lover of all honeſt peaceable Men, and conſtant at the Meetings, Lectures, and Diſputations at *Kederminſter*, wrote to Mr. *Baxter* about the *Neceſſity of Epiſcopal Ordination*. He in anſwer to him maintain'd, that there was no abſolute Neceſſity; That a Man might be a true Miniſter who was ordain'd by Presbyters; and that, in Caſes of Neceſſity, it was a Duty to take Ordination from them. This he oppos'd with Modeſty and Judgment for a time, 'till at laſt being convinc'd, he yielded the Cauſe.

I'll here ſubjoyn a ſhort Abſtract of the *Arguments* and *Replies*.

Mr. *Johnſon* gave Four Reaſons why he was for being earneſt in pleading for an Uninterrupted Succeſſion in the Miniſtry, which Reaſons he urg'd as Arguments to prove it.

1. He urg'd the *Serioufneſs of our Divines in their Endeavours to prove, That our Biſhops in the Days of* Edw. 6. *and* Q. Eliz. *were Ordain'd by Biſhops, againſt the Calumnies of* Sanders, Kelliſon, Chalmney, *and others, who warmly aſſerted an Interruption in the Succeſſion.* The Pains of our Divines in this reſpect, tho't might have bin ſpar'd, if a clear Succeſſion not needful. ----

Mr. *Baxter* in Anſwer told him, 'That he tho't it much more ſafe, in a Caſe of this Nature, firſt to conſider the Fact, and prove that there hath bin ſuch a Succeſſion, before the Neceſſity of it is aſſert-ed. However, ſince he took the other way, he

'would

'would follow. This Argument, he told him from
'the Reformers, when ſcann'd, would amount to
'this; That what ever they tho't neceſſary to be
'prov'd againſt the Papiſts, was really ſo: But be-
'ſides that there is no Conſequence in that, where
'there is an acknowledg'd Fallibility; it is withal
'obſervable, that the Engliſh Biſhops might have
'other ends in endeavouring ro clear the Succeſſion,
'beſides Compliance with a ſuppos'd Neceſſity: They
'might deſign the Confuting their Adverſary on his
'own Grounds; or they might aim at ſhewing, that
'tho' the Neceſſity of a clear Succeſſion were granted,
'yet they need not grant the Nullity of their Ca-
'ling. Nay, 'tis evident in Fact, that tho' ſuch
'high Men as *Mountague* and *Laud*, did joyn with
'the Papiſts in pleading for the Neceſſity of a diſtinct
'Succeſſion, yet this was not the way of the True
'Primitive Fathers of the Church of *England*, who
'argu'd upon the Succeſſion againſt the Papiſts only
'*ad Hominem*, as we ſay, for their more effectual
'Conviction: and therefore took ſo much pains to
'confute the Fable of the *Nagg's Head Ordination*,
'that they might prove the Papiſts Slanderers. And
'tis obſervable, that ſuch high Men as thoſe mention-
'on'd, were nigh upon the matter as zealous againſt
'Q. *Elizabeth*'s Epiſcopal Proteſtants, as againſt the
'Papiſts themſelves.

2. Mr. *Johnſon*'s ſecond Argument was to this pur-
poſe. *Without a clear Succeſſion, we that are now Mi-
ſters cannot be ſaid to have our Authority from Chriſt,
we muſt have it from him either* mediately *or* immed-
ately. *To aſſert an* immediate *Derivation of Author
from Chriſt, is extravagant. If we have it* mediat
*from Chriſt, we muſt have it by the Mediation of ſ
Perſon, who at length had it immediately from him.
cannot be, if the Succeſſion be interrupted. If it be ſ
the Authority is convey'd from Chriſt, by the Media
of the written Word*, he anſwers, *'tis no fit Medium
the conveying ſuch Authority in our Days: And th
this Reaſon, becauſe it meddles not with any Partic
Perſons of our Times. For the written Word no
names any Particular Perſons, nor lays down any

unicable Adjunct that might distinguish them, nor gives ny such general Description which may be personally and articularly ascrib'd to any of them. Were there any such eneral Description, that could give Authority, it must e in words to this purpose; They that are thus and thus ualify'd, may be Ministers of the Word: *Whereas e Scripture only says*, They that Preach the Word hall be thus and thus qualify'd; *but supposes the Per- us so qualify'd to come by their Authority some other way. r Authority he conceiv'd to be far different, from either bilities to undergo an Employment, or a willing mind to dertake it, or Conveniency of Habitation for the Dis- arge of it, or the desire of any Persons inviting a Man it. A Man may have all these, and yet want uthority. Tho' all these should concur in the Case of a ntleman, yet is he not a Justice of Peace, 'till his Name in the Commission from the Supream Magistrate, and hath taken his Oath as a Stipulation to him on his part, his faithful Discharge in it: So neither doth a Man, the Concurrence of all these Circumstances, become an thoriz'd Minister, 'till Jesus Christ, the Supreme Go- nour of his Church, shall by the Bishops, as his Depu- , put his Name into the Commission, and take recipro- Security from him for his faithful Discharge of his y.*

To this Mr. *Baxter* reply'd, 'That a Constitution ay be from Christ *mediately*, either in respect to a *diating Person*, or to some *mediating Sign* only: nd the *mediating Person* may be either the *total sub- dinate Cause*, having himself receiv'd the Power om God, and being as from himself to convey it nto Man; or he may be but the *Accidental Cause*; his Action may be only *conditionally* requisite. *Im- diately*, in the absolute Sense, with the exclusion all Mediating Persons and Signs, no Man ever d any Right communicated, or Duty impos'd by d, unless perhaps the immediate Impress, or su- natural Revelation of the Holy Ghost to some ophet or Apostle, might be said to do it. God is absolutely the Fountain of all Power, that no n can either have or give any Power but deriva- ly from him, and by his Commission; and the

'general

'general way of Man's giving it, muſt be by the
'ſignification of God's Will; and ſo far as that can
'be ſufficiently diſcover'd, there needs no more to
'the conveyance of Power. Men *mediate* three ways
'in the Nomination of the Perſon. When they have
'a Governing Authority over others, they convey
'efficiently to inferiour Officers the Power that be-
'longs to their Places. This way of *mediating* is not
'always, if at all, neceſſary or poſſible in the Church.
'The Papiſts own their Pope is authoriz'd, without
'this way of Efficiency; for none have a Papal Pow-
'er to convey to him. And it was the old Doctrine
'of the Church, (in St. *Cyprian*'s time) That all Bi-
'ſhops were equal, and had no Power one over ano-
'ther, but all had their Power directly from Chriſt.
'A ſecond way is, when Men that are of equal Au-
'thority have the Nomination of the Perſon. In
'ſuch a Caſe there can be no proper Efficiency; for
'they who are the Ordainers, have no particular
'Government over thoſe whom they ordain, or the
'Churches to whom they ordain them. Their Act-
'on is only a neceſſary Prerequiſite. The third way
'of Mediating is by the meer Election of Inferiours.
'As to the written Word, that in caſe of a failing
'Ordainers is a ſufficient *Mediate Inſtrument*; Abilities,
'Willingneſs, and Opportunity (which are neceſſa-
'ry to qualify) concurring. The Conſtitution of
'Magiſtrates, in caſe of a failure of Miniſters, is a
'farther Medium, diſtinct from Scripture. When
'Miniſters fail, Magiſtrates are the Judges; if both
'fail, the People have a Judgment of Diſcretion
'without any Governing Power: Their Judgment of
'Diſcretion hath a ſufficient Diſcovery of God's ſuf-
'ficient Conſtitution, in the Law of God, in the
'Perſons Abilities, Willingneſs, and Opportunity,
'and the Willingneſs of the People.

'The Word of God hath not left us at ſuch an
'certainty in the Point, as this ſort of Argument
'would ſeem to intimate. For we find God hath
'there determin'd that there ſhall be Miniſters: He
'hath alſo determin'd the Nature of their Work and
'Power, the Object about which, and the End for
'which, it is to be employ'd. The Perſons are

'ſent

'ſcrib'd from their neceſſary Qualifications, in the 'Books of *Timothy* and *Titus*. And all that is now 'left to be done, is but to judge and determine of 'the particular Perſon who is moſt capable; and ſo 'far to be the Medium of his receiving the Power. This Judging and Determination muſt be by Signs, from the Perſons Qualifications agreeing to the Rule. And God hath made Eccleſiaſtical Officers the *Ordinary Authoritative Judges* of this Queſtion, *Who is the Qualify'd Perſon?* So that 'tis not only the Senſe of the Word of God in the matter, That *they that Preach ſhall be thus and thus qualify'd*, but *Men thus and thus qualify'd*, ſhall *be appointed to Preach the Word*. And the Obligation in this reſpect remains in Force, tho' the way of their Ordination may ceaſe: And in ſuch a Caſe the Magiſtrate's *Deſignation*, or Peoples *Election*, upon the diſcerning the Qualifications, is a ſufficient Nomination of the Perſon; upon which Nomination the Word of God conveys the Power to him.

God hath no where oblig'd himſelf in Scripture to give all Churches the Opportunity of *Regular Miniſterial Ordination:* Nay in Fact, in many Places there hath bin a Moral or Natural Impoſſibility of it; as in the *Romiſh* Church, where there's no Ordination to be had, but upon ſinful Terms, by wicked Oaths or Profeſſions: Or in ſome remote Parts of the World, where there are no Miniſters. But ſuppoſe ſuch a Caſe had never bin, 'tis yet poſſible for there to be ſuch a Caſe, where a Regular Ordination ſhould be impracticable; and therefore it cannot be an indiſpenſible Duty. Again, the End why I am oblig'd to ſeek Ordination rather from an Eccleſiaſtical Officer than from a Magiſtrate, *&c.* is becauſe God hath appointed him for Order ſake, as one that ought to be the fitteſt to do it, and prevent Intruſions and Abuſes. Now where the Regular Ordainers prove inſufficient or wicked; this End fails. Thus it was in the time of the *Arrian* Defection; and thus 'tis at this Day in the Church of *Rome*. God gives no Men Power to deſtroy the Church, but to preſerve and propagate it. And therefore when Men will not ordain to the

'Preſervation, but to the apparent Deſtruction of the
'Church, we are not oblig'd to receive their Ordi-
'nation.

'That it was never the Will of God that there
'ſhould be no Miniſtry at all, longer than Men
'might be regularly ordain'd, he prov'd by ſeveral
'Reaſons. Becauſe the Office of the Miniſtry is of
'ſtanding Neceſſity to the very Being of a Political
'Church, whereas Eccleſiaſtical Authoritative Ordi-
'nation is but neceſſary to the Well-being of it.
'And therefore the failing of the latter, cauſeth not
'failing of the former. God hath oft ſuffer'd his
'Church to fall into *Diſorders* and *Diſtempers*, wher
'yet he hath preſerv'd its Being. Withal, God hath
'not inſeparably ty'd a neceſſary certain End, to on
'only mutable uncertain Mean. The Office of the
'Miniſtry, is the neceſſary certain End of *Regular*
'*Eccleſiaſtical Ordination*; and that is a mutable un
'certain Mean. Again, God hath not put it into the
'Power of Biſhops, or other Ordainers, to deſtroy
'his Church for ever, as they might do, if the Mini
'ſtry were inſeparably annex'd to their Authoritative
'Ordination. Eaſily might they do it upon the
'Suppoſition; for that it is in the Power of their
'Wills, whether they will ordain any other to ſuc
'ceed them; and if they ſhould not, the Succeſſion
'is interrupted, and the Office muſt fail. It's vain
'to ſay, This is not to be ſuppos'd, when there is
'Promiſe or Certainty of the contrary: And why
''tis ſo evident that Ordainers may turn Heretick
'and refuſe to ordain any but what will be ſo too,
'which was the Caſe in the time of the *Arrians*. And
'as for thoſe few that do not turn Hereticks, they
'may clog their Ordinations with ſuch Impoſitions
'and Engagements, as that Perſons fearing God may
'juſtly refuſe to ſubmit to them. They may ſo ma-
'nage Matters, as that the Conſcientious muſt not be
'ordain'd by them; and conſequently they have
'Power to deſtroy the Church: Which if it were
'firm'd but of the Churches in one Nation, is
'true. Again, God hath made it indiſpenſibly ne-
'ceſſary to his People to the World's End, to aſ-
'ſemble in ſolemn Congregations for Publick Wor-
'ſhip

ſhip: This cannot be without a Miniſtry; and therefore this muſt be had, tho' *Authoritative Eccleſiaſtical Ordination* fail. Such a Failure can never abſolve a a Country or People from God's Publick Worſhip; without which Chriſtianity would ſoon dwindle away. Again, the Law of Nature, and the expreſs unchangeable Written Word agreeing with it, require Men to do the Office of Miniſters, who have a Fitneſs for it, where there is an undeniable Neceſſity of their Help; and ſuch a ſuppos'd Failure can't give a Diſpenſation. That there is a Duty in ſuch a Caſe of Neceſſity, even on Perſons unordain'd, appears hence, in that the Office of the Miniſtry comprehends the greateſt Works of Mercy to Mens Souls, and which are moſt for the Glory of God, of which when there is Ability, Opportunity and Neceſſity, to be ſure Obligation cannot be wanting. In a Place that is Infected, where better Help is not at hand, a Man of tolerable Skill is bound to give Advice, tho' he be not a Phyſician. In an unexpected Aſſault of an Enemy in the Camp, if the Commanders are aſleep or abſent, the moſt experienc'd Soldiers may ſupply their place: In ſuch Caſes, *Salus Populi Suprema Lex*, the *Common Safety*, as the *higheſt Law*, univerſally prevails; and there is the ſame Reaſon why *Salus Eccleſiæ* ſhould be *Suprema Lex*; why the *Safety of the Church* ſhould be the *higheſt Law*, without ſticking at Formalities, when the *All* is at Stake. Our Lord hath taught us, that *Ceremonials* and *meer Poſitives* do give way to *Natural Morals* and *Subſtantials*; and that when two Duties come together, and cannot both be perform'd, the Greater muſt be choſen. *Circumciſion*, that was ſo ſtrictly enjoin'd, was diſpens'd with for 40 Years together in the Wilderneſs: How much more under the Goſpel would God have Externals and Modals ſtoop to the Subſtance? Again, there is a great Parity between *Secular* and *Eccleſiaſtical Power*. If an Interruption of the Succeſſion in the Ordinary Conveyance of *Civil Power* leave a Nation without any true Power or Authority, then moſt *Common-wealths*, this of *England* in particular, (where the Line of Succeſſion

'hath bin so oft Interrupted) had bin long ago dis-
'solv'd: But this is a Conclusion evidently
'ly Destructive of all Civil Government. Now
'there is not a greater Necessity of an uninterrupted
'Succession in the Conveyance of *Ecclesiastical Power*,
'than there is as to that which is *Secular*: And there-
'fore Mr. *Baxter* put Mr. *Johnson* upon applying
'what he said of a Minister's receiving his Eccles-
'stical Power *mediately* or *immediately*; and if *medi-*
'*ately*, how by Scripture Mediation, which meddles
'not with particular Persons; to King *Charles* the
'First's Receipt of his Civil Power or Authority in
'this Nation; which he tho't would help him to
'discover how little Strength there was in his Argu-
'ment. Again, want of Authoritative Ecclesiastical
'Ordination, in Case of Necessity, will no more nul
'the Actions of Church Governours now, than un
'deniable Usurpation did null the Ministerial Act
'ons of the Priests before Christ's Death. And
'their Actions are not null, their Ordinations are n
'null. That the Priests in our Saviour's time can
'not In in God's way, is well known, and universall
'own'd: And that their Actions were not null,
'to others, appears by Christ's teaching Men to sub
'mit to them. Now 'tis hard to give a Reason wh
'there should not be as great a Necessity of an Uni
'terrupted Succession then, as now. Nay, the N
'cessity was then on many Accounts greater, becau
'the Priesthood was fix'd in a Family, *&c.* Aga
'when God tyes his People to Duty, he is ready
'give them the Blessing, which is its end, if th
'obey. Now God obligeth many to submit to
'Ministerial Actions of some that are irregularly O
'dain'd, nay even of Usurpers: And hath not o
'ged the People narrowly to pry into a Minist
'Call, to whom they belong, as to his just Ordin
'on, if they find him fit for, and faithful in,
'the Ministerial Work. Nay, the People can
'know or judge of the matter of a clear Succes
'For if they know their Ministers were Ordai
'how can they tell how it was as to those that
'dain'd them, or as to many other Links of
'Chain that must at last derive their Power f

'C

Christ himself by Personal Succession. Again, if the Administrations even of Usurpers were null, (and so the Ordination of such) then innocent Persons and Churches would suffer, nay be ruin'd, meerly thro' other Mens Faults. If the Lord-Deputy of *Ireland*, or the Vice-Roy of *Naples* were dead, and one should so counterfeit the King's Hand and Seal, as that the Nobles and People could not discern it, and should annex this to a Grant for the Place, and shew it to the People, and claim the Power by it; if this Man continue the Exercise of this Power for a Year, before the King displace him, or the Deceit be discover'd, all his Actions must be valid as to the Benefit of the *Common-wealth*, tho' they are Treasonable to himself: And he conveys Power from the King to Inferiour Officers, who yet never receiv'd any himself. And so 'tis in the Case of Ministers. Again, the Ordination of the Magistrates serv'd the turn in case of a Failure in the Regular Way, before Christ's time, and therefore it may do so still. Thus *Solomon* put out *Abiathar*, & put in *Zadok* into the High Priesthood: And the Power of Magistrates in Church Matters was no Ceremony, or Temporary thing. Once more, when any Officers of the Temple were discover'd to have no just Title, and thereupon were put out, yet none of their Actions, while they were in place, were censur'd null. This appears from *Ezra* 2. 62. *Nehem.* 7. 64, 65. and 13. 29. 30. and if so, their Ordination was not null: Nor can it be, upon a like Supposition, in our Times.

'Further; The Individual Person to be the Subject of the *Ministerial Power*, may be determin'd of ordinarily (or sometimes at least) by the Peoples Election, and then be presented to the Ministers for Ordination; if so, then may the very same Person, being determin'd of by the People, be presented to God immediately for his Ordination, in case there be no Ordainers to be had. We see the People had a Vote at first in the choice of Church Officers, *Acts* 6. 3. If they were to choose Deacons so and so qualify'd, and then present them to the Apostles, then were they competent Discerners of the Qualificati-

'ons. And in the Case of Ministers, several Coun-
'cils have decreed Ordinations invalid, without the
'Peoples Election; yea, if they were but affrighted
'and over-aw'd, and did not act freely. The Scrip-
'ture is sufficient for the whole of the Affair of set-
'tling Ministers, except the Nomination of the Indi-
'vidual: Now in case there be no Ordainer, a right
'qualify'd Man chosen only by the People, is justly
'nominated as the Individual, and the Word of God
'gives Authority to that Individual Person, so no-
'minated or determin'd of. For when ever two Par-
'ties are made *Con-causes*, (as here, *Ministers* as Or-
'*dainers*, and *People* as *Choosers*) or are to concur in
'Determinations, when one Party faileth, the Power
'and Duty is solely in the other. Again, if the
'Word so far describes the Persons to receive the
'Power, as that a Bishop can nominate the Person
'by the help of that Description, then others also
'may nominate them by the help of that Description.
'For others may be able to see what a Bishop can see,
'and in Case of Necessity at least may do it. The
'Word meddles with none of the Individuals, which
'the Bishops determine of, and yet conveys the Pow-
'er when the Bishop hath determin'd of the Person
'to receive it. And 'tis the like, when in Case of Ne-
'cessity the Person to receive the Power is another
'way determin'd of. The *Law of God* is to be con-
'ceived of in this Form: *I do Authorize the Person*
'*that shall be justly determin'd of, according to this De-*
'*scription.* And because *Ministerial Determination*
'are the ordinary regular way with the Peoples Con-
'sent, it is *q. d. Ordinarily I do Authorize the Person*
'*whom Ecclesiastical Power shall determine of, according*
'*to this Description.* So that it is God, by his Law
'that gives the Power. Again; If the People may
'by their Judgment of Discretion, discern whether
'Bishop have Ordain'd them one agreeable to the
'*Scripture Description*, they may also discern whether
'a Man be agreeble to it, tho' unordain'd. If not
'then must they receive an Heretick or Infidel with-
'out Tryal, if Ordain'd their Bishop; which is not
'true, for they are bound to reject such a one.
'they are not to *Eat* with such a one, much less

'the

they to take him for their Minister or Bishop. Again; the Case may be so plain who the Person is that God would have, as that there may be *no room for Controversy about it.* As when a Person hath all the visible Qualifications of Abilities, *Piety*, and a *Righteous Conversation*; a *Will* to the Work; *Opportunity* for it, by Liberty from Secular Power, and Vacancy from other Engagements, *&c.* When the Peoples Hearts are mov'd towards him; and there is no Competitour, or not so many but all may be chosen: When all these concur, there is no Controversy who should be the Man. But then where these things do concur, Persons must seek an orderly admission where it is possible, and not be their own Judges of their Fitness, where there are other Judges of God's Appointment. But if they are wanting, or so dispos'd as that they'll approve of none, but upon Terms of their own devising, a Formality or Point of Order is not to be preferr'd before the saving of Mens Souls, and the Publick Good and Safety of the Church. Again; If in case of the want of a Lawful Magistrate, the People may determine of an Individual Person, whom *God* shall Authorize, tho' the Scripture name no Individual of this Age, then they may do so also with regard to the Ministry. If this ben't allow'd as to Secular Government, we should scarce have any Magistrates in the World but by violent *Intrusion*, which is far worse than *Popular Election.* Now the *Scripture* meddles no more with *Individuals for Magistracy* than for *Ministry.*

Mr. *Johnson* at first view complain'd, *That he could t see that Mr.* Baxter, *by this Reply, had answer'd his cond Argument, wherein lay the Strength of his Cause*; t upon more mature Consideration, he acknowdg'd to him, *That he had suggested that which enabled m to answer it himself, and given him full satisfaction. r that he had convinc'd him, that tho' the Succession of rdination might be interrupted, yet we may draw our uthority from Christ by the Mediation of the written rd, or indeed by the very Law of Nature, which obli- all Men to do what Good they can when they have opportunity,*

portunity, and there is a Neceſſity of their Help. And that therefore he did not doubt but a Man might have a ſufficient Diſcovery of the Will of Chriſt calling him out to Duty, and by Conſequence giving him ſufficient Authority for that Work, tho' he might want the Regular Entrance into it.

3. Mr. *Johnſon*'s third Argument was taken from *the Encouragement it would give to the Invaders and Intruders upon the Miniſterial Office, to own that a clear Succeſſion was not neceſſary.*

To this Mr. *Baxter* reply'd: 'That what ever Encouragement ſuch Perſons might take, there was no juſt Encouragement given them. The beſt things, as *God's Mercifulneſs*, *Chriſt's Satisfaction*, the *Preaching of Free Grace*, &c. may be Occaſions of encouraging Men in Sin, but are not therefore to be diſown'd. Becauſe *a clear Succeſſion is not neceſſary*, it doth not preſently follow, that Intruders are to be embrac'd; for they deſpiſe or neglect God's Order. If God bid them go and work in his Vineyard, but for Order's ſake go in at *this Door*, he that will not go in at *this Door* is a diſobedient Servant, and not to be own'd 'till he reform. But if God himſelf diſnail up *this Door*, there needs no expreſs Diſpenſation for not going in at it. And it no way follows that becauſe Neceſſity may be pleaded where it is not real, it may not be therefore pleaded where it is ſo. Tho' many Men may be guided by Fancy, and run before they are ſent, yet other ways muſt be found to ſtop them, beſides a Suppoſition, the Conſequences whereof are ſo fatal. But what ever Liberty any take without a Warrant, that Man muſt have a very hard Heart that would leave ſuch a Nation as this, much more all the World, to the apparent Danger of *Everlaſting Damnation*, and God's publick Worſhip to be utterly caſt out, if it ſhould be prov'd, *That the Succeſſion of Legitimate Ordination is interrupted.*

4. Mr. *Johnſon*'s fourth Argument was taken from *the Neceſſity of Impoſition of Hands in Ordination, which Impoſition of Hands could not be had by him that ſhould come immediately into the Miniſtry, after a ſuppos'd Interruption in the Succeſſion.*

To this Mr. *Baxter* reply'd: That he did not take '*Impoſition of Hands* to be abſolutely eſſential to *Or*'*dination.* He mentions a Biſhop of *Worceſter* in his 'time, ſo Lame of the Gout that he could not move 'his Hand to a Man's Head; and yet never heard a 'Nullity ſuſpected in his Ordination. He ſays, *That* '*Impoſition of Hands is required, and a proper means ne*'*ceſſary not to the Being, but the Well-being of Ordina*'*tion.* He asks him, If becauſe the Holy Ghoſt hath 'reveal'd it to be the Will of Chriſt, that a Biſhop 'have Faithful Children, and keep them in Subje'ction with all Gravity, it therefore follows that it 'is Eſſential to a Biſhop to have Children? How interrupted muſt this make the Succeſſion! Or be'cauſe 'tis the Will of Chriſt, a Chriſtian ſhould not ſpeak an Idle Word, doth it therefore follow 'that he that ſpeaks an Idle Word is not a Chriſtian? Things muſt not be carry'd too far. There may be Neceſſity of Ordination without *Impoſition of Hands.* 'A Man caſt into remote Parts of the World, and there plainly call'd to the Office of the Miniſtry, if he muſt Travel over Land and Sea for Ordination, his Life may be gone, or moſt of it ſpent, while he is ſeeking Authority to uſe it for his Maſter. If a few only of the Ordainers were left in a Country, or in many Nations, and thoſe Impriſon'd, or forced to hide themſelves, they might ordain by an Inſtrument under their hands, when they could not do it by *Impoſition of Hands.* But beſides, it is very eaſy to ſuppoſe how Ordination by *Impoſition of Hands* may be kept up, tho' an *Epiſcopal Succeſſion* ſhould be interrupted. And withal, the Neceſſity of *Impoſition of Hands* in Ordination, is much leſs clear than the Neceſſity of Ordination it ſelf, canvaſs'd under the ſecond Argument. Upon the whole he told him, his main Strength lay here; *That*

'*Chriſt*

'*Christ or his Apostles have mention'd no other way of conveying Ministerial Power but by Ordination and Imposition of Hands, and therefore there is no other way, and this is necessary to the Being of the Office.* Now we may as strongly argue for any Mode or Convenient Circumstance so requir'd or us'd. *As Christ or his Apostles mention no way of Ordination, but with Prayer conjunct, or but with Imposition of Hands on the the bare Head, or but in the Syriack, Hebrew, Greek or Latin Tongues, or but on a Man that is Vigilant, Sober, and of good Behaviour: And therefore there is no other way; but this is of absolute Necessity to the Being of the Office.* But as this is no good Arguing, no more is the other. It is as bad as if one had thus argu'd with the *Israelites* in the Wilderness; God hath mention'd no other way of Covenant Engagement, or Church Entrance, but by Circumcision; and therefore there is no other, but this is necessary to a Church State and an Interest in the Covenant. No Divines but acknowledge some Cases must be judg'd, and some Laws interpreted, κατ' ἐπίκειαν, which yet is but according to the True Sense of the Law, as Christ taught the Pharisees in the Case of *David*, the Priests, and his Disciples rubbing the Ears of Corn.

'As it seems *Matthias* and the other Apostles were ordain'd without Imposition of Hands, so *Gregory Thaumaturgus* was ordain'd by *Phædimus*, both against his Will, and when he was distant three Days Journey. *Gregory Nyssen* mentions it, in his *Orat. de Vit. Thaumat*; and tells us, *That when* Gregory *avoided the Hands of the Bishop, he by Prayer and solemn Words sets him apart, tho' absent, to the Priesthood.* *Nyssen* speaks of it as true Ordination, and the Form us'd shews that it was Constituting him in Office as Bishop of *Neocæsarea*.

'And it really was an Authoritative Consecration to God as a Bishop, and a Constituting him over that Church by Prayer, and solemn Words of Consecration.

Their

Their Debate ran upon many other Particulars, leſs momentous than theſe, which are therefore omitted.

At another time, he was dealing with the *Anabaptiſts* in order to Peace, and that upon this Occaſion. Mr. *Lamb* and Mr. *Allen*, two very ſober Men, were Paſtors of an Anabaptiſt ſeparated Church in *London*. Mr. *Lamb*'s Wife, who was a good underſtanding Woman, wrote Mr. *Baxter* word, *That her Husband was under ſome Diſturbance in his Mind, not with any reference to Infant-Baptiſm, but about Separation upon the account of it; and that a Letter from him upon that Subject would be very ſeaſonable.* Hereupon Mr. *Baxter* wrote to him; and prov'd, by ſeveral Arguments, *That tho' he ſhould continue in his Opinion about Infant Baptiſm, yet he ought not to make it a Reaſon of denying Communion with his Brethren of another mind:* His Arguments ſo wrought upon him, as to ſatisfy him. Afterwards, he propounded the ſame Conſiderations to Mr. *Allen*, who was alſo ſatisfy'd: And thereupon they with joynt Conſent diſſolv'd their Church, aud were very Zealous for the Reduction of their Brethren of the *Anabaptiſts* way, and to that end they had a Meeting with divers of the moſt moderate Paſtors of the Re-baptiz'd Churches: Mr. *Baxter* ſent them Terms, on which they might have Peace and Communion with their Brethren; and they conſulted about them, and were in a likely way of Agreement, had not the Broils of the Army, and the Confuſion attending the pulling down of *Richard Cromwel* prevented it.

His treating with the Anabaptiſts.

With the Independents.

He treated alſo with Mr. *Philip Nye* about an Agreement with the *Independents:* Two things Mr. *Nye* demanded as Neceſſary Conceſſions in caſe of an Union. *That they might have Liberty to take Church Members out of other Pariſhes:* And *that they might have all Church Power within themſelves in their ſeveral Congregations.* Both which were comply'd with in Mr. *Baxter*'s Propoſals in a meaſure. According to which, they were to be Members of Conſtant Aſſociations, and meet in Synods, tho' not as ſubject to their Government, yet

in order to Concord: And before they took Members from other Churches, it was to be debated in these Assemblies, *Whether there was sufficient Cause for a Removal.* But the greatest Difference was upon the Point of *Ordination.* For whereas 'twas offer'd, *That in case any of their Pastors remov'd or dy'd, if the succeeding Pastor were ordain'd, either by any remaining Pastor of that Church, or by any Pastors of other Churches, their own or others, they should be own'd as Pastors:* It was requir'd they should be acknowledg'd as Pastors, tho' never ordain'd by any Pastor of their own Church, or any other. Which put a Stop to the Proceeding.

With the Episcopal Party. A little before King *Charles*'s Return, some Papers pass'd between him and Dr. *Hammond*, about an Agreement with the *Episcopal* Party, which went thro' the Hands of Sir *Ralph Clare.* He propos'd, in order to a Brotherly Agreement, That Private Christians might have Liberty to manage the Concerns of Religion as they pleas'd, in their Family, without Molestation; Profaneness might be universally Discountenanc'd and Punish'd; That great Care might be taken as to the Abilites and Piety of the Pastors of the Church; That no Pastors be forc'd on the Flocks without their Consent; That the Ministers be urg'd to Personal Catechizations; That there be an open Profession of Faith and Holiness, upon the passing out of the State of Infant into that of Adult Church Members; That Symbolical Mystical Ceremonies be not forc'd upon Persons against their Consciences, or a Form of Prayer so impos'd, as to restrain a Freedom of Praying according to the Variety of Circumstances and Occasions; That the Pastors of each Parish Church have Liberty to hear Accusations of Heresy or Scandal, publickly to admonish Offenders upon Occasion, and call them to Repentance, to absolve the Penitent and reject the Impenitent: That the Neighbouring Pastors associating for Union and Communion, may hold Monthly Synods in every Market Town, having a stated President; that all Pastors be here Respon-

sible

ſible for their Conduct, and the more weighty Affairs of Particular Churches here decided: That every Quarter there be a Synod of all the Paſtors of each County, with a ſtated Preſident; to receive Appeals, without deſtroying the Power of Particular Paſtors, or leſſer Synods; and that no Preſident ordain, deprive, ſuſpend, or excommunicate, without the Conſent of the Synod: That National Councils conſiſt of the Preſidents of both the Dioceſan and Inferiour Synods; or elſe of the Diocetan, and two out of each County, freely choſen by the major Vote of all the Paſtors: That no Subſcription be requir'd of the Paſtors, but to the Holy Scriptures, and the Antient Creeds, and to the Neceſſary Articles of Faith and Practiſe expreſs'd in Scripture Terms, and to the Renunciation of all Hereſies contrary thereto: That no Paſtor be diſplac'd unleſs for Inſufficiency, Negligence or Scandal, committed within 2 Years before the Accuſation. And that Perſons Excommunicate might not be puniſh'd upon that Account with Corporal Puniſhments, unleſs it be by Disfranchiſing. ----Dr. *Hammond*, in his Reply, caſt all the Alterations or Abatements upon King and Parliament, without any particular Promiſes of Endeavours to accompliſh them: Tho' his Death, which was juſt upon the King's coming in, was a Great and General Loſs; it being highly probable that his Piety, and Wiſdom, and Intereſt, might have had a conſiderable Influence for the better, had it pleas'd God to ſpare his Life.

His Diſputes with the Papiſts.

Beſides all theſe, and a great many more Endeavours of his for Peace among Proteſtants, he was often engag'd againſt the Papiſts. He firſt wrote three Diſputations againſt them: One to prove *the Proteſtant Religion ſafe*; another to ſhew *their Religion unſafe*; and a third to prove, *that they overthrew the Faith by the ill Reſolution of their Faith.* He next wrote *A Winding-Sheet for Popery*, containing a Summary of Moderate and Effectual Reaſons againſt their Religion. And afterwards publiſh'd his *Key for Catholicks*, to open the *Jugling of the Jeſuites*, and ſatisfy all that are but truly willing to underſtand, whether the Cauſe of the *Roman* or *Reformed Churches* be of God.

Be-

Beſides which, he manag'd ſome particular Debates with ſeveral Romaniſts, as *W. Johnſon*, alias *Terret*, and others. And let but all this be added to his Laborious Diligence among his own particular Flock: And his many Practical Writings that he publiſh'd, and it will amaze any Man to conceive, how one of ſo much Weakneſs, who was conſtantly follow'd with divers Infirmities, ſhould be capable of ſo much Service: But an Heart full of Love to God, and flaming with Zeal for his Honour, carry'd him thro' all, and made him for Vigour and Activity the Wonder of his Age.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

The Tranſactions in order to the Healing paſs'd Breaches, after King Charles *his Reſtauration: The* Savoy Conference; *and Silencing Two Thouſand Miniſters quickly after it.*

WHEN the King was receiv'd with the general Acclamations of his People, the Expectations of Men were various, according to their ſeveral Intereſts and Inducements. Some plain and moderate *Epiſcopal* Men tho't of *Reconciliation* and *Union* with the *Presbyterians*. The more Politick Part of them knew that all their Ancient Power, and Honour, and Revenues would be reſtor'd to them, and none ſuffer'd to ſhare with them, but ſuch as were entirely of their Mind and Way. But many of the *Presbyterians* were in great Hopes of Favour *. To cheriſh which Hopes, Mr. *Calamy*, Dr. *Reignolds*, Mr. *Aſh*, Dr. *Spurſtow*, Dr. *Wallis*, Dr. *Bates*, Dr. *Manton*, Mr. *Caſe*, Mr. *Baxter*, &c. to the number of 10 or 12 of them were made the King's Chaplains in Ordinary: Tho' none of them ever Preach'd, except Mr. *Calamy*, Dr. *Reignolds*, Mr. *Baxter*, Dr. *Spurſtow*, and Mr. *Woodbridge*, each once a piece. By this Means they had eaſy acceſs to his Majeſty; and intending to improve it to the Common Good, waited upon him with my Lord *Mancheſter*, recommending to his ſerious Conſideration, the Union of his Subjects in Religious Matters, which if he would pleaſe to interpoſe, he had now a moſt Happy Juncture for effecting; and

An. 1660.

The Treatment of the Presbyterian Miniſters at Court.

* *Beſides Particular Promiſes from Men in Power, they had an Aſſurance from King* Charles *himſelf, in his Declaration from* Breda, *to all his Loving Subjects,* April 4. 1660. *in which were theſe words:* We do declare a Liberty to tender Conſciences, and that no Man ſhall be diſquieted, or call'd in queſtion for Differences of Opinion, which do not diſturb the Peace of the Kingdom.

An. 1660. and begging that only things neceſſary might be t
Terms of Union; that the true Exerciſe of Churc
Diſcipline might be allow'd; and that the faithf
Miniſters that would Exerciſe it might not be caſt ou
nor unworthy Men obtruded on the People. T
King declar'd himſelf highly pleas'd with their I
clinations to Agreement, and reſolv'd to do his pa
towards the promoting of it: But told them, *That th
Agreement could not be expected to be compaſs'd by bringi
one Party over to the other, but by abating ſomething
both ſides, and meeting in the midway. That if it wer
not effected it ſhould be long of themſelves, and not of him*
Nay, *That he was reſolv'd to compaſs Union, and that
would draw the two diſtant Parties together, himſelf, &*
And thereupon he deſir'd them, *To offer him ſome Pr
poſals in order to an Agreement about Church Gover
ment, which being the main Difference, if it could be
micably adjuſted, there would be little danger of differi
in other things.* And withal, he deſired them to
down the moſt that they could yield to. They to
him, *They were but few, and had no Commiſſion from the
Brethren to expreſs their minds; and therefore begg
leave to acquaint their Brethren in the Country, that th
might know their Senſe.* The King ſaid, *That would
too long, and make too much Noiſe, and therefore he h
rather have the Propoſals from them, who might take ſuc
as were in the City with them as they tho't good.* Hereu
on they declar'd, *That they could not pretend to ſpe
for, or oblige others; and that therefore what they di
muſt ſignify but the Minds of ſo many Men as were pr
ſent.* The King told them, *It ſhould be ſo taken: a
that he intended not to call an Aſſembly of the other Par
but would bring a few, ſuch as he tho't meet: And th
if he tho't good to adviſe with a few on each ſide, for
own ſatisfaction, none had cauſe to be offended at it.* The
alſo begg'd of the King, *That at the ſame time that th
offer'd their Conceſſions to his Majeſty, the Brethren on t
other ſide might alſo bring in theirs, containing the utmo
that they could abate and yield on their ſide, in order
Concord; that ſo when both were ſeen and compar'd tog
ther, a Judgment might be the better form'd, as to t
Probability of Succeſs.* And the King promis'd them
ſhould be ſo.

Afte

After this, the Miniſters met from Day to Day at *Sion Colledge*, to Conſult openly with any of their Brethren that would join with them; that none might ſay they were excluded. Many of the City Miniſters came to them; and many Country Miniſters, who were then in Town, join'd alſo with them; as Dr. *Worth*, (afterwards a Biſhop in *Ireland*) Mr. *Fulwood*, afterwards Arch-Deacon of *Totneſs* and others; but Mr. *Matthew Newcomen* was the moſt conſtant. In about 3 Weeks time, they agreed to a Paper of Propoſals, (which was drawn up for the moſt Part by Mr. *Calamy*, Dr. *Reignolds* and Dr. *Worth*) in which, "after an Hum- "ble Addreſs to His Majeſty, and 4 Preliminary "Requeſts, viz. *That ſerious Godlineſs might be Coun-* "*tenanc'd*; *a Learned and Pious Miniſter in each Pa-* "*riſh encourag'd*; *that a Perſonal Publick owning the* "*Baptiſmal Covenant might precede an admiſſion to the* "*Lord's Table*; *and that the Lords Day might be ſtrict-* "*ly Sanctifi'd*: They offer to allow of the True An- "tient Primitive Preſidency in the Church with a "due mixture of *Presbyters*, in order to the avoiding "the Corruptions, Partiality, Tyranny and other "Evils, which are incident to the Adminiſtration "of a ſingle Perſon, The things which they Princi- "pally blam'd in the *Engliſh Frame*, were the *great* "*Extent of the Biſhops Dioceſs*, *their Deputing* "*Commiſſarys*, *Chancellors*, *and Officials to Act in their* "*ſtead*; *their aſſuming the ſole Power of Ordination and* "*Juriſdiction*; *and acting ſo Arbitrarily in Viſitation* "*Articles*; bringing in New Ceremonies, and ſuſ- "ſpending Miniſters at Pleaſure: And for Reforming "theſe Evils they propoſ'd, that *Biſhop-Uſhers Re-* "*duction of Epiſcopacy unto the Form of Synodical Go-* "*vernment receiv'd in the Antient Church*, ſhould be "the Ground-Work of an Accommodation; and that "Suffragans ſhould be choſen by the reſpective Sy- "nods: the Aſſociations be of a moderate Extent, the "Miniſters be under no Oaths, or Promiſes of Obe- "dience to the Biſhops, as being Reſponſible for "any Tranſgreſſion of the Law; and that the Biſhops "Govern not by Will and Pleaſure, but according "to Rules Canons and Conſtitutions that ſhould be "Ratifi'd and Eſtabliſh'd by Act of Parliament.---

An. 1660.

Their Propoſals to the King, about Church Government.

An. 1660. " As to the *Liturgy*, they own'd the Lawfulneſs of a pre-
" ſcribed Form of Publick Worſhip; but deſir'd, that
" ſome Learned and Pious, and Moderate Divines of
" both ſorts, might be employ'd either to Compile a
" New *Liturgy*, or to Reform the Old, adding ſome
" other Varying Forms in Scripture Phraſe, to be
" us'd at the Miniſters Choice.--- As to the *Ceremo-*
" *nies* they Humbly Repreſented, that the Worſhip
" of God was perfect without them, that God hath
" Declar'd himſelf in Matters of Worſhip a Jealous
" God, that the Reform'd Churches abroad, moſt of
" them rejected the Ceremonies that were retain'd
" here; that here in *England*, they had ever ſince the
" the Reformation bin Matter of Contention and
" Diſpute; that they had occaſion'd the ſilencing of
" many Pious and Uſeful Miniſters, and given riſe to
" many Separations from the Church: That they
" were at beſt but indifferent, and in their own Na-
" ture Mutable; and therefore they begg'd, that
" Kneeling at the Sacrament might not be impoſed,
" and that the Surplice, and the Croſs in Baptiſm, and
" the Bowing at the Name of *Jeſus* rather than *Chriſt*
" or *Emanuel* might be aboliſh'd, and that Care
" might be taken to prevent future Innovations con-
" trary to Law; that ſo the Publick Worſhip might
" be free, not only from Blame but Suſpicion.

Quickly after the Kings Return many Hundred worthy Miniſters were diſplac'd, and caſt out of their Charges, becauſe they were in Sequeſtrations where others had bin caſt out by the Parliament. The Miniſters waiting upon his Majeſty with their Propoſals, ſignify'd their full Satisfaction that all ſuch ſhould be Caſt out, as were in any Benifice belonging formerly to one that was not groſly Ins ſufficient or Debauch'd; but humbly Begg'd, that all who had ſucceeded *ſcandalous Perſons*, might hold their Places. They further deſired, that the Broad-Seal might be revok'd which had bin grante

* *Many of theſe after their being turn'd out of the Sequeſtrations, were ſoon ſetled again in other vacant Places, whence they were afterwards ejected by the Act of Uniformity, and as for ſuch as were not ſo ſoon provided for, they had without much difficulty quickly got Livings or Lectureſhips, if that Act had not incapacitated them; on which Account it is much the ſame thing, as if that Act had firſt diſplac'd them.*

to several, for those Livings that had bin formerly *An.* 1660.
sequestred, where the Old Incumbents were since Dead; by which Grants many worthy Possessors were ejected, tho' there were none before that could pretend any Right: And that his Majesty would be pleas'd to Publish his Pleasure that no Oath or Subscriptions, nor no Renunciation of Orders might be requir'd of any, till it was seen what was the Issue of the desired Agreement. The King treated them very Respectfully, and renew'd his Professions of his earnest desires of an Accommodation of the Differences, told them he was well pleas'd that they were for a Liturgy, and yielded to the Essence of Episcopacy; and promis'd them that the Places where the Old Incumbents were Dead, should according to their Desire, be confirm'd to the Possessors.

Whereas it had bin promis'd them by his Majesty, that they should meet with some Divines of the other side, and see their Proposals, it much disappointed them to find none of them appear. But, they were fearful of giving Disgust, by Expostulating or Complaining. After some time of waiting for the Condescentions and Compliances of the Episcopal Divines in Order to Peace, they at length receiv'd a biting Answer by way of Reflection on the Proposals they had made to his Majesty. In this their Answer, they Declare as to their *Preliminary Requests*, "that "they don't perceive any further Security can be "given, than is provided by the Laws of the Realm "already establish'd. As for private Religious Liberty that they are free to it, so a Gap be not open'd "to Sectarys for private Conventicles, for the Consequences of which none can be responsible to the "State: That they are for a Godly Minister in each "Parish, but know not what is meant by his *residing in his Cure*, * nor how far that Word may be "extended, nor what farther Provision can be made

The Answer of the Episcopal Divines.

* *These Gentlemen it seems were of Arch-Bishop* Whitgift's *Mind, who in a Letter to Queen* Elizabeth, *tells her the Church must fall, if the Bill against Pluralities (then brought into the House of Commons) should take Place. See* Fullers Church History, *Book* 9, *Pag.* 191.

An. 1660. " for it. As for *Confirmation*, and the keeping Scan-
" dalous Persons from Communion, they tho't the
" Church had sufficiently provided: And as for the
" *Observation of the Lord's Day*, they declare the Laws
" of the Land were stricter than the Laws of any Fo-
" reign Reformed Church whatsoever. As to *Church*
" *Government*, they declare for the former Hierarchy
" without any Alteration; and invidiously insinu-
" ate, That their Reflections on the Consequences of
" a single Person's Administration in the Church was
" as applicable to the Civil State. The *Extent of Di-*
" *oceses*, they declare suitable eno' to the Bishop's Of-
" fice: And the *Administration of Ecclesiastical Juris-*
" *diction* by Chancellours, *&c.* Regular in the main.
" Bp. *Usher*'s *Reduction*, they reject as Inconsistent
" with Two other of his Discourses, and as being at
" best but a Heap of private Conceptions. The *Litur-*
" *gy* they applaud as unexceptionable, and think it
" can't be said to be too Rigorously impos'd, when
" Ministers are not deny'd the Exercise of their Gifts
☞ " in Praying before and after Sermon. Which for
" of Praying, they declare however, is but the cont
" nuance of a Custom of no great Authority, an
" grown into Common Use by Sufferance only, with
" out any other Foundation in the Laws and Canon
" The revising the *Liturgy* nevertheless they yield t
" if His Majesty thinks fit. As for the *Ceremonies*
" they could not part with one; not being able
" think that the Satisfaction of some private Person
" was to be laid in the Ballance against the Public
" Peace, and Uniformity of the Church. Nay
" were any Abatements made, they are satisfy'
" unquiet Spirits would but be thereby encourag'd
" make further Demands.

Bishop *Usher*'s *Model of Government* being t
Scheme which the *Presbyterian* Ministers now presen
to the King, I shall here annex a Copy of it, that eve
one may know what it was particularly that the B
shops refus'd.

An. 1660.

The Reduction of Epiſcopacy unto the Form of Synodical Government receiv'd in the Antient Church, propos'd in the Year 1641, *as an Expedient for the Prevention of thoſe Troubles which afterwards did ariſe, about the Matter of Church Government.*

Epiſcopal *and* Presbyterian *Government conjoyn'd.*

BY the Order of the Church of *England*, all *Presbyters* are charg'd to (*a*) Miniſter the Doctrine and Sacraments and the Diſcipline of Chriſt as the Lord hath commanded, and as this Realm hath receiv'd the ſame. And that we might the better underſtand what the Lord had commanded therein, the Exhortation of St. *Paul* to the Elders (*b*) of the Church of *Epheſus*, is appointed to be read unto them at the time of their Ordination: *Take heed unto your ſelves, and to all the Flock among whom the Holy Ghoſt hath made you Overſeers to* * *rule the Congregation of God, which he hath purchaſed with his Blood.*

(*a*) *The Form of ordering Prieſts.*

(*b*) Ibid. *Act.* 20. 17, 18.

Of the many Elders who in common thus Rul'd the Church of *Epheſus*, there was one Preſident whom our Saviour in his Epiſtle to the Church, in a peculiar manner, ſtileth *the* (*c*) *Angel of the Church of* Epheſus. And *Ignatius*, in another Epiſtle written about twelve Years after to the ſame Church, calleth the *Biſhop* thereof. Betwixt which Biſhop and the Presbytery of that Church, what an Harmonious Conſent there was in the ordering the Church Government, the ſame *Ignatius* doth fully there declare. By the *Presbytery* (with St. *Paul* (*d*)) underſtanding the Company of the reſt of the *Presbytery* or Elders, who then had a Hand not only in the Delivery of the Doctrine and Sacraments, but alſo in the Adminiſtration of the Diſcipline of Chriſt. For farther Proof whereof, we have that known Teſtimony of *Tertullian* in his gene-

(*c*) *Revel.* 2. 1.

(*d*) 1 *Tim.* 4. 14.

* ποιμαινειν, *ſo taken* Matt. 2. 6. *and* Rev. 12. 5. *and* 19. 15.

ral Apology for Christians. In (e) the Church are us'd *Exhortations*, *Chastisements*, and *Divine Censures*; for Judgment is given with great Advice, as among those who are certain they are in the Sight of God, and it is the Chiefest foreshewing of the Judgment which is to come, if any Man hath so offended that he be banish'd from the Communion of Prayer, and of the Assembly, and of all Holy Fellowship.

(e) Ibidem etiam Exhortationes, Castigationes, & censuræ Divinæ, nam & judicatur magno cum pondere, ut apud certos de Dei conspectu, summumq; futuri Judicii Prejudicium est, si quis ita deliquerit, ut a Communione Orationis, & Conventus, & omnis Sancti Commercii relegatur. Præsident probati quique Seniores, Honorem istum non precio, sed Testimonio adepti. Tert. Apol. Cap. 39.

The Presidents that bear Rule therein, are certain approv'd Elders who have obtain'd this Honour, not by Reward, but by good Report. Who were no other (as he himself elsewhere intimateth) than those from whose Hands they us'd to receive the Sacrament of the Eucharist.

(f) Nec dealiorum manibus quam Præsidentium sumimus. Idem de Corona Militis, Cap. 3.

For with the Bishop, who was the Chief President (and therefore stil'd by the same *Tertullian* in another place *Summus* (g) *Sacerdos* for distinction sake) the rest of the Dispensors of the Word and Sacraments were joyn'd in the common Government of the Church. And thertfore, in Matters of Ecclesiastical Judicature, *Cornelius* Bishop of *Rome* us'd the receiv'd Form of (h) gathering together the *Presbytery*.

(g) Dandi quidem Baptismi habet jus Summus Sacerdos qui est Episcopus, de hinc Presbyteri & Diaconi. Idem. de Baptismo Cap. 17. (h) Omni Actu ad me perlato placuit contrahi Presbyterium. Cornel. apud Cyprianum. Epis. 46. 1.

Of what Persons that did consist, *Cyprian* sufficiently declareth, when he wish'd him to read his Letter to (i) the flourishing Clergy that there did reside, or Rule with him.

(i) Florentissimo illi Clero, secum Præsidenti, Cyprian. Ep. 55. ad Cornel.

The

An. 1660.

The Preſence of the Clergy being tho't to be ſo requiſite in Matters of Epiſcopal Audience, that in the 4th Council of *Carthage* it was concluded (*k*) that the Biſhop might hear no Man's Cauſe without the Preſence of the Clergy, which we find alſo to be inſerted in the Canons of *Egbert* (*l*), who was Archbiſhop of *York* in the *Saxon* Times, and afterwards into the Body of the (*m*) Canon Law it ſelf.

(*k*) Ut Epiſcopus nullus Cauſam audiat abſq; Præſentia Clericorum Suorum; alioquin irrita erit ſententia *Epiſcopi* niſi Clericorum *Preſentiâ* confirmetur. Concil. Carthag. 4. cap. 23. (*l*) *Excerptiones* Egberti. cap. 43. (*m*) 15. Qu. 7. cap. *Nullus*.

True it is, that in our Church this kind of *Presbyterian* Government hath bin long diſus'd, -- - yet ſeeing it ſtill profeſſeth that every Paſtor hath a Right to Rule the Church (from whence the name of *Rector* alſo was given at firſt to him) and to adminiſter the Diſcipline of Chriſt, as well as to diſpenſe the Doctrine and Sacraments, and the Reſtraint of the Exerciſe of that Right proceedeth only from the Cuſtom now receiv'd in this Realm: No Man can doubt, but by another Law of the Land, this Hindrance may be well remov'd. And how eaſily this Antient Form of Government by the united Suffrages of the Clergy might be reviv'd again, and with what little ſhew of Alteration the Synodical Conventions of the Paſtors of every Pariſh might be accorded with the Preſidency of the Biſhops of each Dioceſs and Province, the Indifferent Reader may quickly perceive by the peruſal of the enſuing Propoſitions.

I.

The Parochial Government anſwerable to the Church Seſſion in Scotland.

In every Pariſh the Rector, or the Incumbent Paſtor, together with the Church-Warden and Sidemen, may every Week take notice of ſuch as live Scandalouſly in that Congregation; who are to receive ſuch ſeveral Admonitions and Reproofs, as the Quality of their Offence ſhall deſerve; and if by this means they cannot be reclaim'd, they may be preſented unto the next Monthly Synod, and in the mean time be debarr'd by the Paſtor from acceſs unto the Lord's Table.

An. 1660.

II.

The Monthly Synods answerable to the Scottish Presbytery or Ecclesiastical Meeting.

Whereas by a Statute in the 26. of *Hen.* 8. (reviv'd in the 1st of Q. *Eliz.*) Suffragans are appointed to be erected in 26 several Places of this Kingdom, the number of them might very well be conform'd unto the number of the several Rural Deanries, into which every Diocese is subdivided; which being done, the Suffragan (supplying the place of those who in the Antient Church were call'd *Chorepiscopi*) might every Month assemble a Synod of all the Rectors, or Incumbent Pastors, within the Precinct, and according to the major part of their Voices conclude all Matters that should be bro't into Debate before them. To this Synod the Rector and Church-Wardens might present such Impenitent Persons, as by Admonition and Suspension from the Sacrament would not be reform'd, who, if they would still remain Contumacious and Incorrigible, the Sentence of Excommunication might be decreed against them by the Synod, and accordingly be Executed in the Parish where they liv'd. Hitherto also all things that concern'd the Parochial Ministers might be referr'd, whether they did touch their Doctrine or their Conversation: As also the Censure of all New Opinions, Heresies and Schisms, which did arise within that Circuit, with Liberty of Appeal if need so require unto the Diocesan Synod.

III.

Diocesan Synods answerable to the Provincial Synods in Scotland.

The Diocesan Synod might be held once or twice in the Year, as it should be tho't most convenient; therein all the Suffragans, and the rest of the Rectors or Incumbent Pastors, *or a certain Select Number out of every Deanry within that Diocese* might meet; with whose Consent, or the major part of them, all things might be concluded by the Bishop or * Superintendent,

* Ἐπισκοπῶντες, *i. e.* Superintendentes, unde & nomen Episcopi tractum est. *Hieron. Epist.* 85. *ad Evagrium.*

ent, (call him which you will) or in his Abſence by one of the Suffragans, whom he ſhould depute in his ſtead to be Moderator of that Aſſembly. Here all Matters of greater Moment might be taken into Conſideration, and the Orders of the Monthly Synods reviſ'd, and (if need be) reform'd. And if here alſo any Matter of Difficulty could not receive a full Determination, it might be referr'd to the next Provincial or National Synod. *An.* 1660.

IV.

The Provincial and National Synod, anſwerable to the General Aſſembly in Scotland.

The Provincial Synod might conſiſt of all the Biſhops and Suffragans, and ſuch of the Clergy as ſhould be Elected out of every Dioceſs within the Province. The Primate of either Province, might be the Moderator of this Meeting, (or in his room ſome one of the Biſhops appointed by him) and all Matters be order'd therein by common Conſent, as in the former Aſſemblies. This Synod might be held every third Year, and if the Parliament do then ſit, both the Primates and Provincial Synods of the Land might joyn together, and make up a National Council; wherein all Appeals from Inferiour Synods might be receiv'd, *all* their Acts examin'd, and *all* Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitutions which concern the State of the Church of the whole Nation eſtabliſh'd.

The King's Declaration concerning Eccleſiaſtical Affairs.

Shortly after, inſtead of the *Dioceſans Conceſſions*, the Miniſters were told that the King would put all that he tho't meet to grant them into the Form of a Declaration, and they ſhould See it before it was Publiſh'd, and have Liberty to give Notice of what they diſlik'd, as not Conſiſtent with the deſir'd Concord; A Copy of the ſaid Declaration was accordingly ſent them by the Lord Chancellor. Having perus'd it, they drew up a Petition to the King, and join'd there to ſome Remarks on the Declaration: But being deliver'd to the Lord Chancellor, he drop'd it, and never call'd them to Preſent it to the King; but deſired the Particulars of what Alterations they would inſiſt on: They deliver'd him a Breviate of the Particulars

An. 1660. culars as he desir'd, which he took time to Consider off. And after all, a Day was appointed for his Majesty to Peruse the Declaration as the Lord Chancellor had drawn it up, and to allow what he lik'd, and alter the rest, upon the hearing of both sides. At the time appointed, the King came to the Lord Chancellor's, with the Dukes of *Albermarle* and *Ormond*; the E. of *Manchester*, the E. of *Anglesea*, and Lord *Hollis*, &c. and Dr. *Sheldon* Bishop of *London*, Dr. *Morley* Bishop of Worcester, Dr. *Hinchman* Bishop of *Salisbury*, Dr. *Cosins* Bishop of *Durham*, Dr. *Gauden* Bishop of *Exeter*, Dr. *Hacket*, Dr. *Barwick*, and Dr. *Gunning*, &c. on one side: On the other Part stood Dr. *Reignolds*, Mr. *Calamy*, Mr. *Ash*, Dr. *Wallis*, Dr. *Manton*, Dr. *Spurstow*, Mr. *Baxter*, and some others. The Business of the Day was not to Dispute, but as the Lord Chancellor read over the Declaration, each Party was to speak to what they disliked, and the King to Determine how it should be as he liked himself. There were various altercations about Prelacy and Re-ordination, and the Particulars of the Declaration; and when the whole was Perus'd, the Lord Chancellor drew out another Paper, intimating that the King had also bin Petition'd by the *Independents* and *Anabaptists* for Liberty, and therefore he Read an Additional Part of the Declaration, to this purpose, that *others also be permitted to Meet for Religious Worship, so be it they do it not to the disturbance of the Peace; and that no Justice of Peace or Officer disturb them.* This being designed to secure Liberty to the *Papists*, there was a general silence upon the Reading it; the Bishops tho't it a nice Point, and therefore said nothing. The *Presbyterians* were afraid to speak against it, lest all the Sects and Parties should look upon them as the Causers of their Sufferings; and they should be represented as grosly Partial, in desiring Liberty themselves, while they would have no others have it with them. At length, Mr. *Baxter* fearing their silence might be misinterpreted, spake to this Purpose. That Dr. Gunning *a little before speaking against Sects, had nam'd the* Papists *and* Socinians, *that for their Parts, they did not desire Favour to themselves alone; and rigorous Severity against none: But as they Humbly thank'd his Ma-*

jesty for his declar'd Indulgence to themselves, so they distinguish'd the tolerable Party from the intolerable: For the former, they humbly crav'd just Lenity and Favour: But for the latter, such as the 2 sorts mention'd, for their Parts, they could not make their Toleration their Request. To which his Majesty said, *that there were Laws sufficient against the Papists:* And Mr. *Baxter* reply'd, *that they understood the Question to be, whether those Laws should be executed or not*; upon which the Matter was drop'd. But before the breaking up of the Meeting, the King, having Determin'd what he would have stand in the Declaration as to the *Sense* of it, nam'd 4 Divines to Determine of any *Words* in the *Alterations*, if there were any Difference; *viz.* Bp. *Morley*, Bp. *Hinchman*, Dr. *Reignolds* and Mr. *Calamy*: And if they disagreed, the E. of *Anglesea*, and the Lord *Hollis* were to decide them. And at length it came out so amended, with such a Pastoral perswasive Power of Governing left to the Ministers with the Rural Deans, as that it was fitted to be an Instrument of Concord and Peace, if setled by a Law; and so the Division might have been heal'd, upon the Alteration of the Liturgy, as the Declaration promis'd. Several of the Ministers were offer'd Preferments: Mr. *Calamy* had the Bishoprick of *Coventry* and *Litchfield* offer'd him, Dr. *Reignolds* the Bishoprick of *Norwich*, and Mr. *Baxter* that of *Hereford*, Dr. *Manton* was offer'd the Deanry of *Rochester*, Dr. *Bates* the Deanry of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, and Mr. *Edward Boulas* the Deanry of *York*, but all refus'd, on the Account of the uncertainty of the Continuance of the Terms in the Declaration, except Dr. *Reignolds*, who declar'd when he accepted the Bishoprick of *Norwich*, that he did it upon the Terms laid down in the Declaration, and not as Episcopacy stood before in *England*; and that he would no longer hold or exercise it, than he could do it on those Terms, *An.* 1660.

In the Declaration which was dated *October* 25, 1660. The King thus Expresses himself, *When we were in* Holland, *we were attended by many Grave and Learned Ministers from hence, who were look'd upon as the most Able and Principal Assertors of Presbyterian Opinions, with whom we had as much Conference, as the*

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An. 1660. *multitude of Affairs which were then upon us, would permit us to have: And to our great Satisfaction and Comfort, found them Persons full of Affection to us, of Zeal for the Peace of the Church and State; and neither Enemies (as they have bin given out to be) of Episcopacy or Liturgy; but modestly to desire such Alterations in either, as without shaking Foundations, might best allay the present Distempers, which the indisposition of times, and the tenderness of some Mens Consciences had contracted. For the better doing whereof, we intended upon our first arrival in these Kingdoms, to call a Synod of Divines: And in the mean time Publish'd in our Declaration from* Breda *a Liberty to tender Consciences. ----We need not profess the high Esteem and Affection we have for the Church of* England, *as it is establish'd by Law. Nor do we think that Reverence in the least Degree diminish'd by our Condescensions, not Peremptorily to insist upon some Particulars of Ceremony, which however introduc'd by the Piety, Devotion, and Order of former times, may not be so agreeable to the present; but may even lessen that Piety and Devotion for the Improvement whereof they might be first introduc'd, and Consequently may well be dispens'd with. ---And we have not the least doubt, but the present Bishops will think the present Concessions now made by us, to allay the present Distempers, very Just and Reasonable, and will very chearfully Conform themselves thereunto,* ---Of these Concessions, this was the Substance: " The King declar'd
" his Resolution to promote the Power of Godliness
" to encourage the Exercises of Religion both in Pub-
" lick and in Private, to take Care that the Lord's
" Day should be apply'd to Holy Exercises, without
" unnecessary Divertisements; and that insufficient
" negligent, and scandalous Ministers, should not b
" permitted in the Church. That no Bishops should
" Ordain, or Exercise any Part of Jurisdiction, which
" appertains to the Censures of the Church, without
" the Advice and Assistance of the Presbyters, and
" neither do, nor impose any thing, but what w
" According to the known Laws of the Land; that
" Chancellors, Commissaries, and Officials should b
" excluded from Acts of Jurisdiction, the Power
" the Pastors in their several Congregations restor
" and a Liberty granted to all the Ministers to A
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" ſemble Monthly, for the Exerciſe of the Paſtoral *An.* 1660.
" Perſwaſive Power, to the promoting of Knowledge
" and Godlineſs in their Flocks. That the Miniſters
" ſhould be freed from the Subſcription requir'd by
" the Canon, and the Oath of Canonical Obedience,
" and receive Ordination, Inſtitution and Induction,
" and Exerciſe their Function, and enjoy the Profits
" of their Livings, without being oblig'd to it: And
" that the Uſe of the Ceremonies ſhould be diſpens'd
" with, where they were ſcrupled. Theſe Conceſſi-
ons were ſo highly pleaſing, that an Addreſs of Thanks
was drawn up, and ſign'd by many of the Miniſters
in and about *London*; which Addreſs was Graciouſly
receiv'd.

But after all, this Declaration had no Effect, ſave only a Years ſuſpenſion of the Law that afterwards took Place. At a diſtance in the Country ſome Men were ſo violent, that they indicted Miniſters at the Aſſizes and Seſſions, notwithſtanding the Declaration, taking it for no ſuſpenſion of the Law. * But upon Application to the King and the Lord Chancellor on their behalf, they were generally deliver'd. But as to the Matter of Church Government, none of the Conceſſions in the Declaration, were put in Execution.

* *Many Particular Inſtances of this kind, may be ſeen in* the Conformiſt's 4th Plea for the Nonconformiſts.

However it being promis'd in the Declaration, *that the Liturgy ſhould be review'd, and reform'd, and New Terms drawn up in Scripture Phraſe, ſuited to the ſeveral Parts of Worſhip, that Men might uſe which of them they pleas'd*, a Commiſſion was at length granted to certain Perſons nominated, to meet for that purpoſe; the Commiſſioners on one ſide, were the Arch-biſhop of *York*, the Biſhops of *London*, *Durham*, *Rocheſter*, *Chicheſter*, *Sarum*, *Worceſter*, *Lincoln*, *Peterborough*, *Chester*, *Carliſle*, and *Exceter*; and on the other ſide, Dr. *Reignolds* now Biſhop of *Norwich*, Dr. *Tuckny*, Dr. *Cosins*, Dr. *Spurſtow*, Dr. *Wallis*, Dr. *Manton*, Mr. *Cawdry*, Mr. *Baxter*, Mr. *Jackſon*, Mr. *Caſe*, Mr. *Clark*, Mr. *Newcomen*: The Aſſiſtants on one ſide were Dr. *Charles*, Dr. *Heylin*, Dr. *Hacket*, Dr. *Barwick*, Dr. *Gunning*, Dr. *Pierſon*, Dr. *Pierce*, Dr. *Sparrow*, and Mr. *Thorn-* *The Conference at the* Savoy.

An. 1660. *Thorndike*; and on the other side, Dr. *Horton*, Dr. *Jacomb*, Dr. *Bates*, Mr. *Rawlinson*, Mr. *Cooper*, Dr. *Lightfoot*, Dr. *Collins*, Mr. *Woodbridge*, and Dr. *Drake*.

The *Savoy*, and the Bishop of *London*'s Lodgings there, was appointed as the Place of Meeting. When they were met there, the Bishop of *London* told the Ministers, *That* they, *and not the Bishops, had bin Seekers of the Conference, being desirous of Alterations in the Liturgy: And that, therefore, there was nothing to be done 'till they had bro't in all that they had to say against it in Writing, and all the Additional* Forms *and* Alterations *which they desired.* The Ministers mov'd for an *Amicable Conference*, according to the Commission, as thinking it more likely to contribute to Dispatch, and to the Answering the Great End: whereas, Writing would be a tedious endless Business, and prevent that Familiarity and Acquaintance with each others Minds which might facilitate Concord. But the Bishop of *London* absolutely insisted upon it, *That nothing should be done 'till all* Exceptions, Alterations *and* Additions *were bro't in at once.* And after some Debate, it was agreed, *That they should bring all their Exceptions at one time, and all their Additions at another time.* Exceptions were accordingly drawn up by Dr. *Reignolds*, Dr. *Wallis*, Mr. *Calamy*, Mr. *Newcomen*, Dr. *Bates*, Mr. *Clark*, Dr. *Jacomb*, &c. and in some time offer'd to the Bishops.

Proposals about the Liturgy.

In this Paper they propos'd, "That the *Prayers* and "*Materials* of the Liturgy might have nothing in "them *doubtful*, or *question*'d amongst Pious, Learned "and Orthodox Persons. That as the *Reformers* "first so compos'd the Liturgy, as might be most "likely to win upon the *Papists*, and draw them in "to their Church Communion by varying as little "well they could from the *Romish Forms* before "use; so it might, according to the same Rule "Prudence, be then so compos'd, as to gain upon the "Judgments and Affection of all those, who in the "*Substantials* of the *Protestant Religion* are of the same "Persuasion. That the *Repetitions* and *Responsals* "Clerk and People might be omitted. That the *Repe*"*titions* of the *Litany* might be cast into One Solemn

"Pray

Prayer, to be offer'd up by the Miniſter, and not ſo as that the Precatory Part ſhould be utter'd only by the People. That there be nothing in the *Liturgy* countenancing the Obſervation of *Lent* as a *Religious Faſt*. That the Religious Obſervation of *Saints Days* be omitted. That the *Liturgy* be not ſo impos'd, as totally to exclude the Gift of Prayer in any part of Publick Worſhip. That the New Tranſlation of the Scriptures be us'd inſtead of the Old Verſion, which in many places is juſtly exceptionable. That *Apocryphal Leſſons* might be omitted. That the Miniſter be not requir'd to Rehearſe the *Liturgy* at the *Communion Table*. That the word *Prieſt* and *Curate* throughout the Book be turn'd into that of *Miniſter*, and *Sunday* into *Lord's-Day*. That Obſolete Words be chang'd into Words generally receiv'd, and better underſtood. That no Portions of the *Old Teſtament*, or of the Book of the *Acts*, be ſtil'd or read as Epiſtles. That the Phraſe which ſuppoſes all in Communion to be Regenerated (while due Care is not taken about the Exerciſe of Diſcipline) might be Reformed; And that the Petitions in the Prayers might have a more orderly Connexion, and the Forms be of a more competent length, which would be more to Edification, and tend to gain the Reverence of the People. That the *Liturgy* might be ſo contriv'd, as to comprehend the Sum of all ſuch Sins as are ordinarily to be confeſs'd in Prayer by the Church, and of ſuch Petitions and Thankſgivings as are ordinarily to be put up to God; and the Catechiſm annex'd, might ſummarily comprehend all ſuch Doctrines as are neceſſary to be believ'd, and theſe explicitely ſet down. That Ceremonies might not be impos'd by the Liturgy, but left at Liberty. After which General Propoſals, a great many particular *Exceptions* were added as to the ſeveral Parts of the *Liturgy*, and Paſſages in it. *An.* 1660.

The drawing up of the *Additions* or *New Forms* undertaken by Mr. *Baxter* alone, who ſtil'd it, *Reformed Liturgy*, which when read by the Miers was generally approv'd of.

During

An. 1661. During this Interval, the *Convocation* was chosen which was Politickly deferr'd 'till now *. Had it been call'd when the King came in, the Inferiour Clergy would have been againſt the *Dioceſans*. But afterwards many Hundreds were turn'd out, that the old Sequeſtred Miniſters, how meanly ſoever qualify'd, might come in. And the Opinion of Reordination being ſet on foot, all thoſe Miniſters, who for 20 Years together, while Biſhops were laid aſide, had been Ordain'd without Dioceſans, were in many Countries deny'd any Voices in the Election of Clerks for the Convocation. By which Means, and a great many Miniſters Scruples, who tho't it Unlawful to have any thing to do in chooſing ſuch a kind of Aſſembly, the Dioceſan Party wholly carry'd it in the Choice. The Election was in *London*, *May* 2. 1661. Mr. *Calamy* and Mr. *Baxter* were choſen by a majority of 3 Voices. But the Biſhop of *London*, having the Power of chooſing 2 out of 4. or 4 out of 6, that are choſen by the Miniſters in a certain Circuit, was ſo kind as to excuſe them by pitching on others: And ſo the City of *London* had no Clerk in the Convocation †. *May* the 4th, the Paper of *Exceptions* was given in at a Meeting with the Biſhops. *May* the 7th, there was a Meeting at *Sion-Colledge* of the Miniſters of *London*, for the Choice of a Preſident and Aſſiſtants for the next Year. Some of the *Presbyterians* upon a Pettiſh Scruple abſenting themſelves, the Di-

* *The Author of the Conformiſts Plea for the Nonconformiſts, ſays, Great Pains and Care were uſed to frame this Convocation to the Mind of the High Prelatical Party; keeping ſome out, and getting others in, by very undue Proceedings.* Part 1. Pag. 37.

† *Dr.* Allen *of* Huntingdon-ſhire, *Clerk in this Convocation, earneſtly labour'd with Dr.* Sheldon *then Biſhop of* London, (*afterwards Archbiſhop*) *that they might ſo Reform the Liturgy, as that no Sober Man might make Exception: But was wiſh'd to forbear; for that what ſhould be, was concluded on, or reſolv'd.* ----*See* Conformiſts Plea for the Nonconformiſts, *Part* 1. *pag.* 31. *So very Nice and Exact were the High Party, that they would not yield ſo much as to forbear the Leſſons of the* Apocrypha. *Inſomuch, that after a long tugg at the Convocation-Houſe about that matter, a good Doctor came out at laſt with great Joy, that they had carry'd it for* Bell and the Dragon.

ceſan Party carry'd it, and got the Poſſeſſion and Rule of the Colledge. *May* the 8th, the *New Parliament* and *Convocation* ſat down, being conſtituted of Men fitted and devoted to the *Dioceſan* Intereſt. *May* the 22th, by Order of Parliament, the *National Vow* and *Covenant* was burnt in the Street, by the Hands of the Common Hangman. *An.* 1661.

A *Petition* was by the Common Conſent of the Miniſters drawn up, to be preſented to the Biſhops at the ſame time with the *Reformed Liturgy*; which were both preſented accordingly. In this *Petition* they, with great Humility and Earneſtneſs, begg'd their *Abating their Impoſitions* in order to the Peace of the Church; and very pathetically urg'd many *moving Arguments* to induce them to a Compliance; and in the end they addreſs themſelves to them in theſe words. *Grant us but the Freedom which Chriſt and his Apoſtles left unto the Churches: Uſe neceſſary things as neceſſary, and unneceſſary things as unneceſſary; and charitably bear with the Infirmities of the Weak, and tolerate the Tolerable while they live peaceably, and then you will know when you have done, and for the Intolerable, we beg not your Toleration*, &c.

The Biſhops, after ſome delay, ſent them a Paper of Reaſonings againſt their Exceptions, without any Abatements or Alterations at all, that are worth the naming. An Anſwer to which was alſo drawn up.

At laſt the Commiſſion being near upon expiring, and there being but 10 Days left, the Miniſters ſent to the Biſhops to deſire ſome Perſonal Conference upon the Subject Matter of the Papers; which was yielded to: And at the Meeting the Anſwer to their laſt Paper was deliver'd them. And the Miniſters earneſtly preſs'd them to ſpend the little time that was remaining, in ſuch Pacifying Conference as tended to the Ends mention'd in the King's Declaration and Commiſſion: And told them, That ſuch Diſputes as they by their Treatment had engag'd them in, were not the thing deſir'd, or what moſt conduc'd to thoſe Ends. There is ſome Reaſon to think, that the Generality of the Biſhops and Doctors who were preſent at theſe Meetings, did not read the *Reformed Liturgy*

An. 1661. *turgy*, or *The Reply of the Miniſters to their Reaſons against the Exceptions they had had given in.* For they were haſtily put up, and carry'd away without Particular Peruſal, unleſs in Private; which may be doubted of as to moſt of them, (except their particular Anſwerers) becauſe that when in the laſt Diſputation Mr. *Baxter* drew out the ſhort Preface to their Reply, (which was written by Mr. *Calamy*, to enumerate in the beginning before their Eyes, many of the groſſeſt Corruptions which they ſtifly defended, and refus'd to reform) the Company ſeem'd aſham'd and was ſilent, by which he perceiv'd they they had not read it. Nay, the Chief of them confeſs'd, when they bid him read that Preface, that they knew of no ſuch thing. So that it ſeems, before they knew what was in them, they reſolv'd to reject the Papers of the Miniſters, right or wrong, and to deliver them up to their Contradictors. When they came to Debates, the Miniſters deſir'd the Biſhops to give their Animadverſions on the Additions and Alterations of the Liturgy. And that they would declare what they allow'd or diſallow'd in them, that they might have the Uſe of them, according to the Words in the King's Declaration and Commiſſion. But they would not by any Importunity be prevail'd with to debate that Matter, or give their Opinions about thoſe Papers. Being requeſted there, it was mov'd, That they would go over the Particulars excepted againſt, and declare how much they could abate, and what Alterations they could yield to. But they declar'd, They had nothing to ſay upon that Head, 'till a Neceſſity of an Alteration in the General was prov'd, which it had not as yet bin: They would yield to all that was prov'd Neceſſary, but look'd upon none as Neceſſary. The Miniſters urg'd them again and again with the words of the King's Declaration and Commiſſion. They told them the Ends expreſs'd were, *For the Removal of all Exceptions, and Occaſions of Exceptions, and Differences from among our good Subjects*; and *for giving Satisfaction to tender Conſciences, and the reſtoring and continuance of Peace and Unity in the Churches:* And the Means were, *To make ſuch reaſonable and neceſſary Alterations and Amendments, as ſhall be agreed upon*

e Needful and Expedient for the giving Satisfaction to An. 1661.
ender Conſciences, &c. Which ſuppoſeth that ſome Alterations muſt be made. The Biſhops inſiſted on wo words, *Neceſſary Alterations*, and *ſuch as ſhould e agreed on.* They told them, The word *Neceſſary* eferr'd to the Ends expreſs'd ; *the Satisfying tender Conciences*,&c.and was join'd with *Expedient* : And that it was ſtrange, that when the King had ſo long and publickly Determin'd of the *End*, and call'd them to Conſult of the *means* they ſhould at laſt preſume to Contradict him, and Determine the *End it ſelf* unneceſſary, and Conſequently no means neceſſary : And that herefore all their Meetings had bin but trifling. And hat when they were call'd to *agree* on ſuch neceſſary neans, if they would take Advantage of the Word, *o agree on nothing*, that ſo all endeavours might be ruſtrated for want of their Agreement, God and the World would judge between them,who it was that fruſtrated the King's Commiſſion,and the hopes of a divided Bleeding Church. They reply'd, they muſt prove Alterations *neceſſary* : The Miniſters anſwered, they were *neceſſary* to Peace and Unity, which without hem would not be attain'd. Which they would by o means yield.

This was to draw on a Diſpute, before the end of which, the time of the Commiſſion was like to expire ; they told the Biſhops, that that Method could ot poſſibly tend to any Accommodation ; and that to eep off from Perſonal Conference, till within a few Days of the Expiration of the Commiſſion, and then o reſolve to do nothing but wrangle out the time in a Diſpute, as if they were between Jeſt and Earneſt in he Schools, was too Viſibly in the ſight of all the World, to Defeat the King's Commiſſion, and the xpectations of many Thouſands, who long'd for Uni- and Peace. But nothing elſe would be yielded to, nd ſo a Diſpute was agreed on, to Argue the Neceſty, or no Neceſſity of Altering the Liturgy.

After this was agreed on, many Hours were ſpent n ſettling the Order of the Diſputation.The Miniſters ffered to Oppoſe one half of the time, if they would o it the other half of the time, that ſo the Diſputatin might be on equal Terms : They refus'd it ; and an-

An. 1661. swer'd, that it belong'd to them only to Argue, who were the Accusers, and not at all to them who were on the Defence. The Ministers reply'd, that they were the Defenders against their Impositions: For this was the Case; They Commanded them to do such and such things, or else they should be Excommunicated, silenc'd, impriſon'd and undone: Against this they defended themselves, by calling upon them to shew their Authority from God, for such Impositions. They call'd upon them therefore, to prove that God had Authoriz'd them to any such thing; and told them *That if they refus'd they gave up their Cause.* At last (after 2 Days Debate about the Matter) Dr. *Pierson* alone undertook that he would Dispute on their side, when the Ministers had discharged the Opponents Province; which was accepted. Three of a Party were chosen on each side to manage the Dispute. The Bishops chose, Dr. *Pierson*, Dr. *Gunning*, and Dr. *Sparrow*; the Ministers chose, Dr. *Bates*, Dr. *Jacomb*, and Mr. *Baxter*: And they met to Dispute accordingly. But there were so many Speakers, and so many Interruptions, and so many little Personal Brangles, that it was to very little Purpose.

Sinful Impositions in the Church.

At length *Bishop Cosins* peoduces a Paper as from a Considerable Person, containing a Method to end the Controversie. The main Thing in this Paper, was *a Motion to put the Complainers upon Distinguishing between the things they Charg'd as Sinful, and those which they Oppos'd as Inexpedient only.* The 3 Disputants on the Ministers side, were desir'd to draw up an Answer to it against the next Morning; and they did so, and deliver'd it, but it was in their own Name only. Eight things they in this their Reply charg'd as flatly Sinful, and contrary to the Word of God, *That no Minister be admitted to Baptize without the prescribed Use of the Transient Image of the Cross: That no Minister be permitted to Read or Pray, or Exercise the other Parts of his Office, that dare not Wear a* Surplice. *That none be admitted to Communion in the Lords Supper, that dare not receive it* Kneeling; *and that all Ministers be enjoined to deny it to such. That Ministers be forc'd to Pronounce all Baptiz'd Infants* Regenerate by the Holy Ghost, *whether Children of Christians or not. That Ministers*

be forc'd *to deliver the Sacrament of the Body and* *An.* 1661.
of Christ, unto the Unfit both in Health and Sick-
and that with Personal Application, putting it into
Hands; And that such are forc'd *to receive it, tho'*
st their own Wills, in the Conscience of their Impeni-
: That Ministers be forc'd *to Absolve the* Unfit, *and*
in absolute Expressions: That they are forc'd *to give*
ks for all *whom they Bury, as* Brethren whom God
deliver'd and taken to himself: *And that none*
e a Preacher, that dare not Subscribe, That there
hing in the Common-Prayer Book, the Book of Ordi-
n, and the Nine and Thirty Articles, that is contra-
the Word of God. And they undertook to prove
uch. After a great deal of wandering Discourse,
came at length to the Dispute, which was ma-
l in Writing: The sole Argument handled was
Sinfulness of enjoyning Ministers to deny the Commu-
to all that dare not Kneel; and it was drawn out
considerable Length.

he most remarkable things in this Dispute were
Two.

rst, The warm Debate there was among them as *The Dispu-*
e Sense of that Noted Text, *Rom.* 14. 1, 2, 3. *tation at*
that is weak in the Faith receive you, but not to *the* Savoy.
ful Disputations. For One believeth, that he may
ll things: Another, who is Weak, eateth Herbs. Let
im that Eateth, despise him that Eateth not; And
t him which Eateth not, judge him that Eateth, for
ath receiv'd him. The Debate about this Text
thus occasion'd: The *Presbyterian Disputants* had
d against the enjoyning Ministers to deny the
union to all that dare not receive it Kneeling as a
l Imposition, in that it was an enjoyning them
ny the *Communion* to such as the *Holy Ghost* had
r'd them to receive to it: He having requir'd
to receive to it such as were *Weak in the Faith*,
are charg'd with no greater Fault than *erroneously*
g things Lawful as Unlawful. And for this they
this Text. The *Bishops Disputants* reply'd, *There*
Difference between things so Lawful *as that they*
e done, and things Lawful *that are requir'd by a*
l Power, for both may be call'd such. The Others

An. 1661. ſtill urg'd that Text; pleading, *That tho' the Apoſtle ſpake there of things Lawful, and not Commanded, yet being himſelf a Church Governour he commanded them not; nay, requir'd even Church Governours, as well as others, to receive the Diſſenters and forbear them, and not make ſuch things the Matter of their Cenſure or Contempt.* They anſwer'd, *That* that *Text was not to the purpoſe, both because it ſpeaks of things Lawful and not Commanded, whereas the Debate was about things Lawful and alſo Commanded; and, withal, becauſe the* receiving *them there mention'd, is not to be underſtood of immediately receiving them to the Holy Communion.* The *Presbyterian Diſſentants* anſwer'd, *That tho' it was true the Text ſpake about things Lawful and not Commanded, yet when they were debating the Lawfulneſs of a particular Command, (viz.* The enjoyning Miniſters to deny the Communion to ſuch as durſt not receive it Kneeling) *it was very properly urg'd; becauſe the Text forbids any ſuch Commands in things Lawful, as are not conſiſtent with* receiving and forbearing. And they added, *That* that *Text may neceſſarily take in Receiving Perſons to the Holy Communion, becauſe it requires the receiving Men to that Church Communion in the general, and without exception, of which the Communion in the Holy Sacrament is a moſt Eminent Part.* Nay, they further urg'd the Point cloſely thus. *The Text ſpeaks indeed of things* Lawful, and ſuch, *abſtracting from* Command: *But of things which materially were partly* not Commanded, *and partly* Commanded. *It was* not Commanded *to Eat or not Eat the Meats in queſtion, to keep the Days or not keep them: In theſe they went againſt no Law. But to be* Weak in the Faith, *and erroneouſly to take things* Lawful *to be* Unlawful, *and things* Indifferent *to be* Neceſſary, *and to offend a Brother by the Uſe of Liberty on the other ſide were againſt the Commands of God. But as for the things about which there was to be a Forbearance, the Text intimates, that they ought not to be commanded by any under a Penalty that is not conſiſtent with that Forbearance; ſo that no Governours have any Warrant to reject ſuch as are only weak in the Faith: They ought to receive them, and further their Reception; and cannot do any thing towards their Rejection upon the Account of any ſuch Weakneſs without flat Sin, without breaking the Laws of God, who have*

requir'

requir'd that ſuch Perſons, ſhould not be rejected on the Account of things in themſelves Indifferent. For the things ſpoken of by the Apoſtle, were not only not Commanded, *but forbidden to be Commanded, any farther than may ſtand with the Reception and Indulgence mentioned.* And they bro't the Matter cloſe to the Caſe before them thus. They of whom St. *Paul* ſpeaks were to be receiv'd and forborn, altho' they ſinn'd in their Weakneſs, in refuſing that as ſinful which was not ſo. So tho' it ſhould be own'd that it were Unwarrantable to refuſe Kneeling as flatly ſinful, yet were the Scrupulous to be receiv'd and forborn. And that the rather, becauſe they that refuſe Kneeling, at worſt, break but the Command of Man; whereas they of whom St. *Paul* ſpeaks broke the Commands of God, and yet were to be forborn: And then, That the Text was to be underſtood of Church Communion, they prov'd from the Circumſtances of the Words, from Parallel Texts, and from the Teſtimony of the moſt celebrated Expoſitors, *Hammond* and *Grotius*. An. 1661.

Secondly, In the other Part of the Diſpute, when the Epiſcopal Divines were the Opponents, they bro't an Argument of which this was the Major Propoſition: *That Command, which commandeth only an Act in it ſelf Lawful, is not Sinful.* This Mr. *Baxter* deny'd. The Opponents back'd it with another Syllogiſm, of which this was the Major: *That Command, which commandeth an Act in it ſelf Lawful, and no other Act or Circumſtance Unlawful, is not Sinful.* This alſo Mr. *Baxter* deny'd; giving this double Reaſon: Both becauſe that may be accidentally a Sin which is not ſo in it ſelf, and may be unlawfully commanded, tho' that Accident be not in the Command: And alſo becauſe it may be commanded under an unjuſt Penalty. The Opponents therefore urg'd farther thus: *That Command which commandeth an Act in it ſelf Lawful, and no other Act whereby any unjuſt Penalty's enjoyn'd, nor any Circumſtance whence directly, or* per Accidens, *any Sin is Conſequent, which the Commander ought to provide againſt, is not Sinful.* Mr. *Baxter* ſtill perſiſted in his Denial, and gave this Reaſon: Becauſe the firſt Act commanded may be accidentally Unlawful, and be

An. 1661. commanded by an unjuſt Penalty, tho' no other Act or Circumſtance be ſuch. The Opponents therefore once more advanc'd this Propoſition: *That Command which commandeth an Act in it ſelf Lawful, and no other Act whereby any unjuſt Penalty is enjoyn'd, nor any Circumſtance whence directly, or* per Accidens, *any Sin is Conſequent, which the Commander ought to provide againſt, hath in it all things requiſite to the Lawfulneſs of a Command, and particularly cannot be guilty of commanding an Act* per Accidens *unlawful, nor of commanding an Act under an unjuſt Penalty.* Which Propoſition alſo he deny'd for the foregoing Reaſons: Intimating that ſuch a Command hath not neceſſarily all things in it requiſite to the Lawfulneſs of a Command, becauſe tho' *no other Act* be commanded, whereby an unjuſt Penalty is enjoyn'd, yet ſtill the *firſt Act* may be commanded under an unjuſt Penalty: And tho' no other Act or Circumſtance be commanded, that is a Sin *per Accidens*, yet the *firſt it ſelf* commanded may be a Sin *per Accidens*. It may be *ſinful privatively*, by omiſſion of ſomething neceſſary, ſome Mode or Circumſtance. It may ſinfully *reſtrain*, tho' it ſinfully command not. It may be ſinful in *Modis*; commanding that *univerſally*, or *indefinitely*, *particularly*, or *ſingularly*, that ſhould be otherwiſe; tho' in the Circumſtances (properly ſo call'd) of the Act, nothing were commanded that is ſinful. It may thro' culpable Ignorance be apply'd to *undue Subjects*, who are not *Circumſtances*. As if a People that have the Plague be commanded to keep Publick Aſſemblies for Worſhip, the Lawgiver being culpably ignorant that they had the Plague, *&c.* This repeated Denial put them ſo hard to it, that they could proceed no farther. And being ſtop'd in Arguing, they have ſince made it up in unhandſome Reflections. Bp. *Morley* particularly in Print aſſerted, That this Aſſertion of Mr. *Baxter*'s was not only Falſe, but Deſtructive of all Authority, Humane and Divine, as not only denying all Power to the Church of making Canons Eccleſiaſtical for the better Ordering and Governing the Church, but alſo taking away all Legiſlative Power from the King and Parliament, and even from God himſelf. For that no Act can be in good of it ſelf, but it may prove by accident

accident a Sin: And if to Command ſuch an Act may be a Sin, then every Command muſt be a Sin. And if to Command be a Sin, then God can command nothing, becauſe he cannot Sin: And Kings, Parliaments and Churches ought not to command any thing, becauſe they ought not to Sin. *An.* 1661.

Upon this the whole Nation almoſt was fill'd with Tragical Exclamations againſt the abominable Aſſertion of one of the Diſputants at the *Savoy**. As if, becauſe 'twas aſſerted that things not evil of themſelves, may have Accidents ſo evil as may make it a Sin to him that ſhall command them, it ſhould therefore follow that nothing may be commanded for fear of thoſe evil Accidents, in Caſes where the Commander cannot be chargeable with any hand in them. Whereas 'tis a Truth eaſily defenſible; *That whenſoever the Commanding or Forbidding of a thing indifferent is like to occaſion more hurt than good, and this may be foreſeen, the Commanding or Forbidding it is a Sin.*

* *He that would ſee a diſtinct Account of this matter, may read Mr.* Baxter's *Letter to his Beloved People of* Kederminſter, *of the Cauſes of his being forbidden by the Biſhop of* Worceſter *to Preach within his Dioceſs; with the Biſhop's Letter in Anſwer to it; and ſome ſhort Animadverſions upon the Biſhop's Letter. Printed in* 1662.

He wants Eye-ſight that cannot diſcern that there may be ſeveral Accidents, that may make the Impoſition even of a Lawful thing Sinful. For to take only the Inſtance that was under the Conſideration of theſe Diſputants: Suppoſe it ever ſo Lawful of it ſelf to Kneel in Receiving the Lord's Supper, if it be impos'd by a Penalty that is incomparably beyond the Proportion of the Offence, that Penalty is an Accident of the Command, and maketh it by Accident Sinful in the Commander.

And thus ended the Diſpute at the *Savoy*, and all Endeavours for Reconciliation upon the Warrant of the King's Commiſſion. But it may not be amiſs to add ſome Remarks upon the Temper and Carriage of the Commiſſioners.

Biſhop

An. 1661. *Hints by way of Character, of the Epiſcopal Commiſſioners.*

Biſhop *Sheldon* * of *London*, (afterwards Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*) did not appear often, and engag'd not at all in the Diſputation, and yet was well known to have a Principal Hand in diſpoſing of all ſuch Affairs. He Dy'd *An.* 1677.

Arch-Biſhop *Frewen* of *York* was a peaceable Man, came not often to the Meeting among them, and ſpake only at the firſt opening of the Commiſſion, and then declar'd openly his unacquaintedneſs with what was deſign'd, and therefore referr'd himſelf to Biſhop *Sheldon*, as fully inſtructed by the King. He Dy'd *An.* 1664. Bp. *Morley* † of *Worceſter*, afterwards of

* *Two Paſſages concerning him deſerve a Remark. The firſt is related by* Dr. Bates *in his* Funeral Sermon *for* Mr. Baxter; *'tis this: When the Ld. Chamberlain* Manchester *told the King, while the Act of Uniformity was under debate,* That he was afraid the Terms of it were ſo rigid that many of the Miniſters would not comply with it; *he reply'd,* I am afraid they will. *Nay, 'tis credibly reported he ſhould ſay,* Now we know their minds, we'll make them all Knaves if they Conform. *Whether his Temper was afterwards any thing cooler, let others judge. It looks a little that way, that when his Nephew, Sir* Joſeph Sheldon, *who was Lord-Mayor of* London *in* 1676, *deſired his Advice about his Conduct in the Year of his Mayoralty, he ſhould make him no other Anſwer than this:* Conſider, Couſin, that as I am Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, ſo you are Lord-Mayor of *London*.

† *The Spirit of the Man may be eaſily judg'd of, by any one that will be at the Pains to read his Warm and Paſſionate Invective againſt* Mr. Baxter, *and his Account to his People of* Kederminſter, *of the Cauſe of his Ejectment: In which Invective, among many other things, he with the utmoſt warmth aſſerts,* That Monarchy cannot conſiſt without Epiſcopacy: *That he, as Biſhop of* Worceſter, *was ſole and immediate Paſtor of all the People in his Dioceſs: And that he who tho' lawfully ordain'd ſhould preach to any Congregation without the Biſhops Licenſe,* came not in by the Door, *and therefore was a* Thief and a Robber, *&c. But that he might afterwards, upon ſeeing the ſmall Succeſs of the Rigours us'd, grow ſomewhat more temperate, I have ſome Reaſon to believe, from a particular Paſſage convey'd to me in ſuch a way, as that I have no doubt of the truth of it; which was this: Being conſulted by the Mayor of a Country Corporation, whoſe Zeal was far beyond either his Wiſdom or his Charity,* what Method he ſhould take, effectually to root out the Fanaticks in the Year of his Mayoralty; the Biſhop now grown old, firſt preach'd Friendlineſs to him, by ordering him a Glaſs of Canary, as oft as he ſtarted his Queſtion in Company; *and next admoniſh'd him when alone,* To let thoſe People live quietly, in many of whom he was ſatisfy'd there was the true Fear of God; and who were not likely to be gain'd by Rigour and Severity.

Wincheſter,

Winchester, was a frequent Attendant, and the chief Speaker of all the Bishops, always delivering his Mind with great Earnestness and Zeal, and often interrupting those of the other side in their Discourse. He was a Prime Manager of the whole Affair; and unwilling to yield to any thing that might look like Moderation. He was the longest Liver of any. He Dy'd *An.* 1684. *An.* 1661.

Bishop *Cosins* of *Durham* met constantly among them, and was for Two Things very remarkable.

First, for his being so excellently vers'd in the *Canons*, *Councils*, and *Fathers*, which he appear'd to remember very readily, when there was occasion for Citations. And

Secondly for his Openness. For as he was of a Rustick Wit and Carriage, so he would endure more Freedom of Discourse, and was more Affable and Familiar than the rest of the Bishops *.

* *Dr.* Bates *in his Funeral Sermon for Mr.* Baxter *reports, That in the Conference at* Worcester-*House about the King's Declaration, when the Ministers desired that the Bishops should exercise their Church Power with the Counsel and Consent of Presbyters, this Bp.* Cosins *presently reply'd,* If Your Majesty grants this, You will Unbishop Your Bishops, ——*But remarkable is a Passage in his last* Testament, *printed both in* English *and* Latin *with his Funeral Sermon and Life. It deserves transcribing, from pag.* 126. I take it to be my Duty, and of all my Brethren, especially the Bishops and Ministers of the Church of God, to do our utmost Endeavours, according to the measure of Grace which is given to every one of us, that at last an End may be put to the Differences of Religion, or at least they may be lessen'd, *&c.*

Bishop *Hinchman*, then of *Salisbury*, afterwards of *London*, had also a good Insight into *Fathers* and *Councils*: He spake calmly and slowly, and not very often, but was as high in his Principles and Resolutions as any of them: And he with Bp. *Sheldon* and Bp. *Morley*, manag'd all things. Bp. *Sanderson* † of *Lincoln* was there now and then, but spake not often.

† *Mr.* Pierce, *in his first Plea, p.* 35. *says, That he was severe, and troubled long with a sharp Disease, which might exasperate his mind: And that he had a Roll of Ministers under his Angry Eye, design'd for Discipline; but when he drew nigh to his Latter End, he commanded that Roll to be Burnt, and said he would Die in Peace.*

His

An. 1661. His great Learning and Worth are known by his Labours: *Viz.* His *Prelectiones de Obligatione Conſcientiæ*, and *De Juramento*; and his Sermons. He was very Old at the time of this *Savoy* Conference, and partly thro' Age, and partly thro' the remaining Exaſperation on the account of his Sufferings, was a little Peeviſh. Afterwards at his Death, he made it his Requeſt, That the Ejected Miniſters might be us'd again: But his Requeſt was rejected by them that had outwitted him, as being too late. Bp. *Gauden* was never abſent, and often ſided with the Miniſters, and tho' he had a bitter Pen, he was the only Moderator of all the Biſhops, except Bp. *Reignolds*. He meddled not in any Diſpute or Point of Learning, but had a calm, fluent, rhetorical Tongue, and if all had bin of his mind, there had bin an Accomodation effected. But when by many Days Conference in the beginning, the Miniſters had got ſome moderating Conceſſions from him, (and from Bp. *Coſins* by his Means) the reſt came in the end, and broke them all. Biſhop *Lucy* of St. *David*'s, ſpake once or twice a few words calmly, and ſo did Bp. *Nicholſon* of *Gloceſter*, and Bp. *Griffyths* of St. *Aſaph*, tho' no Commiſſioners. Bp. *King* of *Chicheſter* did not appear; nor Bp. *Warmer* of *Rocheſter*, except once or twice, and that without ſpeaking. Bp. *Lancy* * of *Peterborough* was ſometimes there, but did not ſpeak much. Once, however, he ſpake too much. For Mr. *Baxter* charging the Epiſcopal Impoſitions as Sinful, was accus'd of uncharitableneſs and Boldneſs, in that he thereby charg'd all the Churches of Chriſt with Sin. Mr. *Baxter* aſſerted, That there were many reformed Churches free from ſuch Impoſitions; but if there were not, he tho't it no Arrogance or Uncharitableneſs

* *Mr.* Pierce, *in his firſt Plea, pag.* 35. *ſays*, That this Biſhop *Lancy* was very Moderate in his Government. *In his Prime Viſitation before* Bartholomew-Day, *he in his Chamber told of ſome his Clergy what he came about; and as tho' he could wipe his Hands, ſaid,* οὐκ ἐγὼ ἀλλὰ νόμος, Not I, but the Law. *And he could (to uſe his own Phraſe to a Scrupulous Perſon) look thro' his Fingers, and ſuffer a worthy* Nonconformiſt *to Preach publickly very near him, for ſome Years together, after his Remove to another Biſhoprick.*

neſs to charge all the Church and World with Sin. For that in many things we offend all: And Freedom from Sin, is the Priviledge of the Church Triumphant. Bp. *Laney* hereupon cry'd out, *That Juſtify'd Perſons have no Sin, and are no Sinners; becauſe Juſtification taketh it away.* The Arguing of which, left him in no ſmall Confuſion.

Bp. *Walton* of *Cheſter*, (the Publiſher of the *Polyglot Bible*) was there now and then, but ſpake but ſeldom. Bp. *Stern* of *Carliſle*, afterward Arch-Biſhop of *York*, was of a moſt ſober, honeſt, mortify'd Aſpect, but wanted Charity. For when Mr. *Baxter* was entreating the Biſhops not to caſt out ſo many *in the Nation*, as ſcrupled a Ceremony which they confeſs'd Indifferent, he turn'd to the reſt, and noted him for ſaying *in the Nation*: *He will not ſay* in the Kingdom, ſaith he, *leſt he own a King.* Mr. *Baxter* made him no other Reply but this: That half the Charity which became ſo Grave a Biſhop, might have ſuffic'd to have help'd him to a better Expoſition of the word *Nation*, ſo commonly us'd by Monarchical Writers. And that their Caſe was ſad, if after the taking the Oaths, and being Honour'd by the King with ſuch Teſtimonies as they had had, they muſt when treating for Accomodation ſtand expos'd to ſuch invidious Reflections as Traytors, without the leaſt Ground. So that he declares he was never more deceiv'd by a Man's Face in his Life.

Bp. *Reignolds* * ſpake much the firſt Day, for bringing the reſt to Abatements and Moderation; and afterwards he ſate with the reſt of the Biſhops, and ſpake now and then a qualifying and ſoftning Word. He was a conſiderable Man, and of great Integrity; but thro' Mildneſs, and exceſs of timerous Reverence to great Men, altogether unfit to contend with them. He Dy'd *An.* 1676.

* *Mr.* Pierce *in his firſt Plea, pag.* 35. *ſays,* That Bp. *Reignolds* carry'd *the wounds of the Church* in his Heart and Bowels to his Grave with him; as is well known to many that knew him.

Dr.

* *Mr.* Pierce *ibid. gives him this Character:* That he was a Man could do Good againſt Evil, Forgive much, and of a Charitable Heart; and who Dy'd to the no great Sorrow of them, who reckon'd his Death was Juſt, for Labouring with all his Might againſt the *Oxford* 5 Mile Act, quickly after it.

Dr. *Earle* *, who was afterwards Biſhop of *Saliſbury*, Mr. *Baxter* remembers not to have ſeen there.

Mr. *Thorndike* ſpake once a few Paſſionate Words, confuting the Opinion which the Miniſters had receiv'd of him from his firſt Writings, and confirming that which his ſecond and laſt Writings had given them of him. Dr. *Heylin* and Dr. *Barwick* did not appear. Dr. *Hacket* (afterwards Biſhop of *Coventry* and *Lichfield*) ſaid little. Neither did Dr. *Sparrow* (afterwards Biſhop of *Norwich*) ſay much: But what he did ſpeak was with Spirit eno' for the Impoſing and Dividing Cauſe.

Dr. *Pierſon* (afterwards Biſhop of *Cheſter*) diſputed accurately, ſoberly, and calmly, and procur'd himſelf a great deal of Reſpect from the Miniſters; and a Perſwaſion, That if he had bin Independent he would have bin for Peace: And that if all had bin in his Power, it would have gone well. He was the Strength and Honour of the Biſhops Cauſe; but Mr. *Baxter* tho't it dubious, whether he heartily maintain'd it.

Dr. *Gunning* (afterwards Biſhop of *Ely*) was their forwardeſt and greateſt Speaker. He ſtuck at nothing. When Dr. *Bates* urg'd it upon him, that on the ſame Reaſons as they impos'd the Croſs and Surplice, they might bring in Holy Water, and Lights, and abundance of ſuch Ceremonies of *Rome*, which we have caſt out: He anſwer'd *Yes*; and ſo I think we ought to have more and not fewer, if we do well. He ſeem'd a Man of greater Study and Induſtry than any of them; was well read in Fathers and Councils, and of a ready Tongue: But ſo vehement for high impoſing Principles, and Church Pomp, and ſo very eager and fervent in his Diſcourſe, that he often over-run himſelf. As for the Commiſſioners on the other ſide, the next Chapter will give an Account of them.

As

At the Close of the last Day it was agreed between them, that nothing should be given in on either Side to the King, as charg'd on the other side, but what should be deliver'd in Writing: And that the Account they should on each side give should be this; that they were all agreed upon the Ends, the Churches Welfare, Unity and Peace, and his Majest'ys Happiness and Contentment; but after all their Debates were disagreed of the Means; and this was the End of the Assembly and Commission. *An.* 1661.

The Ministers wait on the King after the Conference.

The Dispute being ended, all the Ministers that were Commissioners met by themselves, and resolv'd to draw up an Account of their Endeavours, and Present it to His Majesty, with a Petition for his promis'd help for those Alterations and Abatements, which they could not procure of the Bishops. They first apply'd themselves to the Lord Chancellor, and crav'd his Favour to procure the King's Declaration yet to be pass'd into an Act, and his Advice how they should proceed. He consented to their giving his Majesty an Account of their Proceedings in an Address, and when they had drawn it up, Perus'd it; and after some Alterations it was Presented to his Majesty, by Bp. *Reignolds*, Dr. *Bates*, Dr. *Manton*, and Mr. *Baxter*, Mr. *Calamy* being at this time indispos'd.---- In this Address, after a Particular Account of their Proceedings, they thus express'd themselves. --- *And tho' we seem to have labour'd in Vain, we shall yet lay this Work of Reconciliation and Peace at the Feet of your Majesty, Beseeching you to Prosecute such a Blessed Resolution till it attain Success. We must needs Believe that when your Majesty took our Consent to a Liturgy, to be a Foundation that would infer our Concord, you meant not that we should have no Concord but by Consenting to this Liturgy, without any considerable Alteration. And when you Comforted us with your Resolution to draw us together, by yielding on both Sides what we could, you meant not that we should be the Boat, and they the Bank that must not stir. And when your Majesty Commanded us by Letters Patents to Treat about the needful Alterations, we rest assured that it was not your Sence, that tender Consciences were to be forc'd to practise all which they judg'd Unlawful, and not have so much as a Ceremony abated them:*

An. 1661. *them: Or that our Treaty was only to Convert either Part to the Opinion of the others; and that all our Hopes of Concord or Liberty consisted only in Disputing the Bishops into Nonconformity, or coming in every Ceremony to their Minds. —As your Majesty under God, is the Protection whereto your People fly, and as the same Necessities still remain, which drew forth your Gracious* Declaration, *we most humbly and earnestly Beseech your Majesty, that the Benefits of the said* Declaration *may be continu'd to your People, and in Particular, that the Additions may be made to the Liturgy, that are therein Expressed. —We shall wait in Hope, that so great a Calamity of your People, as would follow the loss of so many Able Faithful Ministers as rigorous Impositions would cast out, shall never be Recorded in the History of your Reign: But that these Impediments of Concord being forborn, Your Kingdoms may Flourish in Piety and Peace,* &c.

But all their entreaties avail'd nothing to ward off one of the greatest Calamities from a sinful Land and People. They sought Peace with the utmost Earnestness, but were generally entertain'd with Reproach. They were all Branded as rigid *Presbyterians*, tho' they never put up one Petition for Presbytery, but pleaded for Primitive Episcopacy. They were represented in the Common Talk of those who tho't it their Interest to be their Adversaries, as the most seditious People in the World, unworthy to be us'd like Men, or to enjoy any Liberty. They could not go Abroad, but they met with daily Reproaches and false Stories rais'd upon them. 'Twas the constant Cry that they were Plotting, or setting the People against the Government. For there were a Multitude of Students at that time who gap'd for Preferment, and many Gentlemen that aim'd at rising in the World, who quickly found out what was most pleasing to those whose Favour they must rise by; and so set themselves Industriously to Reviling, Calumniating, and Cruelty against all those whom they perceived to be Odious. And he that can but Convince a Worldly Generation of any thing that is the ready way to their Preferment, shall be sure to have it closely follow'd, and thro'ly done with all their might!

Many

Many Worthy Miniſters, and ſober Gentlemen and others, were impriſon'd in Divers Counties throughout the Land, under pretence of Plotting, in the latter part of this Year *. In *November*, one Mr. *Ambroſe Sparry* (a Sober Learned Miniſter that had never own'd the Parliaments Cauſe or Wars, and was in his Judgment for Moderate Epiſcopacy) had a wicked Neighbour whom he reprov'd for Adultery, *An.* 1661. *Divers ſham Plots.*

* He that would paſs a Right Judgment concerning the *Act of Uniformity*, ought ſedately to conſider, both the Scandalous Arts that were us'd for obtaining it, and the bitter Fruits and Conſequences which it produc'd. Of the latter, we ſhall hear eno' in the ſequel of this Hiſtory: But the former are not commonly known or minded. And therefore I'll add ſome few Hints that are well atteſted. Captain *Yarrington* (a Man of an eſtabliſh'd Reputation) did in 1681 publiſh a full Diſcovery of the firſt Presbyterian Sham Plot: In which Diſcovery he declares he related nothing but what he could prove by Letters, and many living Witneſſes; and his Account was never publickly contradicted. ——He ſays, That many, both of the Clergy and Laity, diſliking the King's Declaration concerning Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, reſolv'd to run things to the utmoſt height: And that ſome of the Leading Church-Men were heard to ſay, *They would have an Act ſo fram'd as would reach every Puritan in the Kingdom: And that if they tho't any of them would ſo ſtretch their Conſciences as to be comprehended by it, they would inſert yet other Conditions and Subſcriptions, ſo as that they ſhould have no Benefit by it.* To pave the way for it, they contrive a *Presbyterian Plot*, which was laid in about 36 ſeveral Counties. As to *Worceſterſhire*, he gives a like Account with Mr. *Baxter*, only with the Addition of many Particulars. He ſays, Several Letters were drawn up and deliver'd by Sir *John P*—— to one *Rich. N*—— his Neighbour, to convey them to one *Cole* of *Martley*, who with one *Churn*, brings them again to Sir *John P*—— from whom they came, making Affidavit, *That he found the Packet left by a Scotch Pedlar under a Hedge.* In this Packet, when it was open'd, there were found ſeveral Letters, diſcovering a Conſpiracy to raiſe a Rebellion. There were ſeveral Letters to the Captain; one from Mr. *Baxter* of *Kederminſter*, intimating, That he had provided a conſiderable Body of Men well arm'd, which ſhould be ready againſt the time appointed. And another from Mr. *Sparry*, intimating, He had order'd him 500 *l.* lodg'd in a Friend's hand, *&c.* Upon this, the Militia of the County was rais'd immediately, and the City of *Worceſter* fill'd with them the very Night after the Packet was open'd. The next Morning the Captain was ſeiz'd by a Troop of Horſe, and bro't Priſoner to *Worceſter*; and ſo alſo were Mr. *Sparry*, Mr. *Oſland*, Mr. *Moor*, and Mr. *Brian*, Miniſters, together with ſome Scores of others. They were all kept cloſe Priſoners for 10 Days; by which time the Trained Bands being

weary, who bearing him a Grudge, tho't he had now a time most of to be reveng'd. He (or his Confederates for him) them were fram'd a Letter, as from a Nameleſs Perſon, directed diſcharg'd to Mr. *Sparry*, *That he and Captain* Yarrington *ſhould* paying *be ready with Money and Arms at the time appointed,* their Fees. But the *and that they ſhould acquaint Mr.* Oſland *and Mr.* Captain, Baxter *with it.* This Letter he pretended a Man left Mr. *Sparry* behind him under a Hedge, who ſat down and pull'd and the 2

Oſlands, were ſtill kept cloſe Priſoners in the *George-Inn*, the Dignitaries of the Cathedral taking care, when the Trained Bands retired, to raiſe 60 Foot Soldiers (who had double Pay, and were call'd the *Clergy-Band*) to ſecure theſe Criminals. And beſides the Sentinels upon each of the Priſoners, they had a Court of Guard at the Town-Hall of *Worceſter*. There they perform'd one remarkable Act of Chivalry: A Poor Man coming out of the Country to enquire after the Welfare of Mr. *Henry Oſland* his Miniſter, and ſpeaking to one of the Soldiers, he told him that Mr. *Oſland* was a Traytor and a Rebel, *&c.* The Poor Man ſtood up for his Miniſter, and Vindicated him; whereupon he was with great Zeal carried to the Court of Guard. He that then Preſided there, (who was no meaner Man than an *Apparitor*) commanded the Old Man to be ty'd Neck and Heels, charg'd him with having a Hand in the Presbyterian Plot, and threaten'd him with ſevere Uſage if he would not confeſs. The Old Man bore his Wrath with great Patience, and gave him not a word in anſwer: Upon which the Man in Authority was ſo enrag'd, that he put lighted Matches between his Fingers, and burnt them to the very Bone, to make him confeſs. The Man was alive when the Captain wrote his Narrative, he Names him, and ſays, *That Multitudes were Witneſſes of the Fact, to whom he appeal'd.* At length Mrs. *Yarrington* diſcovering the Sham Intrigue, by the Acknowledgment which the Perſon employ'd by Sir *F. P.* to carry the Packet to *Cole* of *Martley*, made to his Brother, ſhe gives Notice of it to her Husband in his Confinement, who immediately enters Actions againſt thoſe that Impriſon'd him. Being at laſt diſcharg'd, he comes up to *London*, and prevail'd with the Lord of *Briſtol* to acquaint the King, How his Miniſters impos'd upon him by ſuch Sham Plots, *&c.* Upon this the Deputy-Lieutenants were order'd to appear at the *Council-Board*. They endeavour'd to clear themſelves, and deſired to conſult thoſe in the Country. But afterwards Sir *F. W.* (who was one of them) Arreſts the Captain for High-Treaſon. He was again releas'd upon the Earl of *Briſtol*'s procuring the King's Privy-Seal: And going down into the Country he proſecutes his Proſecutors. But within 6 Months, Perſons were ſuborn'd to Swear againſt him, *That he had ſpoken Treaſonable Words againſt the King and Government.* For this he was Try'd at the Aſſizes at *Worceſter* before Judge *Twiſden*, and upon a full Hearing was pre-

out

out many Letters, and put all up again except this, and went away. He carry'd the Letter to Sir *John Packington* (who was one that hotly follow'd ſuch Work) who ſent Mr. *Sparry*, Mr. *Oſland*, and Capt. *Tarrington* to Priſon. Mr. *Oſland* was ſuppos'd therefore to have bin bro't in, becauſe he had offended Sir *Ralph Clare*, in being againſt his Election as Burgeſs in Parliament for the Town of *Bewdley*, where he liv'd. ſently Acquitted by the Jury. And one of the Witneſſes (whom he names) afterwards confeſs'd he had 5 *l.* given him for being an Evidence.

This Feigned Plot was on foot in *Oxfordſhire*, at the ſame time. A Stranger came one Evening to Mr. *Matthew Martin*, the Town-Clerk, with a Letter, and when he had deliver'd it withdrew. As ſoon as he had open'd and conſider'd it, he preſently carry'd it to the Mayor. The Letter ran thus. *Mr.* Martin, *I pray you warn all theſe Men to be in their Arms on* Wedneſday *next in the Night; you know already where they muſt meet. There will come to* Oxford 200 *Men all in their Arms; you know who doth Command them. Dr.* Greenwood *hath ſent to Mr* Combs *the Barber, to get his Party of Scholars ready that Night. And I have ſent to Mr.* Hickman *to get his Men ready at the ſame time. And Dr.* Gawin *has ſent to Mr.* Corniſh *to get his Men ready at the ſame time. And I have ſent to Dr.* Connaught *to get his Men ready. And all the Scholars are to meet in Dr.* Rogers's *Garden. I pray ſend the Blunderbuſſes thither, for I intend to be there my ſelf. And I pray give the Bearer hereof* 5 *l. out of the Stock: And I pray remember me to the* 6 *Men unnam'd. Five Counties are to riſe that Night without fail. I need write no more to you. The word is,* God is the Word, *and pray tell them all ſo.* In this Letter there was a great Liſt of Names included. The Mayor of *Oxford* preſently diſpatch'd a Meſſenger with a Letter to the Lord *Falkland*, then Lord Lieutenant of the County: And ſent another Letter with the like Account to the Recorder of *Oxford*, one of their Members in Parliament, *&c.* The next Day two of the Deputy-Lieutenants ſent for Mr. *Martin*, and threaten'd at firſt to commit him: But upon ſecond Thoughts diſmiſs'd him. And that very Night many of the Militia came into the Town, and kept Guard for 2 Days in the City. So that had not Mr. *Martin* taken ſo prudent a Method, had he tarry'd a Night, the Letter might have bin found about him, and *Oxford* had quickly bin as full or fuller of Plotters and Priſoners than *Worceſter*. —— At the ſame time Mr. *Andrew Parſons* was us'd with great Severity, and Try'd for preaching Treaſon in *Shropſhire*, and bro't in Guilty: But by ſo violent a wreſting of Words, that all the World cry'd out Shame; and the Lord *Newport* interpoſing, procur'd the King's Pardon for him. See *Conformiſts 4th Plea for the Nonconf. pag.* 30. &c. There was ſomething of a like Sham Plot in *Leiceſterſhire* and *Yorkſhire*, Ibid. *pag.* 39, 40. The Great Deſign aim'd at by all theſe Methods, was to poſſeſs the Parliament, that it

was absolutely necessary to make a severe Act against such a *restless* sort of Men, who not contented with the King's Pardon, were always Plotting to disturb the Government. And they reach'd their End. These Plots and Stirs in several Counties of the Land, were in *October* and *November* 1661. And on the 20th of *November* the King appearing in the House after an Adjournment, made a Speech wherein are these words. —*I am sorry to find that the General Temper and Affections of the Nation are not so well compos'd as I hop'd they would have bin, after so signal Blessings of God Almighty upon us all, and after so great Indulgence and Condescentions from me towards all Interests; there are many wicked Instruments still as Active as ever, who labour Night and Day to disturb the Publick Peace, and to make People Jealous of each other: It may be worthy your Care and Vigilance to provide proper Remedies for Diseases of that kind: And if you find new Diseases, you must find New Remedies*, &c. When the House of Commons after this Speech came to their Debates, up stands Sir *J. P.* one of the Knights for *Worcestershire*, and with open Mouth informs them of a Dangerous Presbyterian Plot on foot; and that many of the Chief Conspirators were now in Prison at *Worcester*. The like Information was given by some Members who serv'd for *Oxfordshire*, *Herefordshire*, *Staffordshire*, and other Places. Nay this was the General Cry; this all the Pamphlets printed at that time ran upon. And 'twas in this very Sessions that this Bill of Uniformity pass'd the House. And that the General Cry occasion'd by these Sham Plots much promoted it, will easily be judg'd by any one, that will but be at the Pains to peruse *Yarrington*'s Narrative, to which the Reader is referr'd for Satisfaction.

Many upon this Occasion, especially Mr. *Sparry*, lay long in Prison: And when the Forgery and Injury was detected, they had much difficulty in obtaining a Release. Tho' Mr. *Baxter* was nam'd there, yet he was then in *London*, and had bin so for some time, by which he escap'd; And yet where Men were taken up and Imprison'd in distant Counties, it was said to be for *Baxter*'s Plot.

The Act of Uniformity. Notwithstanding all their Discouragements, Mr. *Calamy*, and some other Ministers, still made use of all the Interest they had in Men of Note and Figure, to get the Parliament to pass the King's Declaration into a Law, and sometimes the Lord Chancellour and others gave them some Hopes; but when it came to the Tryal, they were disappoin

ppointed; it was rejected *. And ſo the Declaration did not nly Die before it came to Execution, but all Attempts for Union and Peace were at an End. Nay, a Rigorous Act was pro't in for Uniformity, clogged on Deſign to make the weight of Conformity heavier than ever. Reaſoning, Petitions nd Entreaties back'd with ever ſo many weighty Conſiderations, were diſregarded as Vain things. It ſeem'd to be accounted the One Thing Neceſſary by thoſe who had gotten the Reins in their Hands; a thing ſo neceſſary that no Reaſon muſt be heard againſt it, that thoſe call'd *Preſbyterians* † muſt be forc'd to do that which they accounted publick Perjury, or be caſt out of Truſt and Office, both in Church nd Common-wealth. While this Act was depending, the Miniſters ill interpoſing as they had opportunity, had peremptory Promiſes given them by ſome in great Places, that the King would grant but by way of Indulgence, which ad bin deny'd them in the way they moſt deſired it; and that care ſhould be taken before the Act paſs'd, that the King ſhould have Power reſerv'd to him, to diſpenſe with it as to ſuch as deſerv'd well of him at his Reſtoration, or whom he pleas'd. But at length the Act paſs'd the Houſe *, and all their great Friends left them in the Church. And when afterwards they, upon the utmoſt Encouragement from Men in Power, had drawn up a Petition to preſent to his Majeſty for Indulgence, they were ſeverely threaten'd with incurring a Præmunire by

* *Dr.* Bates *ſpeaking of this Declaration in his Sermon at Mr.* Baxter's *Funeral, ſays, That it granted ſuch a Freedom to Conſcientious Miniſters that were unſatisfy'd with the Old Conformity, that if it had bin obſerv'd, it had prevented the doleful Diviſion that ſucceeded afterward. But when there was a Motion made in the Houſe of Commons that it might paſs into an Act, it was oppos'd by one of the Secretaries of State, which was reckon'd a ſufficient Indication of the King's Averſeneſs to it.*

† *A Dignitary of the Church of* England, *a Man of Note and Figure, when a ſober Gentleman ſhew'd ſome Regret that the Door was ſo ſtraight, that many ſober Miniſters could not have Admiſſion, reply'd,* It was no Pity at all; if we had tho't ſo many of them would have Conform'd, we would have made it ſtraiter.

* *It's generally ſaid it was carry'd but by very few Votes.*

An. 1661. ſo bold an Attempt, tho' they had worded their Petition ſo Cauteloufly that it extended not to the Papiſts. This Rigorous Act *, when it paſſed, gave all the Miniſters, who could not Conform, no longer time than 'till *Bartholomew Day*, *Auguſt* the 24th 1662. When they were all caſt out. When the Day came, it bro't much Gladneſs to ſome, and Sorrow to others, and occaſion'd many, and thoſe very Different Reflections. Among the reſt, there was a Remark made by a Man of Note, which I cannot paſs by: *Had all the Miniſters* (ſaid he) *Conform'd, People would have tho't there was nothing in Religion; and that it was only a thing to talk of in the Pulpit, and ſerve a State Deſign; while the Miniſters turn'd and chang'd any way with the State. But theſe Men giving up their Livings, and expoſing themſelves and Families to outward Evils, rather than they would conform to things impos'd, not agreeable (as they apprehended) to the Goſpel they preach'd, have convinc'd Men, there is a Reality in Religion, and given a Check to Atheiſm.*

† *Dr.* Bates *in his Sermon at Mr.* Baxter's *Funeral, ſpeaking of this Act ſays, That the old Clergy from Wrath and Revenge, and the young Gentry from their ſervile Complyance with the Court, were very active to carry on and compleat it.*

CHA

CHAP. IX.

A Particular Account of the Miniſters, Lecturers, Fellows of Colledges, &c. *who were Silenced and Ejected by the* Act for Uniformity: *With the Characters and Works of many of them.*

THAT Poſterity may be the better able to paſs a Judgment on the *Act for Uniformity*, 'tis requiſite they ſhould know, who and what ſort of Men were thereby caſt out of the Church, and laid aſide as Uſeleſs. For their Satisfaction, I ſhall hear ſubjoyn as compleat a Liſt of them, as I was able to procure. after near 40 Years were expir'd ſince that Act took place. How I got this Liſt, and what Care hath bin taken to make it exact, may be ſeen in the Preface: And tho' after the ſtricteſt Inſpection, I can eaſily conceive there may be ſeveral Miſtakes, yet this I can ſay, there are none that are Wilful; none but what ſhall be Corrected upon Intimation given, be it in a Friendly or in an Angry Manner. I have indeed taken in ſuch as being turn'd out of Sequeſtred Livings, between the time of King *Charles*'s Reſtauration and the Paſſing of this Act, had obtain'd no other Benefice or Preferment, 'till this Act at once ſhut the Church Doors upon them, and made them incapable of future Publick Service: And I think I have good Reaſon for it; in that tho' they were before Ejected, yet it was this Act that ſilenc'd them, and depriv'd the Church of their Future Labours, as much as if it had firſt ejected them. I have alſo added ſuch as were at that time in the Miniſtry, tho' not yet Benefic'd, who were as much ſilenc'd by this Act, as thoſe who were ejected by it. I have added the names of ſome few Schoolmaſters, whom I could get the Knowledge of, that it may be ſeen how Punctually the Act was executed. And whereas there are ſome in the following Liſt, who refuſing to Conform

at first, did afterwards comply, I have put them by themselves; and would have done so by any others who afterwards Conform'd, could the strictest Enquiry have help'd me to Information: But if any of this sort (or their Friends) think it an Injury to their Name and Memory, to be rank'd with *Nonconformists*, after they had comply'd with the National Establishment, upon Notice given, Justice shall be done them, as much as may be to their Satisfaction.

In the Cities of London *and* Westminster, *and Burrough of* Southwark.

Good Old Mr. *Simeon Ash*, from St. *Austins*. He went seasonably to Heaven, at the very time when he was cast out of the Church. He was bury'd the very Even of *Bartholomew-Day*. He was a Christian of the Primitive Simplicity; and a *Nonconformist* of the Old Stamp. He was Eminent for a Holy Life, a Chearful Mind, and a Fluent Elegancy in Prayer. He had a Good Estate, and was enclin'd to Entertainments and Liberality; his House was much frequented, and he was universally belov'd. He was Chaplain to the Earl of *Manchester* in the Wars, and fell under the Obloquy of the *Cromwellians* for crossing their Designs. He had a considerable Hand in bringing in King *Charles*. He dy'd as he liv'd, in great Consolation and cheerful Exercise of Faith, molested with no Fears or Doubts. He was one of the *Cornhill* Lecturers. He publish'd his Sermons at the Funerals of Mr. *Whitaker* and Mr. *Gataker*; and hath not left any thing in Print besides, except some Sermons preach'd before the Parliament, and upon some other particular Occasions. Mr. *Calamy* preach'd his Funeral Sermon, and gave him but his deserved Character.

Mr. *James Nalton*, from St. *Leonards Foster-Lane*: was also one of the Primitive Sincerity. A good Linguist; a zealous excellent Preacher, commonly call'd the *Weeping Prophet*, because his Seriousness oft express'd it self by Tears: Of a most holy blameless Life; tho' Learned, yet greatly averse to Controversies

ſies and Diſputes. In almoſt all things like Mr. *Aſh*, except his Natural Temper, and the Influence it had upon his Soul. Both of them were ſo compos'd of Humility, Piety and Innocence, that no Enemy of Godlineſs that knew them durſt almoſt ſay any thing againſt them. But as one was Cheerful, ſo the other was from his Youth ſurpriz'd with Violent Fits of Melancholy once in a few Years, which tho' it did not diſtract him, yet kept him 'till it was over in a moſt deſpondent Caſe, and next to Deſpair. Leſs than a Year before he dy'd, he fell into a grievous Fit, in which he was ſo confident of his Graceleſneſs, that he uſually cry'd out, *O not one ſpark of Grace, not one good Deſire or Tho't! I can no more Pray than a Poſt! If an Angel from Heaven would tell me I have true Grace, I would not believe him*, &c. And tho' other Miniſters could demonſtrate his Sincerity to him ſo as to ſilence him, he was continually harping on the ſame String; and was not to be perſwaded he was Melancholly. He had bin but a little while recover'd from this Fit before the *Bartholomew* Act came out, which caſt him out with his Brethren: And his Heart being troubled with the ſad Eſtate of the Church, the multitude of ſilenc'd Miniſters, and his own Unſerviceableneſs, his Melancholy return'd, and he conſum'd to Death. A Sermon was preach'd at his Funeral, *Jan.* 1. 166⅔, by Dr. *Thomas Horton*, who gave him a conſiderable Character, to which the Reader is referr'd. He printed a few Occaſional Diſcourſes in his Life time; and a few Practical Sermons of his have bin publiſh'd ſince his Death.

Mr. *Arthur Jackſon* from St. *Faiths**. One of unwearied Induſtry and Diligence: Who Study'd 14 or 16 Hours a Day at the Univerſity, and conſtantly roſe at 3 or 4 of the Clock in the Morning, Summer and Winter, to redeem his Time; and held it to the Age of 73. He was Miniſter of St. *Michaels Woodſtreet*, *An.* 1624. when a Peſtilential Sickneſs rag'd in the City, and continu'd all the time of it, diſcharging all the Offices and Duties of a Faithful Paſtor to his Flock; viſiting infected Perſons without Fear, tho' to the hazarding of his own Life, for the Good of

* *See the Account of his Life & Death prefix'd to his Annotations on Iſaiah.*

of Souls in the Service of his MASTER, who preſerv'd him from all Infection, when Thouſands fell on either hand of him. He was very Succeſsful in his Miniſtry, and exceeding uſeful by his profitable and familiar way of Catechizing. He was Fin'd 500 *l.* for refuſing to give in Evidence againſt Mr. *Love*, and committed Priſoner to the Fleet, where he continu'd about 17 Weeks. After the Reſtauration he (as hath bin hinted in the foregoing Hiſtory) preſented the Bible to His Majeſty, in His Triumphal Progreſs thro' *Cheapſide*; and was one of the Commiſſioners at the *Savoy*: And finding all their Endeavours there fruitleſs, he, when the ſevere Act took place, retired to a Private Life. In his laſt Sickneſs, he diſcover'd great Serenity and Compoſure: And expreſs'd much ſatisfaction in his Spirit as to his *Nonconformity*; profeſſing *he had many times ask'd God Forgiveneſs on his Knees, for his complying too much with unwarrantable Impoſitions in former Times.* He dy'd *Aug.* 5. 1666. He hath left behind him *Annotations* on ſeveral Parts of the *Bible*, in 3 Vol. in 4*to*.

Mr. *Edmund Calamy*, B. D. from *Aldermanbury*. He was one of thoſe Divines who, *An.* 1641, met by order of Parliament in the *Jeruſalem Chamber*, with ſeveral Biſhops and Doctors, in order to the *Accomodating Eccleſiaſtical Matters*: in which Meeting, by mutual Conceſſions, things were bro't into a very Hopeful Poſture: But the whole Deſign was ſpoil'd by the bringing in to the Houſe the Bill againſt Biſhops, *&c.* He was afterwards an Active Member of the *Aſſembly*. He was a great Enemy to the Sectaries, who afterwards grew ſo Rampant. He was in his Judgment for the *Presbyterian Diſcipline*; but of known Moderation towards thoſe of other Sentiments. No Miniſter in the City was more follow'd; nor hath there ever bin a Week-day Lecture ſo frequented as his; which was attended not only by his own Pariſh, but by other Eminent Citizens, and many Perſons of the Greateſt Quality, and that conſtantly. In *Oliver*'s time he kept himſelf as private as he could: But had a conſiderable Hand in cauſing things afterwards to return into their Proper Channel. He preach'd before

fore the Parliament the Day before they voted the King home, and was one of thoſe Divines who were ſent over to him into *Holland*. He was reckon'd to have the greateſt Intereſt in Court, City and Country of any of the Miniſters, and therefore extreamly careſs'd at firſt: But ſoon ſaw whither things were tending. He was very Active in order to an Accomodation, but in vain. He generally had the Chair among the City Miniſters in their Meetings, and was much eſteem'd for his Prudence and Conduct. He was one of the *Cornhill* Lecturers. He refus'd a Biſhoprick, becauſe he could not have it upon the Terms of the King's Declaration; but kept his Temper and Moderation after he was ejected. He was Impriſon'd *in terrorem* for Preaching Occaſionally after *Bartholomew-Day*, but ſoon releas'd, when it was ſeen what a Reſort of Perſons of all Qualities there was to him in *Newgate*; and how generally the Severity was reſented. He liv'd to ſee *London* in Aſhes, the ſight of which broke his Heart. He was driven thro' the Ruins in a Coach, and ſeeing the deſolate Condition of ſo flouriſhing a City, for which he had ſo great an Affection, his tender Spirit receiv'd ſuch Impreſſions as he could never wear off. He went home, and never came out of his Chamber more; but dy'd within a Month. He hath not left much in Print. He was one of the Authors of *Smectymnuus*, which was a Celebrated Book before the Civil War. He had a hand in drawing up the *Vindication of the Presbyterial Government and Miniſtry*, Printed *An.* 1650. and the *Jus Divinum Miniſterii Evangelici, & Anglicani*; Printed *An.* 1654. He hath ſeveral Sermons in Print, which he Preach'd before the two Houſes of Lords and Commons, and the Magiſtrates of the City: And at the Funerals of Dr. *Sam. Bolton*, Mr. *Sim. Aſh*, &c. Beſides which, he publiſh'd nothing but a Vindication of himſelf from the Calumnies of Mr. *Burton*; and a ſmall Tract call'd *The Godly Man's Ark, or City of Refuge, in the Day of his Diſtreſs*. And ſince his Death there was *A Treatiſe of Meditation*; Printed in a Clandeſtine way: Not by his Son, or from his Manuſcript, but from ſome imperfect Notes taken by an Auditor.

Mr.

Mr. *Joſeph Caryl* from St. *Magnus*. He was a noted Diſputant in *Oxford*: And when he came to *London*, was Preacher to the Honourable Society of *Lincolns-Inn*, where he continu'd ſeveral Years with Good-liking and Applauſe. He was a Member of the Aſſembly of Divines: And in 1653, he was appointed one of the *Triers* for the Approbation of Miniſters: and had univerſally the Character of a *Learned Man*. Beſides his Faſt and Thankſgiving Sermons before the Parliament, he alſo publiſh'd an *Expoſition with Practical Obſervations on the Book of* Job, in 11 Vol. in 4*to*. (ſince put into two *Folios*) And had an hand in a Book entitul'd, *An Engliſh Greek Lexicon, containing the Derivations and various Significations of all the Words in the New Teſtament*, &c. *Oct.* 1661.---And after his Death was publiſh'd, *The Nature and Principles of Love as the End of the Commandment*; being ſome of his laſt Sermons. *October* 1674. He dy'd in *February* 1672.

Mr. *Thomas Gouge* from St. *Sepulchres*. He was Son to the Eminent Dr. *Gouge* of *Black-Fryars*. He was a Wonder of Charity, Humility, Sincerity and Moderation. Mr. *Baxter* ſays, *That he never heard any one Perſon, of what Rank, Sort, or Sect ſoever, ſpeak one word to his Diſhonour, or name any Fault that they charg'd on his Life or Doctrine; no not the higheſt Prelatiſts themſelves, ſave only that he Conform'd not to their Impoſitions.* God bleſſed him with a good Eſtate, and he liberally us'd it in Works of Charity, which he made indeed the Great Buſineſs of his Life. When he had loſt much by the Fire, and had ſettled his Children, and had his Wife taken from him by Death, he had but 150 *l.* a Year left, and he gave a Hundred of it to Charitable Uſes. It was his daily Work to do all the Good he could, with as great Diligence and Conſtancy as other Men labour at their Trades. He viſited the Poor, and ſtirr'd up the Rich, in whom he had any Intereſt, to devote at leaſt the 10th part of their Eſtates to Works of Charity. When he was between 60 and 70 Years Old, he us'd to Travel into *Wales*, and diſperſe what Money he could ſpare himſelf, or collect from others, among the poor labouring perſecuted

cuted Miniſters there. He ſettled in the Chief Towns of *Wales* a great many Schools, to the number of 3 or 400, for Women to teach Children to Read, having himſelf undertaken to pay them for many hundred Children. He Preach'd himſelf in *Wales* 'till they drove him from Place to Place by Perſecution. He went conſtantly to the Pariſh Churches, and ſometimes Communicated with them, and was Authoriz'd by an Old Univerſity Licenſe to Preach Occaſionally, and yet for ſo doing was Excommunicate even in *Wales*, even while he was doing all this Good. He procur'd a very fair Impreſſion of the Bible in the *Welſh* Tongue, to the number of 8000, 1000 of which were freely given to the Poor, and the reſt ſent to the Principal Cities and Towns in *Wales*, to be ſold to the Rich at Reaſonable Rates, *viz.* at 4 Shillings a Piece well Bound and Claſp'd. He was us'd to ſay often with Pleaſure, *That he had two* Livings, *which he would not exchange for two of the Greateſt in* England, *meaning* Wales, *where he us'd to Travel every Year to ſpread Knowledge, Piety, and Charity; and* Chriſt's Hoſpital, *where he us'd freely to Catechize the Poor Children, in order to the well-laying the Foundations of Religion in them, in their tender Years.* He Dy'd ſuddainly in the 77th Year of his Age. Without any Sickneſs or Pain, or Fear of Death, he was heard to give a Groan in his Sleep and he was gone. Mr. *Baxter* ſays, *He never ſaw him Sad, but Chearful.* His Funeral Sermon was preach'd by Dr. *Tillotſon*, afterwards Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, to whoſe Account of him the Reader is referr'd. In giving his Character, he hath theſe words among others; --*So that all things conſider'd, there have not ſince the Primitive Times of Chriſtianity, bin many among the Sons of Men, to whom that Glorious Character of the Son of God might be better apply'd, that* He went about Doing Good. And he aſcribes to him the firſt Foundation of that Charitable Deſign of Employing the Poor at Work, which Mr. *Thomas Firmin* afterwards improv'd, and which met with ſuch General Applauſe. He hath not left much behind him. His Book ſtil'd the *Principles of Religion explain'd*, is as valuable as moſt of the kind. ---He hath publiſh'd alſo,

alſo, *A Word to Sinners*; and *A Sermon of Good Works*; both in 8*vo*.

* *See his own Account of himſelf before his laſt Volume of Lives.*

Mr. *Samuel Clark* *, from *Bennet Fink*. He had bin an uſeful Preacher many Years in the Country, in *Cheſhire* and *Warwickſhire*, where he had met with Trouble on the Account of the *Et cætera Oath*, &c. before he came to *London*: But here he liv'd Comfortably and Uſefully, 'till the *Uniformity Act* ſtop'd his Mouth. He was one of the Commiſſioners at the Treaty at the *Savoy*. A Man of great Plainheartedneſs and Sincerity. The words were but few (but ſpoken from his Heart, and expreſſive of the Senſe of many) which he us'd to His Majeſty when he preſented the Addreſs to him, in the Name of the Miniſters, *Novemb.* 16. 1660. ——*Your Majeſty's Loyal Subjects* (ſaith he) *the Miniſters in and about the City of* London, *have commanded us humbly to preſent this their Gratulatory Acknowledgment to Your Royal Majeſty, for Your Gracious Condeſcentions in Your Majeſty's late Declaration concerning Eccleſiaſtical Affairs.* For he was abundantly ſenſible, with many others, that that Declaration would have made the Nation happy. And tho' he was not ſatisfy'd afterwards to Conform to the Terms requir'd by Law for the Exerciſe of his Miniſtry, he yet frequented the Church both as an Hearer and Communicant. He Dy'd *Dec.* 25. 1682. His Works † that he hath left behind him are many; of which a Liſt is here added: And tho' it muſt be own'd they are not calculated for the Nice and Curious, yet this

† *His Works are theſe.*

A Martyrology, with the Lives of 22 *Divines.* *Fol.* 1651.
The Lives of ſundry Eminent Perſons in this latter Age. *Fol.* 1683.
The Marrow of Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory: With Cuts. *Fol.*
The Marrow of Divinity; containing ſundry Caſes of Conſcience. *Fol.* 1659.
His Examples. *Fol.* *The Life of our Bleſſed Saviour.* —*A Diſcourſe againſt Toleration.*——*A Sheet in Defence of Tythes.*——*Some Sermons preach'd on Particular Occaſions.*——*A Deſcription of* Germany. *The Hiſtory of* Hungary. *A Deſcription of the* 17 *Provinces of the* Netherlands.——*Lives of our Engliſh Warriours.*——*The Duty of every one that intends to be Sav'd.*——*An Engliſh Dictionary.*——*A Preſident for Princes.*——*A Book of Apothegms*, &c. &c.

this cannot be deny'd, that they have bin very Useful to Persons of a Middle Rank; who by the Help of his Industrious Pains, have got much Profitable Knowledge, they could not otherwise have had an opportunity of Gaining.

Mr. *Thomas Case* * . . . . . He was one of the Members of the Assembly of Divines. He was forc'd out of the Dioceſs of *Norwich* by the Severity of Bp. *Wren*. He afterwards ſettled in the City at St. *Mary Magdalen Milkſtreet*, and was very Laborious and Faithful there in his Miniſterial Work. He firſt ſet up the *Morning Exerciſe*, which (to the Benefit of Multitudes) hath bin kept up in this City from Place to Place, ever ſince, except when the Rigour of the Times prevented it. He was turn'd out of *Milkſtreet*, for refuſing the Engagement. He was afterwards Lecturer at *Aldermanbury*, and St. *Giles Cripplegate*. He was Impriſon'd 6 Months in the Tower, for his Concern with Mr. *Love*. He was afterwards Rector of St. *Giles in the Fields*. In 1660 he was one of the Miniſters deputed to wait upon the King at the *Hague*, to Congratulate his Reſtauration: And in 1661, one of the Commiſſioners at the *Savoy*. When his Publick Miniſtry was at an end, he ceaſed not in Private to be doing all the Good he could. He was one of a quick and warm Spirit; an open plain hearted Man; an hearty Lover of God, Goodneſs, and all Good Men. He was a Scripture Preacher; a Great Man in Prayer; and one that bro't home many Souls to God. He Dy'd *May* 30. 1682, Aged 84 Years. His Funeral Sermon was preach'd by Dr. *Thomas Jacomb*, in which his Character may be ſeen at large.

Mr.

* *His Works are:*
Several Sermons preach'd before the Lords and Commons.---Several Sermons at Milkſtreet *about God's waiting to be Gracious to his People.---Sermons on the Covenant. ---And ſome other Sermons on Particular Occaſions. ---Imitation of the Saints open'd in Practical Meditations.* Qu. 1666. *Mount* Piſgah: *Or, A Proſpect of Heaven.---Correction, Inſtruction: Or, A Treatiſe of Afflictions.---The firſt and laſt Sermon in the Morning Exerciſe at St.* Giles, 1659. *And another Sermon on the Sanctification of the Sabbath, in the Supplement to the Morning Exerciſe at* Cripplegate.

Mr. *John Gibbons*, from *Black Fryars*. A very Learned and Judicious Man: Who dy'd of a Conſumption, not long after his being Silenc'd and put Out. I know not that he hath left any thing behind him as a Specimen of his Abilities, except a *Sermon upon the Nature of Juſtification*, in the Morning Exerciſe at St. *Giles*: (which is ſince Printed by it ſelf) And another about *Checking the firſt Riſings of Sin*, in the Morning Exerciſe at *Cripplegate*. But he that peruſes theſe will hardly forbear Regret, that no more of his Works ſhould be publiſh'd.

* *He compil'd the* Synopſis Criticorum Bibliorum,

Mr. *Matthew Pool* *, from St. *Michaels Quern*. Univerſally acknowledg'd a very Learned Man. He was very Facetious in his Converſation, very True to his Friend, very Strict in his Piety, and Univerſal in

in Five Volumes in Folio: Which ſoure Mr. Wood (*who can hardly ever ſee any thing Tolerable where a deſpicable* Nonconformiſt *had any hand*) *owns to be Admirable and Uſeful Books: For which we are bound to Con him Thanks. For he having condeſcended to ſpeak Favourably, we may well eno' be ſecure as to other Cenſurers. ---He hath alſo publiſh'd,* The Blaſphemer ſlain with the Sword of the Spirit. *Proving the Deity of the Holy Ghoſt againſt* Biddle, *a Tract in Twelves.* ----A Model for the maintaining of Students of Choice Abilities in the Univerſity, and principally in order to the Miniſtry. *Qu.* 1658. A Letter to the Lord *Charles Fleetwood. Qu.* 1659. *Quo Warranto: Or,* A Moderate Debate about the Preaching of Unordain'd Perſons, *&c. in Vindication of the* Jus Divinum Miniſterii, *written by the Appointment of the Provincial Aſſembly at* London. ----Evangelical Worſhip: *A Sermon before the Lord Mayor,* Aug. 26. 1660. ----The Nullity of the Romiſh Faith *Oxon.* 1666. *Oct.* ----Dialogues between a Popiſh Prieſt and Engliſh Proteſtant, wherein the Principal Points and Arguments of both Religions are truly Propos'd, and fully Examin'd: *Oct. Lond.* 1667. *And ſeveral times after in Twelves.* A Seaſonable Apology for Religion, *or* Ma 11. 19. *Lond.* 1673. *Qu. &c. There are alſo ſome Sermons of his in t Volumes of the* Morning Exerciſe. *One upon the* Satisfaction of Chri *in that at St.* Giles's. *Another about the* Right Method of Applicati to the Sick, for their Good, on the Part both of Miniſters and People *in that at* Cripplegate. *Another upon* Detraction, *in the* Supplement the Morning Exerciſe at *Cripplegate*. *And another* Againſt an Extern Infallible Judge in the Church of God, *in that* againſt Popery. *He ſo wrote a Volume of* Engliſh Annotations on the Holy Scripture, *tending to have gone thro' it, if God had ſpar'd his Life: But he went farther than the* 58*th Chapter of* Iſaiah. *Others undertook to compleat*

his Charity. He was one of the Commissioners at the *Savoy* in 1661. He Dy'd at *Amsterdam* in *Holland*, in *October* 1679; leaving behind him (saith *Wood*, the *Oxford* Critick, without any Cavil, at which we may well wonder) the Character of *Clarissimus Criticus & Casuista*; a Celebrated Critick and Casuist.

Work. But the Oxford *Collectour hath mistaken their names. For he mentions* Dr. Bates, *Dr.* Jacomb, *Mr.* Clarkson, *Mr.* Vink, *and Mr.* Alsop, *as Persons concern'd in it, without any Ground in the World. He says, He did not doubt but Dr.* Owen *also had his Share in the Work. But they who are to be influenc'd by his Positive Assertions, and much more by his Doubts, are in fair Danger of being bewilder'd. In opposition to his Doubtful one, I'll here add a true List of the Compleaters of that Useful Work. The* 59th *and* 60th *Chapters of* Isaiah, *were done by Mr.* Jackson *of* Moulsey. *The Notes on the rest of* Isaiah, *and on* Jeremiah, *and* Lamentations, *were drawn up by Dr.* Collins. Ezekiel *by Mr.* Hurst. Daniel *by Mr.* Cooper. *The* Minor Prophets *by Mr.* Hurst. *The* 4 Evangelists *by Dr.* Collins. *The* Acts *by Mr.* Veal. *The Epistle to the* Romans *by Mr.* Mayo. *The two Epistles to the* Corinthians, *and that to the* Galatians, *by Dr.* Collins. *That to the* Ephesians *by Mr.* Veal. *The Epistles to the* Philippians *and* Colossians, *by Mr.* Adams. *The two Epistles to the* Thessalonians, *by Mr.* Barker. *The Epistles to* Timothy, Titus *and* Philemon, *by Dr.* Collins. *That to the* Hebrews, *by Mr.* Obadiah Hughes. *The Epistle of* James, *two Epistles of St.* Peter, *and the Epistle of St.* Jude, *by Mr.* Veal. *The three Epistles of St.* John, *by Mr.* How. *And the Book of the* Revelation, *by Dr.* Collins.

Dr. *Nathanael Holmes*, from St. *Mary Stayning*. A Man well skill'd in the Tongues, particularly the *Hebrew*. His Works are many. The most Noted are, *The Resurrection reveal'd*, *Fol.* 1654. In which Book, tho' the Author shows himself a *Millenarian*, yet he doth not contend for a carnal, sensual, gross and worldly Liberty to be enjoy'd by the Saints before the General Resurrection, but for a spiritual, purify'd and refin'd Freedom from Sin and Corruption. He afterwards publish'd *Ten Exercitations* in another *Folio*, in Vindication of this Book. And another *Folio*, containing 16 Treatises, with the Title of *His Works*; with several other Tracts. He Dy'd *An.* 1678.

Dr. *Lazarus Seaman*, from *Alhallows Bread-street*. Even the Envious *Wood* owns him to have bin a *Learned Man*. He was one of the Assembly of Divines. A Man of great Abilities, very skilful in managing

Controverſies in Divinity. Upon the Invitation of an Honourable Lady, who was the Head of a Noble Family, and was often ſolicited by Romiſh Prieſts to change her Religion, he engag'd two of the ableſt Prieſts they could pick out in a Diſpute, in the preſence of the Lord and Lady for their Satisfaction: and by ſilencing them upon the Head of *Tranſubſtantiation*, was inſtrumental to preſerve that whole Family from a Revolt, and keep them ſtedfaſt in the Proteſtant Religion. While he was Maſter of *Peter-Houſe* in *Cambridge*, he acquitted himſelf with abundant Honour. He was an excellent Caſuiſt, a dextrous Expoſitor, and both a Judicious and Moving Preacher. He Dy'd in *September* 1675. Mr. *Jenkyn* preach'd his Funeral Sermon, in which the Reader may meet with his Character at large. He hath extant a few Sermons which he preach'd before the Long Parliament. A Sermon before the Lord Mayor, *April* the 7th 1650, againſt Diviſions. And a *Vindication of the Judgment of the Reformed Churches, concerning Ordination, and laying on of Hands*, &c. *Qu.* 1647.

Mr. *William Jenkyn*, from *Chriſt Church*. A very Affectionate Uſeful Preacher, and much follow'd. He was ſeveral times Impriſon'd, and in much Trouble for his *Nonconformity*, and at laſt dy'd in the Priſon of *Newgate*, *Jan.* 19. 1684. at which time there was above 80 Diſſenters in the ſame Priſon, on the ſame Account. He was Impriſon'd upon the *Oxford Act*: His Offer of 40 *l.* which was the Penalty fix'd in that Act, being refus'd by Sir *James Edwards* and Sir *James Smith*, 2 of the Aldermen. After 5 Months Impriſonment, he petition'd the King for his Delivery: and the Phyſicians aſſur'd His Majeſty, *That his Life was endanger'd by his cloſe Confinement*. But no Mercy could be obtain'd thro' Perſonal Diſguſt; tho' the King had bin prevail'd with to releaſe Mr. *Holdcraft* of *Cambridge* from a tedious Confinement, not long before. ---He hath written *An Expoſition of the Epiſtle of* Jude. ---*The Buſy Biſhop: Or, The Viſitor Viſited: in Anſwer to* John Goodwin's *Sion Colledge Viſited*; *Qu.* 1648. *And a Vindication of it from his Reply.* Publiſhing his Funeral Sermon for Dr. *Seaman*, upon

upon occaſion of ſome Reflections in it, there were great Heats. One wrote Animadverſions on that Sermon, entitled, *A Vindication of the Conforming Clergy, from the Unjuſt Aſperſions of Hereſy*, &c. In a Letter to a Friend. In Anſwer to which he wrote his *Celeuſma, ſeu Clamor ad Theologos Hierarchiæ Anglicanæ*; *Qu.* 1679. Which being anſwer'd in Latin by Dr. *Grove*; he wrote a Brief Reply in the ſame Tongue, *An.* 1681. He hath alſo a Sermon printed in the *Supplement to the Morning Exerciſe at* Cripplegate, upon *Improving the Preſent Seaſon of Grace*. And another in the *Continuation of the Morning Exerciſe*; about *Bewailing the Sins of the Places where we live*. And a 3d about *Venial Sins*, in the *Morning Exerciſe* againſt *Popery*.

Mr. *William Cooper*, from St. *Olave Southwark*. He was a Critical Linguiſt, no mean Philoſopher, a quick Diſputant, and well vers'd in *Controverſies*: A Learned Expoſitor, a Celebrated Hiſtorian, and a fine Poet, eſpecially in *Latin*. He was Chaplain to the Queen of *Bohemia*, (Mother to the Princeſs *Sophia* of *Hannover*, on whom the Succeſſion to the Crown of *England* is lately ſettled by Act of Parliament) for ſeveral Years: He continu'd in her Family at the *Hague* from 1644 to 1648. He was greatly reſpected by that Vertuous Princeſs, and by the ſober part of her Court: had free Converſation (in clean *Latin*) with the Foreign Envoys that then reſorted to her; and became ſo well vers'd in the Affairs of *Europe*, as to be reckon'd no ſmall Politician. He underſtood Men as well as Books, and was generally valu'd and reſpected by ſuch as knew him: And moſt by them that knew him beſt *.

* *I know not that he hath Printed any thing, except a Thankſgiving Sermon before the Parliament on* Zach. 12. 2, 3, 4. *Some Sermons in the Morning Exerciſes. One in that at St.* Giles's, *on the* Covenant of Works. *Another in that at* Cripplegate, *about* Giving Thanks in all Things. *And a 3d in the* Continuation of *the* Morning Exerciſe Queſtions, *on that Qu.* What muſt we do to keep our ſelves in the Love of God? *A Funeral Sermon for Mr.* Chriſtopher Fowler; *and ſome Papers of Latin Verſes.*

At the ſame Place was Silenc'd Mr. *Venning*, who was Lecturer; and Mr. *Samuel Smith* Aſſiſtant. Mr. *Venning* was ſometime of *Emanuel* Colledge in *Cambridge*. He was a popular Preacher, and much follow'd †. He Dy'd *March* the 10th 1673. His Funeral Sermon was preach'd by Mr. *Robert Bragg*.

Mr. *Samuel Smith* had before bin caſt out of the Sequeſtred Living of *Bodenham* in *Herefordſhire*, but was Silenc'd here. He hath ſince ſettled at *Windſor*, where he is yet living.

Mr. *Zachary Croſton*, from St. *Buttolphs Aldgate*. A quick and warm but upright Man. He not long after King *Charles*'s Return had a hot Conteſt with Bp. *Gauden*, about the Obligation of the National Vow, call'd the *Solemn League and Covenant*. The Biſhop was for Cancelling it entirely. Mr. *Croſton* did not plead for it as binding any Man to Rebellion, or to any thing Unlawful, but as Obliging every one that took it in his Place and Calling to endeavour Reformation; to be againſt Schiſm, Popery, Prelacy and Profaneneſs, and to defend the King. Many Writings paſs'd on both ſides: But at length they who had the upper hand, (as hath bin uſual in the like Caſe) back'd their Arguments with force, to make them unanſwerable. Mr. *Croſton* was ſent Priſoner to the Tower; where when he had continu'd long, at a vaſt Expence and Charge, he ſought to get an *Habeas Corpus*: But his Life being threaten'd, he was glad to let the Motion fall, and at laſt to Petition for his Liberty, which with ſome difficulty he obtain'd. But going into his own Country of *Cheſhire*, he was there again caſt into Priſon: And when he procur'd his Liberty, he was forc'd to ſet up a Grocers Shop to get

† *He hath left 9 Treatiſes behind him.* (1) A Warning to Backſliders. (2) The Way to Happineſs. (3) Mercies Memorial. (4) *Canaan*'s Flowings: *Or*, Milk and Honey. (5) *His 43 Orthodox and Miſcellaneous Paradoxes.* (6) The New Command renew'd: *Or*, Love one another. (7) Myſteries and Revelations. (8) Things worth thinking on: *Or*, Helps to Piety. (9) Sin the Plague of Plagues: *Or*, Sinful Sin the worſt of Evils.

get a Maintenance for his Family, While he was in the Tower, he went to the Chappel Service and Sermon: His Judgment being againſt Separating from the Pariſh Churches, notwithſtanding their Conformity, ſo be it he were not put himſelf to uſe the Common-Prayer as a Miniſter, or the Ceremonies. And this occaſion'd ſome that tho't his Courſe unlawful, to write againſt it: To which he reply'd with Sharpneſs, and ſo divers Writings were publiſh'd on both ſides, about ſuch Communion.

Mr. *Benjamin Needler*, from St. *Margaret Moſes* in *Friday-ſtreet*: A worthy Divine of St. *John's Colledge* in *Oxford*. After he was ejected, he liv'd and preached privately at *North-Warnborough* in *Hampſhire*, where he Dy'd in 1682 *.

Mr. *Thomas Lye* †, from *Alhallows Lumbard-ſtreet*. One who was eminently Uſeful by his excellent Knack of Catechizing Young Ones, whom he by many Artifices entic'd to delight in the getting Knowledge in the beſt things. Many in and about this City, to this Day, recount with Pleaſure his unuſual

* *He hath left behind him*, Expoſitory Notes, with Practical Obſervations towards the Opening the 5 firſt Chapters of the Book of *Geneſis*; *deliver'd by way of Expoſition in ſeveral Lords-Days Exerciſes. Oct. And there are ſeveral Sermons of his in the Morning Exerciſes. One in that at St.* Giles's, *upon the* Trinity. *Another in that at* Cripplegate, *about* Diſcovering and Mortifying Beloved Luſts. *And a third in that againſt* Popery of the Uſe of Images.

† *Beſides his* Childs Delight, *with an* Engliſh Grammar, *and a* Spelling Book, *together with* The Grounds of the Engliſh Tongue, *in Verſe, intermix'd with* Moral Precepts; *and his* Explanation of the Aſſemblies ſhorter Catechiſm; *he hath ſome Sermons in print in the Morning Exerciſes. One in that at St.* Giles's, *on the* Union of Believers with Chriſt. *Another, in that at* Cripplegate, *about* Living by Faith on Divine Providence. *A 3d in the* Supplement, *on the* Managing of Catechizing by Spiritual Rules. *A 4th in that againſt* Popery, *on* Works of Superorogation. *And a 5th in the* Continuation, *on that Queſtion*, What may Gracious Parents beſt do, for the Converſion of thoſe Children, whoſe Wickedneſs is occaſion'd by their Sinful Severity or Indulgence.

Method of instructing them in the first Principles of Religion, wherein he had a marvellous Dexterity: And I have heard of several that owe their first serious Impressions to his Pains in a Catechetical Way; in which he was not satisfy'd with conveying a little Notional Knowledge, without doing his utmost to set things home upon the Heart, according to the Capacity of his young Auditory, to whom he always discover'd a most tender Affection. He dy'd *June* the 7th 1634.

Mr. *Crodacott* } both from St. *Saviours Southwark*,
and Mr. *Watkins* } where they were joint Pastors, and spread the Gospel very amicably and successfully. The former hath a Sermon in Print, preach'd before the Lord Mayor, *&c.* at the *Spittle*, *April* 17. 1655, concerning *The Preferableness of Heavenly to Earthly Treasures.* The latter hath a Sermon in the Morning Exercise at St. *Giles's*, on the *Misery of Man's Estate by Nature.*

Mr. *Elias Pledger*, from St. *Antholins.* He hath a Sermon in the *Morning Exercise at* Cripplegate, on that Question: *Of the Cause of Inward Trouble, and how a Christian should behave himself when Inward and Outward Troubles meet?*

* *See Dr.* Annesleys *Preface to his Funeral Sermon, for Mr.* Whitaker.

Dr. *Drake* *, from St. *Peters Cheap.* Mr. *Baxter* says, *He was a Wonder of Humility and Sincerity.* He was one of the Commissioners at the *Savoy.* There is a Sermon of his in the *Morning Exercise at St.* Giles's, on the *Believers Dignity and Duty.* His last Words were these: *Jesus take me, I am ready.*

Mr. *William Whitaker* } from St. *Mary Magdalen*
and Mr. *Torey*------} *Bermondsey* in *Southwark.* The former was the Son of the famous Mr. *Jeremy Whitaker:* And was a Man of great Calmness, Moderation and Peaceableness; *sound* in Doctrine, and *exemplary* in Life. While he was at the University, his Piety, Learning, Sweetness of Disposition, Candour and Ingenuity were so Eminent, that he was Lov'd and Honour'd of all that knew him. And when he launch-

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ed out into the World, he was a Peace Preacher and a Peace Maker, where ever he came. He hath a Sermon in the *Morning Exercise at St.* Giles's, describing the *Mediator of the Covenant of Grace.* And another in that at *Cripplegate*, about *being Compleat in Christ.* He Dy'd in 1673. And Dr. *Annesley*, who was his Particular Friend, preach'd his Funeral Sermon, in which his Character may be seen at large. As for the latter, Mr. *Torey*, he after his Silencing cross'd the Seas, and became Pastour of the English Church at *Middleburgh* in *Zealand*, where he liv'd and dy'd in great Respect.

Mr. *Thomas Wadsworth* *, from *Laurence Poultney.* He was an Able Judicious Man, devoted wholly to God, and to do Good. He was at the time of the Restauration in the Sequestred Living of *Nenington-Butts*, where before he was cast out he Preach'd constantly; and zealously taught all his People also House by House. He gave Bibles to the Poor of his Parish, and expended not only his Time, but his Estate in *Works of Charity.* When he was turn'd out there, the Lamentation of the People would have melted a Heart that had any Compassion. He afterwards remov'd into the City; and when by the *Bartholomew Act* he was Ejected there also, he for some time (thro' the Peoples Desire and Necessity) Preach'd privately to one Congregation at *Newington*, and another at *Theobalds*, by turns; without taking any Maintenance from either: And afterwards he had a fix'd Congregation in *Southwark*, where he dy'd of the Stone, *October* the 29th 1676. His Diary (which is printed in his Life) shows him to have bin an excellent Christian.

* *He hath left several Treatises behind him.* *A Discourse of the* Immortality of the Soul. A serious Exhortation to an Holy Life. Separation no Schism, *&c. And after his Death were publish'd* His Remains. *Oct.* 1680. *He hath also some Sermons in the Morning Exercises. One in the* Supplement to the Morning Exercise at *Cripplegate, upon the* Indispensableness of the Duty of receiving the Lord's Supper. *And another in the* Morning Exercise against Popery; *against the* Mass as a Sacrifice, *&c.* His Life was Printed in *Octavo*, 1680.

Mr. *Thomas Brooks*, from St. *Mary Magdalen Fish-ſtreet*. He was a very Affecting Preacher, and Uſeful to many. And tho' he us'd many homely Phraſes, and ſometimes too familiar Reſemblances, which to Nice Criticks appear Ridiculous; yet he did more Good to Souls than many of the exacteſt Compoſers: And let the Wits of the Age paſs what Cenſures they pleaſe, *He that winneth Souls is Wiſe.*

Mr. *Gabriel Sangar*, from St. *Martins in the Fields*. A Grave Peaceable Divine, of great Moderation. He tho't it his Duty, after he was Silenc'd, to abide in the Pariſh with thoſe of his Ancient Flock who deſired him, and to Viſit them, eſpecially in the time of Sickneſs: At which Time and Seaſon many tho't the Help of the Poor Nonconformiſts needful eno', who were not very fond of their Preaching while they were Well. Once going to viſit a Good Woman who ſent for him, Dr. *Lamplugh* (who ſucceeded him in the Pariſh, and was afterwards Biſhop of *Exceſter*) coming after him, ask'd him with ſome Fierceneſs, *What Buſineſs he had there?* And bid him leave the Room, notwithſtanding that he was told, *That he came not without being ſent for.* So impoſſible is it to pleaſe ſome People; who, what ever is pretended, could they have their Will, would not give a jot more Liberty in Private than in Publick. He Dy'd in 1678.

Mr. *Philip Nye* *, from *Bartholomew Exchange*. He was in Orders, and Officiated (tho' 'tis uncertain in what Capacity) at St. *Michaels Cornhill*, *An.* 1630. In the Year 1633, he croſs'd the Seas into *Holland*, that he might be free from Impoſitions, with which he

* *He hath written a letter from* England, *to his Brethren in* Scotland *concerning the Succeſs of Affairs there*; *Qu.* 1643. *An Exhortation to the taking of the ſolemn League and Covenant*; 1643. *The Excellency and Lawfulneſs of the ſolemn League and Covenant, in a Speech to the Houſe of Commons*; 1643. *An Epiſtolary Diſcourſe about Toleration*; 1644. *The Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, and Power thereof, according to the Word of God*, &c. 1644. Mr. Anthony Sadler *examin'd*: Or, *A Diſcovery of his Notorious Falſhoods, in his Dealing with the Tryers of Miniſters*, &c. 1654. *The Principles of Faith, preſented to the Committee of Parliament for Religion*; *Qu.* 1654. *Beams of former Light, diſcovering how evil it is to impoſe Doubtful and Diſputable Forms for Practiſes upon Miniſters, eſpecially under the Penalty of Ejection for Nonconformity to the ſame*; 1660. *Qu. Caſe of great and preſent Uſe*, &c. *Oct.* 1677. *The*

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was diſſatisfy'd. He return'd at the beginning of the *Long Parliament*, and by the Earl of *Mancheſter*'s Favour, became Miniſter of *Kimbolton* in *Huntingdonſhire*. In 1643, he was one of the Aſſembly of Divines: Sitting in which he ſucceeded Dr. *Featly*, in the Rectory of *Acton*. He was one of the Diſſenting Brethren in that Aſſembly. In 53, he was made one of the *Triers of Miniſters*. After his Nonconformity, he liv'd privately. He was a Man of uncommon Depth; and ſeldom, if ever, outreach'd. He Dy'd in *September* 1672.

lawfulneſs of the Oath of Supremacy, and Power of the King in Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, with Q. Elizabeth's *admonition* &c. 1683. *Qu. It was then reprinted, and in* 1687 *being printed again, it was dedicated by Mr.* Henry Nye, *the Author's Son, to K.* James *the* 2d. *A Vindication of the Diſſenters, proving, That their Particular Congregations are not inconſiſtent with the King's Supremacy in Eccleſiaſtical Affairs*; 1683. *Qu. Some Account of the Nature, Conſtitution and Power of Eccleſiaſtical Courts: Printed with the former. The Lawfulneſs of hearing the Publick Miniſters of the Church of* England; *Qu.* 1683. *He hath alſo a Sermon extant, preach'd before the Citizens of* London, An. 1659.

Mr. *Lowder* was Ejected from the ſame Place. He was a Valuable, Worthy Man.

Mr. *Robert Tatnall*, from St. *John Evangeliſt*. After his Ejection, he ſet up a Publick School in this City, and bred up many good Scholars; and had ſeveral under his Inſtruction, who are now very uſeful Perſons both in Church and State. He publiſh'd a Diſcourſe in *Qu.* about *the Fear of Death, or the Sinful Palpitation of the Heart.*

Mr. *Thomas White*, from St. *Brides*, where he was Lecturer. One of great Humility and Sincerity: And an Excellent, Practical, Uſeful Preacher †.

† *He hath Printed*, A Method and Inſtructions for the Art of Divine Meditation. *In Twelves. Which is one of the beſt Books we have upon that uſeful Subject.* Obſervations on the 4th, 5th and 6th Chapters of St. *Matthew*. *Oct* 1658. A Treatiſe of the Power of Godlineſs. *Twelves* 1658. A Manual for Parents, wherein is ſet down very Particular Directions, in reference to Baptizing, Correcting, &c. *He hath alſo a Sermon in the* Morning Exerciſe at St. *Giles's upon Effectual Calling. And another in that at* Cripplegate, *about the* Faith that is neceſſary in an acceptable Prayer.

Mr.

Mr. *Thomas Vincent* *, from St. *Mary Magdalen Milk-ſtreet*. He was a Worthy, Humble, eminently Pious Man, of *ſober* Principles, and great Zeal and Diligence. He continu'd in the City the whole time of the Plague in 1665. The Awfulneſs of that Deſolating Judgment, and the numerous ſuddain Inſtances of Mortality than every where obvious, gave a peculiar Edge to the Spirit of the Preacher and his Auditors: So that labouring conſtantly, and with great fervour, to ſet in with Divine Providence, he was an Inſtrument of Good to very Many. Mr. *Wood* ſays, *He was always held in great Eſteem for his Piety, by thoſe of his Perſwaſion.* Which is more than can be ſaid of many by Perſons of any Perſwaſion: However, as for Mr. *Vincent*, he hath a good Report univerſally, and carry'd an unſtain'd Reputation to his Grave: His eminent Piety and Uſefulneſs being own'd, not only by ſome of a particular Party, but by all ſober Perſons, who had the Happineſs of being Acquainted with him. And 'tis out of the Power of ſuch *Niblers* to do any Diſſervice to his Name or Memory. He dy'd at *Hoxton*, in *October* 1671. His Funeral Sermon was Preach'd by Mr. *Slater*.

Mr. *Walley*, from St. *Mary White-Chappel*.
Mr. *Ralph Strethill*, from St. *John Zachary*.
Mr. *Thomas Douglaſs*, from St. *Olave Silver-ſtreet*.
Mr. *Fawler*, from *Bridewell*.

Mr.

* *He hath written*, A Spiritual Antidote for a Dying Soul. *Oct.* 1665. God's Terrible Voice in the City by Plague and Fire. *Oct.* 1667. *A Tract of* Chriſt's certain and ſuddain Appearance to Judgment. *Oct.* 1667. An Anſwer to the Sandy Foundation of *Will. Penn* the Quaker. A Defence of the Trinity, Satisfaction by Chriſt, and the Juſtification of Sinners; *in Twelves*, 1667. Wells of Salvation open'd: *Or*, Words whereby we may be ſav'd; with Advice to Young Men; *Oct.* 1669. An Explanation of the Aſſemblies ſhorter Catechiſm; *Oct.* 73. The true Chriſtian's Love of the unſeen Chriſt; *Oct.* 1677. *And ſeveral Sermons. One in the* Supplement to the Morning Exerciſe at *Cripplegate*, *on the* Bleſſedneſs of Forgiveneſs. *Another in that againſt* Popery, *on the* Wickedneſs of the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, which forbids to Marry. *And ſome other Sermons printed in Octavo*, &c.

Mr. *Dyer*, from *Alhallows on the Wall.*

Mr. *Connyer*, from his Lectureſhip at St. *Antholins.*

Mr. *Loaves*, from his Lectureſhip at St. *Magnus.*

Mr. *Rutten*, from St. *Mary le Bow.*

Mr. *William Hook* *, from the *Savoy.* A very worthy uſeful Man. He Dy'd in *March* 1677. Aged Seventy Seven.

Mr. *Haviland*, from *Trinity* Pariſh.

Mr. *Johnſon*, from *Wapping.* I ſuppoſe (but am not certain) that this might be Mr. *Francis Johnſon*, ſometimes Fellow of *All-Souls*, and afterwards Maſter of *Univerſity Colledge* in *Oxford:* Who Dy'd *October* the 9th 1677. and whoſe Funeral Sermon was preached by *J. Ll.* and Printed by Mr. *Parkhurſt* in 1678.

Mr. *John Jackſon*, from St. *Bennet Pauls-Wharf*; Son to Mr. *Arthur Jackſon.* He hath a Sermon in the *Morning Exerciſe at* Cripplegate, by way of Direction to *Foreign Merchants*, about *keeping up the Life of Religion abroad.*

Mr. *Thomas Parſons*, from St. *Michael Woodſtreet.* He hath a Sermon in the *Morning Exerciſe at St.* Giles's upon *Saving Faith.*

Mr. *William Wickens*, from the *Poultrey.*

Mr. *Samuel Slater*, and } both from St. *Katharine's*
Mr. *Richard Kentiſh*, } *Tower.* Both very worthy Men. The former of the two hath a Treatiſe publiſh'd, *Of Growth in Grace*, in ſeveral Sermons. *Oct.* 1671.

Mr. *Arthur Barham*, from St. *Hellens.*

Mr. *William Adderley*, Lecturer at St. *Sepulchres.*

Mr. *Arnold*, Aſſiſtant at St. *Giles's Cripplegate.*

Mr. *Daniel Batchelour*, from St. *Ann Alderſgate.*

Mr. *Nehemiah Benton*, Miniſter of St. *Bennets Sheerhogg.*

Mr. *William Blackmore*, from St. *Peter's Cornhill.*

Mr. *Haſlefoot Bridges*, from St. *Albans Woodſtreet.*

Mr.

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† *He hath left behind him a Tract, ſtil'd,* The Priviledges of the Saints on Earth, above thoſe in Heaven; *Twelves. And a Sermon in the* Supplement to the Morning Exerciſe at *Cripplegate, upon* Preparation for the coming of Chriſt by Death and Judgment.

Mr. *Fisher*, his Assistant there.

Mr. *Cob*, from St. *Thomas Southwark*, and Mr. *Beerman* Lecturer there.

Mr. *John Biscoe*, and } from St. *George's Southwark.*
Mr. *Henry Jessey*, } The former hath publish'd some small Tracts: As *The glorious Mystery of God's Mercy*; *The Grand Tryal of True Conversion*: Or, *Sanctifying Grace appearing and acting first and chiefly in the Tho'ts. The Mystery of Free Grace in the Gospel, and of the Gospel in the Law.* He Dy'd *An.* 1679.

Mr. *George Cockayn*, from *Pancras Soper-Lane.*

Mr. *Thomas Dawkes*, from *Queenhith.*

Mr. *Caley*, from *Greys-Inn*, turn'd out before from *Rawley* in *Essex.* He wrote the *Glimpse of Eternity.* *Oct.*

Mr. *Loe*, from the Lectureship at *Aldermanbury.*

Mr. *Hutchinson*, Lecturer of St. *Michael Royal.*

Mr. *Humphrys*, Lecturer at St. *John Zachary.*

Mr. *Carter*, from St. *Michael Crooked-Lane*; and Mr. *Mallory*, Lecturer there. The latter of whom hath a Sermon in the *Morning Exercise at* Cripplegate, on the *Conceptions we should form of God in Duty.*

Mr. *John Fuller* from *Ironmonger-Lane.*

Mr. *Samuel Lee*, from *Bishopsgate.* A Man of very considerable Learning; as will be own'd by all that will be at the Pains to read his Latin Tract on the *Revelation*, *De Excidio Antichristi.* And his Account of the Temple of *Solomon*, in the latter end of the Reign of K. *Charles* II. his Fears of the Return of Popery drove him into *New-England*: And returning from thence in the late War, he was taken Prisoner by the *French*, and carry'd into *France*, where he Dy'd. He hath a Sermon in the *Morning Exercise at* Cripplegate, on the *Means to be us'd towards the Conversion of Carnal Relations.* And another in the *Supplement* to it, about *secret Prayer*: And another in that against *Popery*, about *Christ's being the Preserver of the visible Church*: And he hath also in Print, *The Triumph of Mercy in the Chariot of Praise*; *A Discourse of Mortality. The Joy of Faith*; and a *Discourse concerning the Ten Tribes.* All in *Octavo.*

Mr.

Mr. *Nicolas Lockyer*, from St. *Bennet's Sheerhogg*. Quickly after King *Charles's* Reſtauration, he was depriv'd of his Provoſtſhip of *Eaton-College*, in which he ſucceeded Mr. *Francis Rouſe*. He continu'd Preaching Occaſionally 'till he Dy'd; which was in 168,.

Mr. *Thomas Wattſon* †, from St. *Stephens Walbrook*. One ſo well known in the City for his Piety and Uſefulneſs, that tho' he was ſingled out by the *Friendly Debate*, he yet carry'd a General Reſpect from all ſober Perſons along with him to his Grave. A memorable Paſſage, which I have from Good Hands, muſt not be paſs'd by. When Mr. *Watſon* was in the Pulpit on a Lecture-Day, before the *Bartholomew Act* took place, among other Hearers, there came in that Reverend and Learned Prelate Biſhop *Richardſon*; who was ſo pleas'd with his Sermon, but eſpecially with his Prayer after it, that he follow'd him home to give him Thanks, and earneſtly deſir'd a Copy of his Prayer. *Alas*, ſaid Mr. *W. that is what I cannot give, for I do not uſe to Pen my Prayers; it was no Study'd thing, but utter'd as God enabled me, from the abundance of my Heart and Affections*, pro re nata. Upon which the Good Biſhop went away. wondering that any Man could Pray in that manner *ex tempore*.

Mr. *Edward Pearſe*, from St. *Margaret Weſtminſter*. He was a moſt Affectionate and Uſeful Preacher; but Dy'd at about 40 Years of Age. He lay for ſome time declining in a Conſumption; and finding himſelf going off the Stage, when he had done little comparatively of that Service which his Heart was ſo warmly enclin'd to, he made it the matter of his Hearty

* *He hath ſeveral Sermons extant, which he Preach'd before the Lords and Commons; and more privately upon other Occaſions: Some Sermons of Sincerity*, Oct. *Balm for Bleeding* England *and* Ireland, *in* 20 *Sermons*; Oct. 1643. *Chriſt's Communion with his Church Militant. Spiritual Inſpection*: Or, *A Review of the Heart.* *A Memorial of God's Judgments Spiritual and Temporal*, &c.

† *He hath publiſh'd a Diſcourſe on the Beatitudes*; Qu. 1660. *The Miſchief of Sin*; *the Priviledge of ſuch as Love God*; *the Art of Divine Contentment*; *and the Saints Delight*: *And ſome other Octavo's. And ſince his Death hath bin publiſh'd his Body of Divinity*: Or, *Courſe of Sermons on the whole Aſſembly's Catechiſm*; *in* Fol.

Hearty Prayer to God, *That something of his might be Useful after his Decease*; which Prayer was remarkably answer'd in the signal Success of his little Book, which he stil'd, *The Great Concern, or Preparation for Death*; which Book hath bin Printed one and twenty times. He hath also another Tract extant, stil'd, *The best Match:* Or, *The Souls Espousal to Christ*, in 12*s*. And a 3d stil'd, *Beams of Divine Glory:* Or, *God's Unchangeableness*, in 12*s*.

Mr. *John After*, from *Alhallows Hony-Lane*.

Mr. *Joseph Church*, from St. *Katharine Coleman*. A Worthy Man, who had many Children, and very little to subsist on, and had considerable Offers if he would have Conform'd; but rather chose to remain a Poor Nonconformist, than hazard the Peace of his Conscience.

Mr. *John Sheffield*, from St. *Swithins*. He hath written some Practical Treatises; as, *A good Conscience the strongest Hold. The Sun of Righteousness shining upon the Sons of Unrighteousness*, &c. And a Sermon at St. *Giles's Morning Exercise*, on the *Nature and Necessity of Holiness*. And another in that at *Cripplegate*, on the *Consistency and Inconsistency of Relapses, with Grace*.

Mr. *John Sympson*, from his Lectureship at *Buttolph Bishopsgate*.

* *He hath a Sermon in the Morning Exercise at St.* Giles's, *on Christ's Exaltation.*

Mr. *William Taylor* *, from St. *Stephens Coleman-street*. He succeeded Mr. *John Goodwin*,

Mr. *John Wells*, from St. *Olaves Jewry*. He wrote *The Practical Sabbatarian, or Sabbath Holiness crown'd with Happiness* †; *Qu.* 1668. He Dy'd in *June* 1676. His Funeral Sermon was Preach'd by Mr. *Watson*.

† *He hath also a Sermon in the Morning Exercise at St.* Giles's, *on the Fall of Man; and another in the Supplement to the Morn. Ex. at* Cripplegate, *on Singing of Psalms.*

Mr. *Seth Wood*, from St. *Leonard's Eastcheap*; when he had before bin cast out of *Westminster-Abbey*.

Mr.

Mr. *John Rowe*. He was the Son of that Excellent and Worthy Perſon Mr. *John Rowe* of *Crediton*, whoſe Life is publiſh'd, and affords great Memorandums of Chriſtian Piety, Induſtry, Conſtancy and Courage. His Father ſent him to *New-Inn-Hall* in *Oxford* for Education, where he continu'd 'till the Univerſity became a Garriſon, and then was tranſplanted to *Cambridge*; but return'd afterwards to *Oxford*, when things were ſettled, and was preferr'd to a Fellowſhip in *Corpus Chriſti Colledge*. His firſt Publick Employment in the Goſpel was at *Witney* in *Oxfordſhire*, where he Preach'd a Lecture with great Advantage to the Souls of his Hearers, and good Acceptance. Here there fell out a remarkable Providence, which he mightily Improv'd for the Conviction of many. Some Diſſolute Perſons (who could not then have the Liberty of a fixed Stage) came to the Town to Act a Play, and had an upper Room for their purpoſe in a Private Houſe; where they were Acting before as many Spectators as the place would bear, on a Market Day. The Room being overcharg'd, firſt gave a terrible Crack, and then fell down. 4 or 5 Children and Younger People were kill'd outright. 10 or 12 had their Arms or Legs broken; and about 50 more were Bruiſed or Wounded. Mr. *Rowe*, upon this Occaſion, Preach'd, and afterwards Printed, 3 Sermons, in order to the Improvement of ſo Teaching a Providence; which was ſo much the more Remarkable, becauſe ſome of the Actors in their Speeches, had even Dar'd and Defy'd *Death*; and in that, the *God of Life and Death*. *Wood*, that leaves a Blot upon the Names of moſt Good Men, could not let this Worthy Perſon eſcape. He charges him with *taking great Liberty in ſpeaking againſt Plays in theſe Sermons*. And had he not Reaſon for it? When God's Judgments are abroad, ought he not to endeavour to Teach Men to learn Righteouſneſs? Are Plays, which Dare *Almighty God* and *Death*, as this did, ſuch Innocent Things that they mayn't be touch'd? He afterwards Carps at him for *Preaching the Funeral Sermon of the Lord-Preſident* Bradſhaw, and for *Speaking much in his Praiſe*.

Praiſe. But did he Praiſe him for his Speech, or Judgment againſt the King? That he durſt not ſay. And had Preſ. *Bradſhaw* nothing worth Commendation? Yes certainly; and ſome of his Chaplains, Dr. —— and others could aver it. We read of deſerved Praiſes given to *Julian* the Apoſtate; yea, *Nero* had an Excellent and Memorable *Quinquennium*: And they that will take the pains to read in A. a *Wood*, what he writes in Commendation of many a Bloody and Traitorous Papiſt, will ſay, according to the Homely Proverb, *That he knew how to give the Devil his due.*

For ſome time Mr. *Rowe* was a Preacher in his Native Soyl at *Tiverton*, where he was not without Honour, tho' in his own Country. From thence, upon the Death of Mr. *Strong*, *An.* 1654, he became Preacher in the Abbey at *Weſtminſter*, and Paſtor of the Congregation which Mr. *Strong* had there gather'd, who were many of them Parliament Men, and Perſons of Quality reſiding in *Weſtminſter*; Perſons of better Judgment than to chooſe a Novice, or a Man of Noiſe and Words, for their Paſtor. He was indeed a Man of great Gravity in Converſation, of Strict Piety, of Diligent Reſearches into the Myſteries of Religion: Not contenting himſelf with Superficial Notices of Religion, but chiefly commending ſuch as tended to Practiſe. After the Return of the Ejected Choriſters to the Organs and Abbey, there was no farther Place for him there. Yet after that, and the Silencing *Bartholomew Act*, he continu'd Faſt and Faithful to the Church, Preaching to them often in *Bartholomew-Cloſe*, or where elſe the Rigour of the Times would allow them to meet with any Safety. He Dy'd *An.* 1677. Beſides, the Relation of the Hiſtory of the Providence forementiond, and the Sermons annex'd, he hath not Printed any thing ſave ſome Sermons upon Publick Occaſions. And he had alſo a Hand in his Father's Life.

Mr.

Mr. *Henry Hurſt* †, from St. *Matthews Friday-ſtreet*. He was noted for a quick, ſmart, and dextrous Diſputant, while he was at *Merton Colledge* in *Oxford*. He was generally Accepted and Reſpected as a Preacher in this City; he after his Nonconformity became Domeſtick Chaplain to the Earl of *Angleſey*, with whom he liv'd ſeveral Years. Even Mr. *Wood* himſelf (O ſtrange!) gives him the Character of, *A Learned and Religious Nonconformiſt*. He Dy'd of an Apoplexy, *April* the 14th 1690.

† *He hath Publiſh'd ſeveral Sermons concerning the Inability of the higheſt improv'd Natural Man, to attain a ſufficient and right Knowledge of indwelling Sin*: Oxon. 1659. *Oct. The Revival of Grace in the Vigour and Fragrancy of it*, Oct. 1678. *And ſome Sermons in the Volumes of the Morning Exerciſe. One in that at* Cripplegate, *concerning* Religious Vows. *Another in that againſt* Popery, *on the Exemption of Princes from Subjection to the Pope, and the Non-Exemption of the Clergy, from Subjection to Temporal Princes. A Third in the Continuation of the Morning Exerciſe Qu. Againſt the Love of being flatter'd. And another in the Fourth Volume, on* Acts 17. 21.

Dr. *Thomas Manton*, from *Covent-Garden*. He was firſt Miniſter of *Culliton* in *Devon*; and afterwards of *Stoke-Newington* in *Middleſex*, before he came to *Covent-Garden*; where he ſucceeded his Father-in-Law Mr. *Sedgwick*. He was in great Reputation at the time of King *Charles*'s Return; one of the *Savoy* Commiſſioners; and very Earneſt in his Endeavours to get the Declaration for Eccleſiaſtical Affairs paſs'd into a Law: And had it bin compaſs'd, would have accepted the Deanry that was offer'd him. He was a Man of Great Learning, Judgment and Integrity; and an excellent unwearied Preacher: One of great Temper and Moderation, and reſpected by all that knew him, whoſe Spirits were not uncurably Canker'd. Doctor *Bates*, in his Sermon at his Funeral, gives this Account

* *Beſides ſome Sermons of his before the Parliament, and upon other Publick Occaſions, we have Extant of his own Publiſhing, a Practical Commentary or Expoſition on the Epiſtle of St.* James. *Qu.* 1651. *An Expoſition of the Epiſtle of St.* Jude. *Qu.* 1652. Smectimnuus Redivivus, *being an Anſwer to a Book Entituled*, An Humble Remonſtrance, 1653. The Saints Triumph over Death: *Being a Funeral Sermon on Mr.* Chr. Love, 1651. *And ſeveral Sermons in the Volumes of the Morning Exercſes. One in that at St.* Giles', *on Man's Impotency to help himſelf out of the Miſery which he is in by Nature. Another in that at* Cripplegate, *about Diſtractions in Holy Duties. A Third in the Supplement; about Improving our Baptiſm. A Fourth in that againſt* Popery, *about the Sufficiency of the Scrip-*

tures. After his Death, there have bin several Volumes of his Works Published by others. Twenty Sermons on the Psalms, Acts, &c. 1678. Qu. Eighteen Sermons on the 2d Chapter of the Second Epistle to the Thessalonians; containing the Description, Growth, and Fall of Antichrist, Oct. 1679. A Practical Exposition on the Lord's Prayer, Oct. 1684.

of him. *A Clear Judgment, Rich Fancy, Strong Memory, and Happy Elocution met in him, and were excellently improv'd by his Diligent Study.* In Preaching he was of that Conspicuous Eminence, that none could detract from him, but from Ignorance or Envy. He abounded in the Work of the Lord; and tho' a very frequent Preacher, yet was always Superiour to others and Equal to himself. Arch-Bishop *Usher* was wont to say of him, *That he was a Voluminous Preacher:* Not as if he was tedious for length, but becaufe he had the Art of Reducing the Substance of Volumes of Divinity into a narrow Compass. And Mr. *Charnock* oft represented him as the best Collectour of Sense of the Age. He was no Fomenter of Faction, but Studious of the Publick Tranquility. His Generous Constancy of Mind in resisting the Current of Popular Humour, declar'd his Loyalty to his Divine Master, *&c.* He was Imprison'd for his Nonconformity, and many ways a Sufferer; and yet kept up a Considerable Interest at Court, and with Men of Note and Figure. The Noble Earl (afterwards Duke) of *Bedford*, who had for some time bin his Parishioner at *Covent-Garden*, was his Cordial Friend unto his Death; and so also were many other Persons of Considerable Quality. He generally had the Chair in the Meetings of the Dissenting Ministers of the City; who found the Want of his Prudence, Activity and Interest joyn'd together, when he was taken from them. He Dy'd *October* the 18th 1677, leaving behind him the General Reputation of as excellent a Preacher, as this City or Nation hath produc'd.

Several Discourses tending to promote Holiness, Oct. 1684. And several Volumes of Sermons in Fol. The First Volume contains Sermons on the whole 119th Psalm. *The Second Volume, contains* 27 *Sermons on* Mat. 25. 45 *Sermons on the* 17th *of St.* John; 24 *on* Rom. 6. 45 *on* Rom. 8. *and* 40 *on* 2 Cor. 5. *The Third Volume contains* 66 *Sermons on* Heb. 11. *A Treatise of the Life of Faith; A Treatise of Self-Denial, with several Sermons on the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, &c. The Fourth Volume, contains Select Sermons on several Texts: And so also doth the Fifth.*

Mr

Mr. *Pinchback* was his Assistant, and was also ejected with him.

Mr. *Herring*, from St. *Brides*.

Mr. *Hodges*, from the Tower.

Mr. *Peter Witham*, from St. *John Baptist*.

Mr. *Woodcock* and Mr. *Thomas Underwood*, } both from St. *Andrew Undershaft*. As for Mr. *Woodcock* †, he had the Universal Reputation of a Learned Man. He was a smart Disputant, and one of great Ability and Readiness in Academical Exercises. In the latter Part of his Life he was Assistant to Dr. *Bates* at *Hackney*.

† *He hath a Sermon on* Heaven *in the Morning Exercise at* St. Giles's. *Another in the Continuation of Morning Exercise Questions, concerning the saying* Amen *in Publick Worship: And another in the 4th Volume, on* Rom. 14. 1.

Mr. *Richard Adams* *, from St. *Mildreds Bread-street*. One of an Excellent Spirit; whose Even and Peaceful Course was eminent for Devotedness to God, and Benignity towards Man. He was generally Respected and Belov'd of all that knew him, while he was Fellow of *Brazen-Nose Colledge* in *Oxford*; and when he settled in *London*, was a very useful Preacher, and an Ornament to his Function. His Humility and Self-Denial were remarkable, in that after he was Ejected for Non-Conformity, he took upon him the Care of a Poor and Small People, and continu'd with them many Years, to the Damage of his own Estate, tho' he had considerable Proposals made to him to Tempt him to a Removal. He Dy'd *Febr.* 7. 169$\frac{7}{8}$. Mr. *How* Preach'd his Funeral Sermon; in which the Reader will meet with his Character at Large.

* *He hath left behind him some few Sermons: One in the Morning Exercise at* St. Giles's, *concerning Hell. Another in the Supplement to the Morning Exercise, on the Duties of Parents and Children. A Third in the Continuation of the Morning Exercise, for the Encouragement and Support of Child-bearing Women. And a Fourth in the Fourth Volume of the Morning Exercise on the Successfulness of the Means of Grace: And also a Sermon at the Funeral of Mr.* Henry Hurst. *He also wrote the Expositions of the Epistles to the* Philippians *and the* Colossians, *in the Supplement to Mr.* Pools *English Annotations.*

Mr. *Matthew Barker* †, from St. *Leonard Eastcheap*. One of conſiderable Learning, great Piety, and univerſal Candour and Moderation. No Lover of Controverſies, but an hearty Promoter of Practical Godlineſs, without laying ſtreſs on little Things; in which He was very ſenſible others were as much at Liberty to differ from him, as he from them. And this Apprehenſion diſcernably govern'd his Practice. One Thing I muſt mention to his Honour, that he diſcover'd a peculiar Pleaſure in converſing with Younger Miniſters that were entring upon Work; would chearfully hearten and encourage them; uſe great Freedom with them, without Reſerve, and without Regard to any different Sentiments in ſmaller Matters; and rejoic'd in the Proſpect of their ſerviceableneſs, when his own Parts viſibly declin'd thro' Age.

† *He hath Printed a Book ſtil'd, Natural Theology, or the Knowledge of God.* Oct. *And a Diſcourſe on Family Prayer. He hath a Sermon in the Supplement to the Morning Exerciſe at* Cripplegate, *on a* Religious Faſt. *Another in the Continuation, upon uninterrupted Communion with God. And a Third in Volume the Fourth, on* Mat. 11. 24. *He hath alſo a Sermon or Two in Print, which he Preach'd upon Publick Occaſions.*

Dr. *Thomas Jacomb* from St. *Martins Ludgate*. He had been a Fellow of *Trinity Colledge* in *Cambridge*, and was worthily eſteem'd in that flouriſhing Society. After his Settlement in *London*, his Miniſtry was both acceptable and uſeful. His Sermons were Clear, Solid, and Affectionate; and they were alſo Printed in a fair and lively Character in his Converſation. He was of a ſtaid Mind, and temperate Paſſions, and moderate in Counſels: In the managing Affairs of Concernment, he was not vehement and confident, not impoſing and over-bearing, but receptive of Advice and yielding to Reaſon. He was full of Compaſſion, Charity, and Beneficence. He was a Non-Conformiſt upon Moderate Principles; much rather deſiring to have been comprehended in the National Church, than to have ſeparated from it. He met with Trouble after his Ejection, but the Divine Providence ſecur'd him of a Screen, by diſpoſing of him into the Family of that Right Honourable, and Eminently Pious Lady, the Counteſs Dowager of *Exeter*, Daughter to the Earl of *Bridgewater*: To whoſe Me-

mo-

mory this Acknowledgment is but a Due Debt; that when the Stream ran ſo ſtrong againſt many Suffering, Excellent, Faithful Miniſters and People, as it did in the Time of King *Charles* the II. this Honourable Lady to the utmoſt of her Power was a Comfort and Support to them. Her Reſpects for the Doctor were Peculiar, and her Favours conferr'd upon him were Extraordinary; for which he made the beſt Return, by his conſtant Care to promote Religion in her Family. In his Laſt Sickneſs, his Pains were very ſevere, proceeding from a Cancerous Humour, that ſpread it ſelf in his Joints, and prey'd upon the tendereſt Membranes, the moſt ſenſible Parts: But ſo ſignal was his Patience, that he never ſpake the leaſt repining Word; glorifying God in his Death as well as in his Life, by his reſign'd Submiſſion to God, and admirable Patience even to the Laſt. He Dy'd at the Counteſs of *Exeter's*, March 27. 1687. * Leaving behind him an Incomparable Library of the moſt valuable Books, in all Parts of Learning; which was afterwards Sold by Auction, for Thirteen Hundred Pounds.

* *He hath left behind him, a Commentary or Sermons on the whole Eighth Chapter of the Epiſtle to the* Romans, *Qu. A Treatiſe of Holy Dedication, both Perſonal and Domeſtick, written after the Fire of* London, *and recommended to the Citizens after their Return to their Rebuilt Habitations. A Funeral Sermon for Mr.* Vines, *with an Account of his Life and Death. The Life of Mr.* William Whitaker. *A Funeral Sermon for Mr.* Matth. Martin. *A Sermon at* Paul's, Oct. 26. 1656. *And another before the Lord Mayor, &c. at the* Spittle, 1657. *And Two Sermons in the Volumes of the Morning Exerciſe. One in that at* St. Giles's, *on the Covenant of Redemption. Another in the Supplement to the Morning Exerciſe at* Cripplegate, *On Chriſtian Contentedneſs in every State. Mr.* Wood *the* Oxonian *adds. That there's no doubt but he did his Share in the Continuation of* Pools *Annotations; with a Confidence that is uſual with him.*

Dr. *Samuel Anneſley*, from St. *Giles Cripplegate*, a moſt Sincere, Godly, Humble Man: An *Iſraelite indeed*. One that may be ſaid to be ſanctify'd from the Womb; inaſmuch as he was ſo early under Serious Impreſſions, that he oft declar'd, *He never knew the Time he was not Converted*. A little after his firſt Entrance on the Miniſtry, he was fix'd at *Cliff* in *Kent*, in the room of an Ejected Miniſter, whoſe Life and

Converſation was notoriouſly Scandalous: The Rude and Ignorant People were upon this Account extreamly fond of him, and Prejudic'd againſt his Succeſſour, whom they aſſaulted not long after his firſt coming among them, with Spits, Forks, and Stones; threatning him with Death: But God ſteel'd him with ſuch Courage, that he told them, *Let them uſe them how they would, he was reſolv'd to continue with them, till God had fitted them by his Miniſtry to entertain a better, who ſhould ſucceed him; but yet ſolemnly declar'd, that when they became ſo prepar'd, he would leave the Place.* In a few Years the People were greatly Reform'd, and his Labours had marvellous Succeſs, and to keep his Word he left them; leaſt any ſeeming Lightneſs of his might prove a Scandal to his Young Converts. And the 400 *l. per Annum*, which he had there comeing in, was no Temptation to him. When he came to the City, he had Two of the largeſt Auditories to Preach to; which were *Paul*'s where he was Lecturer, and *Cripplegate* where he was Rector. He had a Large Soul, and a Flaming Zeal, and his Uſefulneſs was very Extenſive. He had the Care of all the Churches upon him; and was the Chief (oft the ſole) Inſtrument in the Education and Subſiſtence of ſeveral Miniſters, whoſe uſeful Labours the Church had otherwiſe wanted. He was the Main Support of the *Morning Lecture*, for which ſo many have Cauſe to be thankful to God; and after the Death of Old Mr *Caſe*, he took the Care of it upon himſelf. Of all Gifts, Salary and Incomes, he always laid aſide the Tenths for Charity, even before any Part was ſpent; and by this Means had a Fund always at Hand, for charitable Uſes; beſides, what others furniſh'd him with for the ſame Purpoſes, to whom he was a faithful Almoner. His Nonconformity Created him Troubles; but no inward Uneaſineſs. God often remarkably appear'd for him, One Died ſigning a Warrant to apprehend him. He never fear'd any of his Enemies, or their utmoſt Malice; and nothing that he met with from Men, abated his Chearfulneſs. He had uninterrupted Peace in his Spirit, and Aſſurance of Gods Covenant Love, for the laſt Thirty Years of his Life. For ſeveral Years indeed before that, he walke

walked in Darkneſs, and was Diſconſolate; which is no unuſual Thing with ſuch as are Converted in their Childhood, whoſe Change being not ſo remarkable as that of many others, is therefore the more liable to be queſtion'd: But in his Laſt Sickneſs he was full of Comfort. Bleſſed be God (ſaid he then) *I have been faithful in the Work of the Miniſtry above* 55 *Years*. And in 17 Weeks Pain, (which might well be ſuppos'd peculiarly troubleſome to one, that had had ſuch an uninterrupted Courſe of Health and Eaſe throughout his whole Life) he never diſcover'd the leaſt Diſcontent *. At length he chearfully reſign'd his Soul to God, *December* the 31. 1696. in the 77th Year of his Age. His Funeral Sermon was Preach'd by Mr. *Daniel Williams*, who hath added an Account of his Life and Character.

* *He hath not left much in Print. He Publiſh'd a Sermon before the Houſe of Commons in* 1648. *Two Sermons he Preach'd at* Pauls *about Communion with God, in* 1655. *A Sermon at* Laurence Jury *to the Gentlemen Natives of* Wiltſhire, *Nov.* 9. 1654. *He hath a Sermon in the Morning Exerciſe at St.* Giles's *on the Covenant of Grace. He Publiſh'd the Morning Exerciſe at* Cripplegate, *in* 1661. *And hath a Sermon there which begins the whole, upon being univerſally and exactly Conſcientious. He alſo Publiſh'd and Prefac'd the Supplement to the Morning Exerciſe at* Cripplegate. *Anno* 1674. *And begins it with a Sermon upon Loving God, with all our Hearts, and Souls, and Minds. He hath alſo a Sermon in the Morning Exerciſe againſt* Popery, *againſt* Popiſh *Pardons and Indulgences. He afterwards Publiſh'd and Prefac'd, the Continuation of Morning Exerciſe Queſtions, in* 1683. *And begins it with a Sermon, ſhewing how the adherent Vanity of every Condition, is moſt Effectually abated by Serious Godlineſs: And in* 1690. *He Publiſh'd and Prefac'd, the Fourth Volume of Caſuiſtical Morning Exerciſes; which he begins with a Sermon, ſhewing How we may give Chriſt a Satisfactory Account, why we attend upon the Miniſtry of the Word.*

Dr. *William Bates*, from St. *Dunſtans* in the *Weſt*. He was generally reputed one of the beſt Orators of the Age. Was well Vers'd in the Politer Parts of Learning, which ſo ſeaſon'd his Converſation, as to render it highly entertaining to the more ſenſible Part of Mankind. His Apprehenſion was quick and clear. His Reaſoning Faculty, Acute, Prompt and Expert; ſo as readily and aptly to produce, and urge cloſely, the ſtronger and more pregnant Arguments when he was to uſe them; and ſoon to diſcern the Strength of

Arguments, if he was to Answer them. His Judgment penetrating and solid, stable and firm. His Wit never Vain or Light, but most facetious and pleasant, by the Ministry of a Fancy, both very vigorous and lively; and most obedient to his Reason; always remote both from Meanness and Enormity. His Memory was admirable, and never fail'd that any one could observe, nor was impair'd to the Last at the Age of 74. His Language was always neat and fine, but unaffected; free from Search, Lusciousness, or Intricacy. His Method in all his Discourses might be expos'd to the most Critical Censurer, His Stile was inimitably Polite, and yet Easie, and His very Voice was Charming. His Conversation was much coveted by Persons of all Qualities, and that even when those of his Character were prosecuted with the utmost Rigours. The Lord Chancellour *Finch*, and his Son the Right Honourable the Earl of *Nottingham*, had a Particular Respect for Him. The Late Arch-Bishop *Tillotson* highly valu'd him, and would often even after his Advancement to that High Station, converse Privately with him, with great Freedom and Openness. Our Late Blessed Queen often entertain'd her Self in her Closet with his Writings. And tho' one King made shew of a great Respect to him to serve his own Purposes, yet He liv'd to see the Nation Happy under another King, who knows how to value Men according to their real Worth; to whom he was highly acceptable. If Interest would have induc'd him to Conformity, He could not have wanted a Temptation; for there was none, no not the highest Preferment in the Church, but he might have expected it either if Merits were Regarded, or thro' the Strength of his Interest. He might have been a Dean at King *Charles* his Return, but refus'd. And might afterwards have had any Bishoprick in the Kingdom, would he have Deserted his Cause and Principles. And yet he was not engag'd in the Interest of any Party as such: For He had a Catholick Spirit, and was for an entire Union of all visible Christians, upon moderate Principles and Practises. He was not for farther Impositions than the Nature of Things requir'd; nor for having the Church less free than Christ had left it. And

yet

yet for Peace and Union's ſake, he would have yielded to any Thing but Sin. He was for free Communion of all viſible Chriſtians, of whatſoever Perſwaſion in Extra-Eſſential Matters if they pleas'd. He vigorouſly purſu'd the Deſign of Peace and Union, and an hearty Comprehenſion, as long as there was any Hope: But at Laſt ſaw there was no Hope, till God ſhould give a more ſuitable Spirit to all concern'd: For that when Principles on all Hands were ſo eaſily accommodable, and yet there was found in too many, a remaining inſuperable Reluctancy to the Thing it ſelf, God muſt work the Cure and not Man. But his Moderation was great to the Laſt; being exceedingly cheriſh'd by this Apprehenſion which had been deeply inwrought into the Temper of his Mind; that the Things wherein only it could be poſſible for truly good Men to differ, muſt be but Trifles, in Compariſon of the much greater Things, wherein it was impoſſible for them not to Agree. His Piety was very Conſpicuous, and his Private Converſation was ſo inſtructive, ſo quickning, in Reference to what lay within the Confines of Religion and Godlineſs, that no Man of ordinary Capacity could hear his uſual, and moſt familiar Diſcourſes, but either with great Negligence, or great Advantage. In his Common Diſcourſe with his Friends, tho' he was far from excluding Things of common Humane Concernment, he yet ſtill Diſcover'd a Temper of Mind moſt intent upon Divine Things. He did not look with a ſlight or careleſs Eye upon the Affairs of the Publick, but did conſider and ſpeak of them as a Man of Proſpect and Large Tho't, with much Prudence and Temper, both as lying under the Conduct of Divine Providence, and as relating to the Intereſt of Religion. For the latter Part of his Life His Reſidence was at *Hackney*, where alſo he exercis'd his Miniſtry with great Succeſs. And he there left this for a better Life, *Anno* 1699. His Works have ſince his Death been Printed all together in a large Folio; and he Publiſh'd nothing but what is there Collected, except it be the Lives of ſeveral Eminent Perſons in *Latin*; which being valuable, and yet ſcarce and difficult to come by, he put them together in one Volume, which is Entituled,

tuled, *Bateſii Vitæ Selectæ.* There hath alſo been a Poſthumous Piece of his Publiſh'd ſince his Death, in *Octavo*, being ſome Sermons on the Saints Everlaſting Reſt. His Funeral Sermon was Preach'd by Mr. *How*, who hath given his Character at Large.

Mr. *George Griffyth* from the *Charter-Houſe*; and a Week-Day Lecture at St. *Bartholomew Exchange.*
Mr. *Robert Bragg*, from *Alhallows* the Great. (a)
Mr. *Peter Vink*, B. D. from St. *Katharine Creed Church*, (b)
Mr. *Oneſiphorus Rood*, from the *New Chappel* in *Weſtminſter.*
Mr. *Thomas Doolittel*, from St. *Alphage*, (c)
} Who are all of them yet Living.

(a) *I know not that he hath Printed any Thing, beſides his Funeral Sermon for Mr.* Venning.

(b) *He hath ſome Sermons in the Volumes of the* Morning Exerciſe. *One in that at St.* Giles's *upon* Original Sin. *Another upon the Grounds of the Separation of the* Proteſtants *from the Church of* Rome, *in that againſt* Popery. *Another upon the Worth of the Soul, in the Continuation of Morning Exerciſe Queſtions. And another, upon Goſpel Grace as the beſt Motive to Holineſs, in the Fourth Volume.* (c) *He hath ſeveral Tracts Extant. One upon the Sacrament of the Lords Laſt Supper. A Diſcourſe upon the Sufferings of Chriſt. The Young Man's Inſtructor, and the Old Mans Remembrancer. Liberty to Captives. The Spiritual Antidote. The* Mourners Directory. *An Explication of the Aſſemblies Catechiſm, &c. He hath alſo ſome Sermons in the Volumes of the Morning Exerciſe. One in that at* Cripplegate, *by way of Direction to ſuch as are not able to diſcern their own Spiritual Condition. Another in the Supplement concerning the* Management *of the Duty of Family Prayer. A Third in that againſt* Popery, *upon the Novelty of the* Romiſh *Religion; which is the Laſt in that Volume. And a Fourth in the Continuation of the* Morning Exerciſe Queſtions, *upon eying Eternity, ſo as that it may have its due Influence upon us in all that we do.*

There was two of the *London* Miniſters, who at firſt left their Livings, but Conform'd afterwards; who were Mr. *Thomas Wills* of St. *Buttolph Biſhopſgate*; and Mr. *Samuel Smith* of *Grace-Church*; the latter of whom dy'd Ordinary of *Newgate.*

There were ſeveral Miniſters in and about the City, who Preach'd only Occaſionally, having no ſettl'd Place, who were made Incapable of any Settlement by

by the Act for Uniformity, for want of Conforming: Such as Mr. *Joseph Yeates*, Mr. *Brumhal*, (who hath a Sermon in the Morning Exercise at *Cripplegate*, on the *Discovery and Cure of Hypocrisy*) Mr. *Bruce*, Mr. *Collens*, Mr. *Disney*, Mr. *Forster*, Mr. *May*, Mr. *Moor*, Mr. *Palmer*, Mr. *Symons*, Mr. *Thomas*, Mr. *Watts*, Mr. *Yawe*, and Mr. *Job. Royse*. To these we may add Mr. *John Goodwin*, who having bin turn'd out by the Parliament, had a Private Meeting in *Coleman-street* Parish, at the time of King *Charles*'s Restauration, and not being satisfy'd with the Terms of the Uniformity Act, liv'd and dy'd a Nonconformist. He was a Man by himself; was against every Man, and had every Man almost against him. He was very warm and eager whatsoever he engag'd in. He had a clear Head, a fluent Tongue, a penetrating Spirit, and a marvellous Faculty in Descanting on Scripture; and with all his Faults must be own'd to have bin a considerable Man, by those who will take the Pains to peruse his Writings *.

There were also several others, who came to the City from several Parts, who not being Ejected out of any particular place at *Bartholomew-Day*, would be wholly pass'd by, if not mention'd here. The Principal of these was Dr. *John Owen*, a Great Man, and generally respected as a Scholar, a Gentleman, and a Divine. He was cast out of his Deanry of *Christ Church* in *Oxford*, in 1659, not long after *Richard*'s being made Protector; and liv'd privately afterwards at *Stadham* 'till he came to *London*. Mr. *Wood*, the *Oxonian*, after some Reflections that are as Black as the Vapours of the Infernal Cell, where they were forg'd,

* *The Principal of them are these:* Redemption Redeem'd; *Fol.* The Divine Authority of the Scriptures; *Qu. Imputatio Fidei: Or,* A Treatise of Justification; *Qu.* An Exposition on the 9th Chapter of the Epistle of *Paul* to the *Romans*; *Qu.* Of being fill'd with the Spirit; *Qu.* The Pagan's Debt and Dowry. His Catechism, or Principal Heads of the Christian Religion. The Saint's Interest in God, open'd in several Sermons. His Return of Mercies, or Saints Advantage by Losses. *Catabaptism: Or,* New Baptism waxing Old, and ready to Vanish; *&c. Besides which he published many other Controversial Tracts and Pamphlets, upon matters disputed in those Days.*

forg'd, thinks fit to own, *That the Doctor was a Person well skill'd in the Tongues, Rabbinical Learning, Jewish Rites and Customs; That he had a great Command of his English Pen, and was one of the most Genteel and Fairest Writers, that appear'd against the Church of* England. But even this was more than poor *Sam. Parker* would allow him; who notwithstanding the Difference in Age, Standing and Reputation, whether with more Petulance or seeming Gravity may well be question'd, assaults him with the *Ferula* in his *Ecclesiastical Policy*, and its Continuation; and treats him with that Contempt and Scorn rhat would be nauseated in a *Regent Master* towards a *Puny Freshman*. But such as were not Blinded with Prejudice, have freely own'd the Eminency of the Doctor's Learning and Abilities. He was a Man of Universal Reading; and he had digested it. He was especially Conversant in those Sciences that are Assistant to Divinity; and Master of them in an Unusual Degree. He was reckon'd the Brightest Ornament of the University of *Oxford*, and for several Years successively was Vice-Chancellour there. When laid aside here, he had tho'ts of going into *New-England*, where he was invited to the Government of their University; but he was stopp'd by particular Orders from King *Charles*. He was also invited to be a Professour of Divinity in the United Provinces, but refus'd. He liv'd the latter Part of his Life in great Reputation, in and about the City of *London*; where he had a Considerable Congregation, and was much respected by many Persons of Note and Eminence *. He Dy'd

* *His Works are these. In Folio. An Exposition on the Epistle to the* Hebrews, *in* 4 *Vol. Discourses of the Work of the Spirit*, &c. *which Book was Answered by Dr.* Claget, *in a Treatise which he stil'd, A Discourse concerning the Operations of the Holy Spirit*, &c. *The Doctrine of the Saints Perseverance, explain'd and confirm'd, against* Joh. Goodwin's *Redemption Redeem'd. — In Quarto.* 1. *The Doctrine of Justification by Faith*, &c. *on which there are some Animadversions, in a Postcript of Mr.* Th. Hotchkis *to his Discourse concerning imputed Righteousness.* 2. *The Glorious Mystery of the Person of Christ, God and Man.* 3. *The Grace and Duty of being Spiritually-minded.* 4. *A Display of the Errors of the* Arminians. 5. *Death of Deaths in the Death of Christ.* 6. Vindiciæ Evangelicæ: *Or, The Mystery of the Gospel Vindicated, and* Socinianism *explain'd*, &c. *in Answer to* John Biddle. 7.

on

on St. *Bartholomew-Day* 1683. *Wood* says he did very unwillingly lay down his Head and Die: Which he reports as confidently as if he had bin with him in his last Hours. But the best of it is, no One that knew the Man will take his Word. He that can part with this Life with as chearful a Hope of a better as

Theologoumena, sive de Naturâ Ortu, Progressu, & Studio veræ Theologiæ Libri 6. *a very Learned Book, much valu'd in Foreign Parts.* 8. *An Exposition of the* 130*th* Psalm: *Wherein there is as good an Exemplification of the Doctrine of Repentance, as is any where to be met with.* 9. *An Enquiry into the true Nature, Power and Communion of Evangelical Churches; with the true Nature of a Gospel Church, and its Government: In* 2 *Parts.* 10. *The Duty of Pastor and People.* 11. *The Church of* Rome *no safe Guide.* 12. *A Vindication of the Nonconformists from the Charge of Schism, in Answer to* Stillingfleet. ——*Octavo's.* 1. *Of Communion with God, Father, Son and Spirit: Which was written against by Dr.* Sherlock. 2. *Meditations and Discourses on the Glory of Christ in his Person and Office: With the Difference between Faith and Sight.* 3. *Of the Work of the Holy Spirit in Prayer.* 4. *Of Evangelical Love, Church Peace and Unity.* 5. *Of the Dominion of Sin and Grace.* 6. *A Brief Instruction in the Worship of God.* 7. *Evidences of the Faith of God's Elect,* &c. 8. *The Nature of Apostacy from the Profession of the Gospel.* 9. *The Principles of the Doctrine of Christ unfolded.* 10. *Animadversions on* Fiat Lux. *Which Book was written by* John Vincent Lane, *a Franciscan Fryar.* 11. *A Vindication of those Animadversions.* 12. *A Discovery of the true Nature of Schism.* 13. *A Review of the true Nature of Schism, with a Vindication of Congregational Churches.* 14. *A Defence of* Cotton *against* Cawdrey. 15. *The true Nature and Power of Temptations.* 16. Diatribe de Justitia Divina. 17. *Of the Mortification of Sin in Believers.* 18. *Of the Sabbath, and the Divine Institution of the Lord's Day.* 19. *A Brief Vindication of the Doctrine of the Trinity; and of the Person and Satisfaction of Christ.* 20. *Of the Divine Original of the Scriptures.* 21. *The Reason of Faith.* 22. *The Ways, Cause and Means of understanding the Mind of God in the Scriptures.* 23. *The Nature of Indwelling Sin.* 24. *Truth and Innocence vindicated; in a Survey of a Discourse, concerning Ecclesiastical Policy.* 25. *A Vindication of his Treatise of Communion with God, from the Exceptions of Dr.* Sherlock. 26. *Discourses of the Holy Spirit, by way of Addition to his Folio.* 27. *A Testimony to the Goodness and Severity of God in his Dealing with Sinful Churches and Nations.* 28. *A Guide to Church Fellowship and Order, according to the Gospel Institution.* 29. *Eshcol: Or Rules of Direction for the Walking of the Saints in Fellowship, according to the Order of the Gospel.* 30. *A Primmer for Children,* &c. *Besides all which, he published several Sermons, which he Preach'd upon Publick Occasions,* An. 46, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 56, 58. *And he hath also a Sermon about receiving Reproof, in the Supplement to the* Morning Exercise at Cripplegate. *And*

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another in that against Popery, upon the Testimony of the Church; as evidencing the Scripture to be the Word of God. And another in the Cont. of the Morn. Exc. Qu. upon the Practical Love of Truth, as the best Preservative against Popery.

the Doctor did, will receive no Damage from any such *Revilers*. He hath left behind him a great many Valuable Writings; and his Name will be precious when *the Memory of the Wicked shall rot.*

Mr. *Stephen Charnock*, first of *Emanuel Colledge* in *Cambridge*, and afterwards Fellow of *New Colledge* in *Oxford*. From thence he went into *Ireland*, where he liv'd in the Family of *Henry Cromwel*, and that with abundant Respect; at which time he was us'd to Preach on Lords-Days, in the Afternoon, in the City of *Dublin*; and have all the Gentry and Persons of Quality in the City for his Auditors. This continu'd 'till King *Charles*'s Restauration; a little after which, he return'd into *England*, and spent 15 Years in and about *London*, following his Studies without any fixed settled Employment; taking now and then a turn beyond the Seas, into *France* or *Holland*. At length he became Pastor of a Congregation in *London*, and was much admired as a Preacher by the more Judicious Part of Mankind; but not Popular or much follow'd, because of his Disadvantageous Way of Reading with the help of a Glass. He was a very Considerable Scholar and an Eminent Divine. His Natural Parts were Excellent; for he had a Strong Reason, a Great Judgment, and a Curious Fancy (which rarely meet) joyn'd together. His Improvements, by Diligence and Industry, were unusual. There was no Part of Learning of any moment, which he had not a good Insight into. And his Love was as large as his Knowledge; for his Benevolence was Universal, and his Love took in whatsoever Person or Thing had any thing Lovely in it.

He Publish'd nothing whilst he liv'd, but a Sermon of the *Sinfulness and Cure of Tho'ts*, in the Supplement to the *Morning Exercise* at *Cripplegate*: But various things of his were Printed after his Death, in 2 Vol. in *Folio*; which are valu'd by all that are Judges of Good Sense or Divinity. They are indeed no other than

than his Ordinary Performances, his Usual Sermons in his Common Course; and they were Transcrib'd from his Notes; and cannot therefore but want that Perfection and Beauty, they would have had if he had himself sent them to the Press. And yet (to speak modestly) they are not equall'd by many, but exceeded by few if any. His Preaching was mostly Practical, yet Rational and Argumentative, to his Hearers Understandings as well as Affections; and where Controversies came in his way, he shew'd great Acuteness and Judgment in discussing and determining them, and no less Skill in applying them to Practise *. There is also besides the Two *Folio's* an *Octavo*, publish'd by the same Persons, containing some of his Sermons, *On our Natural Enmity against God*, &c. which are of a Piece with the others. He Dy'd *July* the 27th 1680, Aged Fifty Two. His Funeral Sermon was Preach'd by Mr. *John Johnson*, who had bin his Fellow Collegiate at *Oxford*.

* *See the Character and Account of him, given by Mr.* Adams *and Mr.* Veal, *in their Preface to his Discourse of Divine Providence*

Mr. *Edward Veal*. He was first of *Christ-Church* in *Oxford*, and afterwards Fellow of *Trinity-Colledge* near *Dublin*. Coming into *England*, he became a Non-conformist, settled in *London*, and is yet living. He hath some Sermons extant in the Volumes of the *Morning Exercise*. One in the *Supplement* to the *Morning Exercise* at *Cripplegate*, on the *Spiritual Knowledge that ought to be sought for by those who desire to be sav'd*: Another in that against Popery, against the *Meritoriousness of the Good Works of Believers*. A 3d in the *Continuation of the Morning Exercise*; Qu. on the *Experiencing it in our selves, and Evidencing it to others, That serious Godliness is more than a Fancy*. And a 4th in the 4th Vol. on the *Danger of a Death-Bed Repentance*.

Mr. *Edward West*. A Man of Good Learning, and an Excellent, Profitable, Useful Preacher. He hath a Sermon in the *Supplement* to the *Morning Exercise* at *Cripplegate*, on the *Government of the Tongue*. And another in that against Popery, on the *Doctrine of Purgatory*. He Dy'd *Jan.* the 30th 1675, in the 41th Year of his Age. His Funeral Sermon was Preach'd by Mr. *Cole*. After his Death was publish'd *His Legacy*;

gacy; being a valuable Discourse on the *Perfect Man*, in *Oct.* grounded on *Psal.* 37. 37.

To these we may add Mr. *Grismes*, Mr. *White*, (who was Houshold Chaplain to *Oliver Cromwel*) Mr. *Cave*, Mr. *Wavel*, and several others.

In the University of Oxford.

Joshua Cross, LL. D. Fellow of *Magdalen-College*, and Natural Philosophy Reader of the University. He was turn'd out by the Commissioners appointed by King *Charles*, for the Regulation of the University, quickly after his Restauration: And afterwards liv'd privately in *Oxford*, where he Dy'd *May* 9th 1676.

Daniel Greenwood D. D. He was Principal of *Brazen-Nose-College*, and had bin Vice-Chancellour of the University. He also was turn'd out by the King's Commissioners: and the *Uniformity Act* coming out quickly after, he liv'd privately 'till his Death, which was on *Jan.* 29. 1673.

Henry Langley, D. D. Master of *Pembroke-College*. Being ejected by the Visitors at the Restauration, he retired and liv'd Privately. After the *Act for Uniformity*, he had several in his House, whom he instructed in Academical Learning; and often Preach'd in private Meetings in *Abingdon* in *Berkshire*, living at *Tubney*, a place not far from that Town. He Dy'd *Sept.* 10th 1679.

Mr. *Francis Howell*. He was Moral Philosophy Reader to the University, and Principal of *Jesus Colledge*; but turn'd out by King *Charles*'s Commissioners. He afterwards liv'd in or near *London*, Preaching Occasionally in private. He Dy'd at *Bethnal Green*, in *March* 1679.

Mr. *Thankful Owen*, President of St. *John's Colledge*. Ejected by the Commissioners in 1660. After which he retired to *London*, where he Preach'd privately, and was much respected. He Dy'd at his House in *Hatton Garden*, *April* the 1st 1681. He was preparing for the Press, and had almost finish'd, a Book entituled, *Imago Imaginis*: The Design of which was to shew, That *Rome* Papal was an Image of *Rome* Pagan.

Mr.

Mr. *Ralph Button*, Canon of *Christ Church*, and Oratour to the University. He was an Excellent Scholar; a most humble Man, of a plain sincere Heart. He was a great Sufferer for Nonconformity. Besides a great Loss in his Estate, he was about 6 Months in Goal, for teaching Privately 2 Knights Sons, near *Brentford*, who perswaded him to it. He Dy'd at *Islington* (where he was a Tutor to Young Men in his own House) in *October*, 1680.

Thomas Goodwin, D. D.* who in the common Register at *Oxford* is said to be *in Scriptis in re Theologicâ quamplurimis orbi notus*; was one of those who fled into *Holland* in the Days of King *Charles* the 1st. to avoid the Censures of Episcopal Consistories; where remaining 'till the beginning of the Long Parliament, he return'd, and became one of the Assembly of Divines: But disliking their Proceedings, he left them, and about the same Time had Preferment conferr'd upon him. He was one of the Favourites of *Oliver Cromwell*. He fix'd him President of *Magdalen Colledge* in *Oxford*: And appointed him one of the Triers of Ministers, *&c.* He was remov'd from his Presidentship quickly after the Kings return in 1660. and afterwards retir'd to *London*, where he continu'd the Exercise of his Ministry, as long as he liv'd. He was a very considerable Scholar, and an Eminent Divine; and had a very Happy Faculty in Descanting upon Scripture, so as to bring forth surprizing Remarks, which yet generally tended to Illustration. He Dy'd *Febr.* 23d. 1679. Aged 80 Years. He that would see his Character at Large, may Consult the Preface to the first Volume of his Works in *Folio*; Written by Mr. *Thankful Owen*, and Mr. *Barron*.

* *Besides several Occasional Sermons, He in his Life-time Publish'd several Tracts: As, The Child of Light walking in Darkness. Return of Prayers. The Trial of a Christians Growth. The Vanity of Thoughts. The Aggravations of Sin. Christ set forth. The Heart of Christ in Heaven towards Sinners on Earth. Patience and its perfect Work under sudden and sore Trials. After his Death, Mr.* Th. Owen, *and Mr.* Barron. *Publish'd a Treatise of his concerning the Punishment of Sin in Hell. Which was the Fore-runner of* 4 Folio's *of his Works, that have since appear'd in the World.*

Mr. *Thomas Cole*. He was bred at *Westminster* School, and thence Elected Student of *Christ Church* in *Oxford*. In Fifty Six, he became Principal of St. *Mary's* Hall, but was Ejected thence by the King's Commissioners

in 1660. He afterwards inſtructed Youth in his Houſe near *Nettlebed* in *Oxfordſhire*, and from thence came to *London*, and took the Charge of a Congregation in the City. He was a Man of Good Learning, and of a Genteel Spirit. He Printed a Diſcourſe of Regeneration, Faith and Repentance, Preach'd at the Merchants Lecture in *Broad-ſtreet*, *Oct.* 1689. A Sermon at the Funeral of Mr. *Edw. Weſt*, &c. And hath ſome Sermons in the Volumes of the Morning Exerciſe; one in the Supplement to that at *Cripplegate*, ſhewing how we may Steer an even Courſe between Preſumption and Deſpair. Another, in the Continuation of the Morning Exerciſe Queſtions, ſhewing How the well Diſcharge of our preſent Duty may give us Aſſurance of help from God, for the well Diſcharge of all future Duties. And a Third in the Fourth Volume, ſhewing how difficult a Thing 'tis to believe, *&c.*

† *He hath ſeveral Sermons in Print, which he Preach'd before the Long Parliament, and upon other Publick Occaſions. He hath alſo a Sermon in the Morning Exerciſe at* Cripplegate, *concerning our Danger in things lawful. Another in the Supplement to it, about doing all things in the Name of Chriſt. And a Third in that againſt* Popery; *Proving the Pope to be Antichriſt or the* Man *of Sin.*

Henry Wilkinſon Sen. D. D. † He was a Noted Preacher in *Oxford*, in the Year 1638. He was one of the Aſſembly of Divines, and while they were ſitting, Rector of St. *Dunſtans* in the *Weſt*: Going afterwards to *Oxford* with the Parliamentary Viſitors, He was made Canon of *Chriſt-Church*, Senior Fellow of *Magdalen* Colledge, and *Margarets* Profeſſour of the Univerſity. He was Ejected by King *Charles*'s Commiſſioners, and then retir'd to the City of *London*, where he was in 62 again ejected from his Lectureſhip in *Alhallows Lumbard-ſtreet*. He liv'd in the latter Part of his Life at *Clapham*, where he kept an open Meeting after King *Charles*'s Indulgence in 1671. He Dy'd there in the Month of *June*, 1675. Even Mr. *Wood* owns him to have been a good Scholar, a cloſe Student, and an excellent Preacher, and it appears to have been ſo much againſt the Grain, when conſpicuous Merit forc'd from him any ſuch Acknowledgment concerning a Poor Nonconformiſt, that I think in ſuch a Caſe any Man may take his Word.

Henry

Henry Wilkinſon Junior *, D. D. commonly call'd *Dean Harry* to diſtinguiſh him from the former. A celebrated Tutor in *Magdalen* Hall, of which he was afterwards Principal, till he was caſt out by the *Bartholomew* Act in 1662. Upon which leaving *Oxford* he Preach'd in Private, firſt at *Buckminſter* in *Leiceſter-ſhire*, then at *Goſfield* in *Eſſex*, next at *Sybil Henningham*, in the ſame County; and laſtly at *Great Connard* near *Sudbury* in *Suffolk*; where he Dy'd, *May* 13. 1690. Mr. *Wood* gives him this Character: *That he was Courteous in Speech and Carriage, Communicative of his Knowledge, generous and charitable to the Poor; and ſo Publick Spirited* (a rare Thing in a *Presbyterian*) *that he always minded the common Good, more than his own Concerns.* And this is a *rare Thing* indeed among all Parties; the more's the Pity. Had they to whom King *Charles* left the Direction of Eccleſiaſtical Matters been of that Mind, the *Savoy* Conference had not been ſo fruitleſs; nor had ſo many Hundreds of Worthy Men been driven out of the Church, who were willing to do any Thing their Conſciences could comply with, to have continu'd in a Capacity of Publick Service: And they who will look over the Account given by Mr. *Baxter*, of the forwardneſs of the Miniſters to make conſiderable Advances, upon any Propoſals for a Comprehenſion; and the backwardneſs that hath ſtill appear'd on the other ſide, will be led to apprehend, that there are *others* in the World beſides the *Presbyterians*, among whom it is a *rare Thing* to find the *common Good* preferr'd above their own *Concerns*. A baſer Reflection can't well be made on any one than *Wood* drops on this Worthy Perſon. *He was* (ſays he) *a zealous Man in the way*

* *He Publiſh'd Conciones tres apud Academicos Oxonii nuper habitæ.* Oxon. 1654. Oct. *Brevis Tractatus de Fure Divino Dei Dominici*, Ib. 1654. Oct. *Conciones Sex ad Academicos* Oxonien. ſes. *Ib.* 1658. Oct. *De Impotentiâ Liberi Arbitrii ad bonum Spirituale. Epiſtolarum Decas. Oratio habita in Schola Moralis Philoſophiæ* Oxon. 1658. Oct. *Conciones 2æ apud* Oxon. *Nuper habitæ* 1659. *Concio de Brevitate Opportuni Temporis* Oxon. *habita ad Bac. die Cinerum.* 7. Mar. 1659.

Several Engliſh *Sermons. One at the Funeral of Mrs.* Margaret Corbet. *Three Decads of Sermons lately Preach'd to the Univerſity in St.* Mary's *Church in* Oxon. 1660. *Several Sermons concerning Gods Allſufficiency and Chriſt's Precioufneſs*, London, 1681. Oct. *Catalogus Librorum in Bibl. Aul. Magd* Oxon. 1661. Oct. *The Doctrine of Contentment briefly explain'd and practically Apply'd in a Treatiſe on* 1 Tim. 6. 8. *London*, 1671. Oct. *Characters of a ſincere Heart*, 1674. Oct.

His Prælectiones Morales, which he read in the Moral Philosophy School, while he was publick Reader of that Lecture, are yet preserv'd, in Magdalen *Hall Library.*

he profess'd, but overswayd more by the Principles of Education than Reason. Had he met with any such Aspersion on a *Laudensian* Prelate, he would not have fail'd to have represented it as horridly Censorious. For that Man who takes a Course that he doth not appear to himself to have Reason for is a Brute; and he that will expose himself to Suffering, when without any Damage to his Conscience he might have escap'd it, and been at ease is a Fool. And therefore any Man would have Tho't he might have spar'd that Censure upon the Dr. when he in the same Breath tells the World, That *he suffer'd for his Nonconformity by Imprisonments, Mulcts, and Loss of his Goods and Books.* For these are not such desireable Things as that any Man of Sense could be fond of them, or run the hazard of them, if he doth not seem to himself to have *Reason* to justifie his Practice.

Christopher Rogers, D. D. Principal of *New-Inn* Hall.

Edmund Stanton *, D. D. Son of Sir *Francis Stanton*. He was Minister of *Kingston* upon *Thames* in *Surrey*, and one of the Assembly of Divines. In 1648. He was made President of *Corpus Christi* Colledge in *Oxford*, whence he was Ejected by the Commissioners in 1660. after which he retir'd into *Hertfordshire*, where he (without any Cure of Souls) Preach'd occasionally at *Rickmansworth*, till the Uniformity Act disabled him: After which he retir'd to a little Village in that County call'd *Bovingden*, where he liv'd retir'dly, but Preach'd constantly; being afraid that his Lord should come and find him Idle. Often would he ride to St. *Albans* where he was useful to many; and once or twice a Year to *London* and *Kingston*, and seeing he could not Preach in a Church to many, he would Preach in a Chamber to a few. In his last Sickness, when he found his End drew near, he thus expres'd himself to a

See Mr. Richard Mayo's *Account of his Life and Death. Printed in* Octavo. 1673.

* *He Publish'd several Sermons before the Lords and Commons: A Sermon at the Funeral of Mrs.* Elizabeth Wilkinson, *&c. And after his Death came out, his Dialogue between a Minister and a Stranger; and a Treatise of Christian Conference; which are both bound up with Mr* Mayo's *Account of his Life and Death.*

Friend

Friend who ſtood by Him: *I neither fear Death, nor deſire Life, but am willing to be at God's Diſpoſal.* He Dy'd *July* the 14th. 1671. Mr. *Mayo* in his Printed Life, among other Paſſages, tells this remarkable Story of him: That Preaching once at *Warborough* not far from *Oxford*, one in the Congregation was ſo affected with his firſt Prayer, that he ran to his Houſe (which was near) and told his Wife, that ſhe ſhould make her ready and come to Church, for there was one in the Pulpit that Pray'd like an Angel, ſo as he never heard the like. The Woman haſten'd away with her Husband; and God ſo orderd it, that that Sermon prov'd a means of her Converſion, and ſhe prov'd afterwards a ſerious and eminent Chriſtian.

Mr. *Theophilus Gale* *, M. A. His Father was Dr. *Theoph. Gale*, Prebendary of *Exceſter*. He was Fellow of *Magdalen-Colledge* in *Oxford*, and a frequent Preacher in the Univerſity. At King *Charles*'s Reſtauration, he was caſt out of his Fellowſhip, and afterwards Travell'd into Foreign Parts, as Tutor to the Sons of *Philip* Lord *Wharton*. Returning into *England*, he ſettled at *London*, and was Aſſiſtant to Mr. *John Rowe*. Even Mr. *Wood* owns him to have bin a Man of great Reading, an exact Philologiſt, and

* *He hath written, The Court of the Gentiles, in 4 Parts: Or, a Diſcourſe touching the Original of Humane Literature, both of Philology and Philoſophy from the Jewiſh Church. Of the Vanity of Pagan Philoſophy; and of Reform'd Philoſophy: In 2 Vol. in* Qu. *an Elaborate Work. There is a Laudable Account of the 2 firſt Parts of it in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, Num. 74. P. 2231. An. 1671. And ill-natur'd Mr.* Wood *ſticks not to paſs this favourable Cenſure*; That this Work ſhews the Author to have bin Well-read in, and Converſant with, the Writings of the Fathers, the Old Philoſophers, and thoſe that have given any Account of them or their Works: As alſo to have bin a Good Metaphyſician and School Divine.

The true Idea of Janſeniſm, both Hiſtorick and Dogmatick, Oct. *with a large Preface of Dr.* Owen's. Theophilie; *Or, A Diſcourſe of the Saints Amity with God in Chriſt*, Oct. *The Anatomy of Infidelity: Or, An Explication of the Nature, Cauſes, Aggravations and Puniſhment of Unbelief*, Oct. *A Diſcourſe of the Coming of Chriſt, and the Influence of the Expectation of it*, Oct. Idea Theologiæ tam Contemplativæ quam Activæ ad formam S. Scripturæ delineata; London. 1673. *in Twelves.* Philoſophia Generalis in duas Partes diſterminata; una de Ortu & Progreſſu Philoſophiæ, &c. Altera, 1. De Minorum Gentium

Philoſophiâ. 2. De 9 Habitibus Intellectualibus. 3. De Philoſophiæ Objecto; London. 1676. Oct.

Philoſopher; a Learned and Induſtrious Perſon: No Man, I ſuppoſe, will offer to gainſay it, when he hath bin ſo free as to grant it. He Dy'd in his Prime *An.* 1678, Aged about 49. He left all his Real and Perſonal Eſtate for the Education and Benefit of poor Young Scholars, to be manag'd by his Nonconforming Brethren for their Uſe. He left his Library to the Colledge in *New-England*, except the Philoſophical Part of it, which he reſerv'd for the Uſe of Young Students here at home.

Ars Sciendi; ſive Logica novâ Methodo diſpoſita, & Novis Præceptis aucta; London. 1682. Oct. *Which is* Clauberg's *Logick, and* Ars Cogitandi, *digeſted into one volume, with ſome Alterations and Enlargements. A Summary of the two Covenants: Prefix'd to Mr.* Strong's *Diſcourſe on the ſame Subject. He hath alſo a Sermon in the Supplement to the Morning Exerciſe at* Cripplegate, *on the* Inconſiſtency of the Love of the World with the Love of God.

Mr. *John Milward*, M. A. Fellow of *Corpus Chriſti Colledge*. There is a Sermon of his in the *Supplement* to the *Morning Exerciſe* at *Cripplegate*, on *Loving our Neighbour* as our ſelves.

Mr. *Thomas Riſley*, Fellow of *Pembroke Colledge*.

Mr. *Robert Wood*, Fellow of *Lincoln-Colledge*: Who was afterwards Teacher of the Children in the Blew Coat Hoſpital of *Chriſt Church* in *London*, in the Art of Mathematicks and Navigation.

Mr. *Thomas Adams*, M. A. Fellow of *Brazen-Noſe Colledge*. A frequent Preacher in private Meetings in *London* after his Ejection. He was Brother to Mr. *Richard Adams* (of whom mention hath bin made among the City Miniſters) a very Worthy Man †.

Mr. *John Johnſon*, M. A. Fellow of *New-Colledge*: Who preach'd and publiſh'd a Funeral Sermon for Mr. *Stephen Charnock*.

Mr.

† *He hath written: Proteſtant Union: Or, Principles of Religion, to which Engliſh Proteſtants agree, in* 2 *Sheets. And the Main Principles of Chriſtian Religion in* 107 *ſhort Articles or Aphoriſms; confirm'd by the Conſonant Doctrine recorded in the Articles and Homilies of the Church of* England; Lond. 1675. Oct.

Mr. *Henry Corniſh*, B. D. who might have bin created Doctor of Divinity, but refus'd. As freely as *Wood* reflects upon him for a *Puling Preacher* at *Oxford*, there were many Scholars who were very Thankful to God and him for his publick Sermons there, after that City was ſurrendred to the Parliament. He was *Canon* of *Chriſt Church*, but diſplac'd by King *Charles*'s Commiſſioners. He afterwards liv'd with that Pious Knight Sir *Philip Harcourt*, of *Stanton-Harcourt* in *Oxfordſhire*, Preaching Occaſionally about the Country. In 1690. He ſettled at *Biceſter*, a Market Town in the ſame County. *Wood* ſpits his Venom very freely; ſaying, *Such was the Poor Spirit of the Perſon, that being about* 80 *Years Old, he Preach'd there in a Barn for Profit ſake, to ſilly Women, and other obſtinate People.* But I, who had the Happineſs of being at that time well acquainted with him, can atteſt, *That he was a Man of a very Generous and Publick Spirit.* I never yet met with more Sincerity, more Eminent Piety, more Cordial Love to God and Man, than was diſcernible in him. It was the *Good of Souls*, and the *Service of his Maſter* he aim'd at. As for Profit, he was above it: He had an Eſtate of his own. Neither was his Income from his People great. And as for them, I found them as Intelligent, Well-temper'd, Judicious and Loving a People as a Miniſter need deſire to live amongſt. The Good Old Gentleman was as tender of them as their Common Father; and they carry'd it with the Reſpect and Tenderneſs of Children to him: And Vital Religion exceedingly flouriſh'd amongſt them. He left this for a Better Life *Dec.* 18. 1698, in the Eighty Ninth Year of his Age. His Funeral Sermon was Preach'd by a Worthy Conforming Clergy-man Mr. *John Olyffe* Rector of *Dunton* in the County of *Bucks*. In which he declares he had always obſerv'd in him, *A great Kindneſs and Benignity of Diſpoſition, joyn'd with an undiſſembled Integrity and Uprightneſs, whereby he plainly diſcover'd that he wiſh'd well to all Men, and rejoyc'd in all Mens Welfare and Happineſs, and was glad when he could any ways promote it. He had a great Calmneſs in his own Temper, but was forward and fervent in Spirit in the Service of his God. And his long and continu'd La-*

bour in it, even to Extream Old Age, is a great Instance of his Delight in it, of his Pious Zeal for the promoting of Religion, and his Earneſt Deſire of the Eternal Welfare of Men. He was one of Eminent Piety, of exact Walking, of an Healing Spirit, and full of Love to God and good Men of different Denominations. He was not for a Wrangling or Diſputative Divinity, which tends to Gender Strife, but for plain Practical Godlineſs in its Life and Power, &c. This Worthy Man's Candour occaſion'd the Publiſhing of a Pamphlet, full of Angry Reflections, when yet the Truth of his Character was frankly own'd and could not be deny'd. Mr. *Olyffe* made a very Handſom and Ingenuous Reply, in a Preface to his Sermon, which had it not bin for thoſe Reflections, had not ſeen the Light. However both the Sermon and Reflections on it contain a full Vindication of the Memory of Mr. *Corniſh*, from the Ill-natur'd Inſinuations of *Ant. a Wood.*

Mr. *John Troughton* *, Fellow of St. *John's Colledge*. After his Ejection he retir'd to *Biceſter*, where he privately read Academical Learning: And after the Indulgence in 1671, he us'd often to Preach in *Oxford*; and yet *Wood* has a good Word for him, at which we may well be ſurpriz'd. He ſays, *That tho' he had bin Blind, which was occaſion'd by the Small Pox when he was Four Years Old*; yet he was a good School Divine and Metaphyſician, and was much commended while in the Univerſity for his Diſputations. And that he was reſpected by, and maintain'd an Amicable Correſpondence with, ſome of the Conformable Clergy, becauſe of his great Knowledge and Moderation. He Dy'd at *Oxford Aug.* 20. 1681, Aged 44.

Mr.

* *He hath written and publiſh'd*, Lutherus Redivivus: *Or*, The Proteſtant Doctrine of Juſtification by Faith only vindicated, &c. *in two Parts*, 2 *Vol.* Oct. A Letter to a Friend touching God's Providence about Sinful Actions; *in Anſwer to a Letter intitled*, The Reconcileableneſs of God's Preſcience, &c. *Lond.* 1678. Popery the Grand Apoſtacy: *Being the Subſtance of ſome Sermons on* 2 Theſſ. 2. *from ver.* 1. *to* 12. An Apology for the Nonconformiſts, ſhewing their Reaſons both for their not Conforming, and for their Preaching publickly, tho' forbidden by Law. *With an Anſwer to Dr.* Stillingfleet's *Sermon, and his Defence of it*, Qu. 1681.

Mr. *Humphry Gunter*: Caſt out from his Fellowſhip in *Magdalen-Colledge*.

Mr. *Henry Hickman*, B. D. Fellow of *Magdalen-Colledge*, and a Celebrated Preacher in *Oxford*. A Smart Diſputant, and a Man of Excellent General Learning †. He Dy'd Miniſter of the *Engliſh* Church at *Leyden* in *Holland*.

† *He hath written ſeveral learned Tracts.* A Juſtification of the Fathers and Schoolmen, *ſhewing that they are not ſelf-condemn'd for denying the Poſitiviiy of Sin*: *Againſt Mr.* Thomas Pierce, Oct. 1659. Laudenſium Apoſtaſia: *Shewing that many Divines are fallen off from the Doctrine receiv'd in the Church of* England, Qu. 1660. Apologia pro Miniſtris in Anglia vulgo Nonconformiſtis, *An.* 1662. Aug. 24. die Bartholomæo dicto, ejectis, &c. *Twelves*, 1664. Bonaſus Vapulans: *Or*, Some Caſtigations given to Mr. *John Durel*, *Oct.* 1672. Animadverſions on Dr. *Heylin*'s Quinquarticular Hiſtory, *Oct.* 1673. The Believers Duty towards the Spirit: Oct. 1655. *&c. &c. &c.*

Mr. *Poynter*, Canon of *Chriſt Church*.

Mr. *William Segary*, Student there: And Mr. *William Woodward*, Ditto: And Mr. *Stafford*.

Mr. *Edward Terry*, Fellow of *Univerſity-Colledge*.

Mr. *Cooper*, Mr. *Porter*, Mr. *Aſhurſt*, Mr. *Philips*, Mr. *Crittendone*, all Fellows of *Magdalen Colledge*: And Mr. *Kentiſh*, Chaplain there.

Mr. *Hand* and Mr. *Stoughton*, Fellows of *New Colledge*.

Mr. *Whitaker*, Fellow of St. *John*'s.

Mr. *Conoway* and Mr. *Sprint* of *Magdalen-Hall*.

Mr. *John Singleton*, M. A. was turn'd out of his Students Place in *Chriſt Church* by the Commiſſioners in 1660, when he had continu'd there 8 Years *.

* *He ſpent many years in the City of* Coventry, *but is now in the City of* London *Paſtor of a Congregation. He hath a Sermon in the Continuation of the Morn. Exerc. Qu. on the beſt way to prepare to meet God in the Way of his Judgments or Mercies.*

Mr. *Thomas Cawton* †, Son of Mr. *Thomas Cawton*, who was Miniſter of St. *Bartholomews* behind the *Roy-*

† *All that he hath extant is,* Diſſertatio de uſu Linguæ Hebraicæ in Philoſophiâ Theoretica, *printed at* Utrecht. The Life and Death of his Father Mr. *Thomas Cawton*; Oct. 1662. Balaam's *Wiſh*: Or, *The vanity of deſiring without endeavouring to obtain the Death of the Upright*; 1675, Oct.

al

al Exchange, and was forc'd to fly into *Holland* for his Concern in that call'd *Love's Plot*. He was Educated in the Hebrew, Syriack and Arabick Tongues, at *Rotterdam* under Mr. *Robert Sherringham*. He was afterwards settled in the University of *Utrecht*, where he spent 3 Years in Academical Learning, and then came into *England*, and was admitted into *Merton-Colledge*, where he was much esteem'd and respected for his admirable Knowledge in the Oriental Tongues. The Measures taken in 1662, oblig'd him to leave the University, at which time he settled in the City of *Westminster*, where he kept up Private Meetings as long as he liv'd. He Dy'd *April* the 10. 1677, Aged about 40, and had two Funeral Sermons Preach'd for him: One by Mr. *Hurst*, and another by Mr. *Nathanael Vincent*: Which are both Publish'd; to which the Reader is referr'd for his Particular Character.

* *See the Bristol Narrative: or a Just Account of the Imprisonment & Death of* J. Thompson, *a Conventicling Preacher there: and the Reply to it. both printed in* 1675. Qu.

Mr. *John Thompson*, M. A. * Native of *Dorchester*, was Student of *Christ Church* at the Return of King *Charles*. He had spent 9 Years in *Oxford*, and was well esteem'd for Learning and Vertue by his Contemporaries. He was as willing to have kept his Place as others, if he could but with a safe Conscience have Conform'd. He Study'd the Points in Debate with great Deliberation, Convers'd freely with such as were most likely to add to his Light, and seriously look'd up for Direction, and upon the whole could not be satisfy'd to comply with what was requir'd of him, for fear of offending God. Thereupon he quitted the University, and all Hope of Preferment, and return'd to *Dorchester*, and apply'd himself Diligently to the Study of Divinity: After some time marrying the Daughter of Worthy Mr. *Ben*, the ejected Minister of that Place, he often Preach'd for him among his People with great Acceptance, *An.* 1670. Upon the Call of a Congregation in *Bristol*, he remov'd to that City with his Family, where he laid out himself in the Discharge of his Ministerial Work, Preaching statedly thrice a Week; and was Harmless and Unblameable in his Conversation; none being able to lay any thing to his Charge but his Nonconformity. In the Year 167⁴; he was Apprehended upon the Cor-

Corporation Act, and carry'd before the Mayor, at whoſe Houſe he found the Biſhop of the Dioceſs, and ſeveral Juſtices, who treated him roughly, *&c.* which he bore with great Meekneſs. Refuſing to take the *Oxford* Oath, he was Committed to Goal. He was Committed *Febr.* 10th, and about the 25th of the ſame Month, began to be Indiſpos'd. Conſulting a Phyſician, he ſeeing a Feaver coming on, adviſed to Endeavours in order to a Removal into a Convenient Chamber; that where he was, being annoy'd by a naſty Jakes, beſides other Inconveniencies. Hereupon a Perſon of Quality went to the Sheriffs, offer'd a Bond of 500 *l.* for Security if his Removal might be allow'd of, into a more Commodious Place, during the Continuance of his Sickneſs: There was Application alſo to the Biſhop, but no Removal could be obtain'd. Being forc'd there to lie Languiſhing, he wanted not for any Convenience or Help the Place would afford, but continu'd 'till *March* the 4th, and then expir'd. He was Chearful in his Sickneſs, and very well Satisfy'd in his Sufferings and the Cauſe of them. He declar'd, *That he from his Heart forgave his Enemies: and that he ſhould rejoyce to meet thoſe in Heaven, who had treated him as if he were not fit to live on Earth.* A little before he dy'd he thus expreſs'd himſelf: *As for my Bonds, I bleſs God for them: And if I had known when I came in that I ſhould Die here, I would have done no otherwiſe than I have done. The time will come when I ſhall be freed from the Aſperſion of Faction.* He Breath'd his Laſt while Mr. *Weeks* (who was Miniſter of another Congregation in the City of *Briſtol*, and then his Fellow Priſoner) was by Prayer commending his Soul into the Hands of Jeſus Chriſt.

Neither muſt I forget that Excellent Perſon *John Conant* D.D. Rector of *Exceſter-Colledge*, who having bin one of the Commiſſioners at the *Savoy*, left his Place in 1662, and continu'd a Nonconformiſt Seven Years or thereabouts, and at laſt Conform'd, and became a Miniſter in *Northampton*; who Publiſh'd nothing in his Life-time, but hath ſome Sermons that have bin Publiſh'd ſince his Death. If any others here

here mention'd Conform'd afterwards as the Doctor did, I ſhould be glad to know it.

In the Univerſity of Cambridge.

Dr. *Anthony Tuckney* *, Maſter of St. *John's Colledge*, and Regius Profeſſor of Divinity. He was Born in *Lincolnſhire*, and bred in *Emanuel Colledge* in this Univerſity, of which he became Fellow. He left *Cambridge* upon the Invitation of the People of *Boſton* in his Native Country, among whom he exerciſed his Miniſtry with great Pains and Eminent Succeſs. At length, *An.* 1643, he was ſent for up to *London* to the Aſſembly of Divines, of which he was a Conſiderable and Active Member. Some few Years after, he was again reſtor'd to the Univerſity, being choſen Maſter of *Emanuel*, from whence in ſome time he remov'd to St. *John's*, and afterwards ſucceeded Dr. *Arrowſmith* in the Profeſſors Chair. After King *Charles's* Reſtauration, he was one of the Commiſſioners at the *Savoy*, and was out of hope of any Accomodation, when he ſaw how things went there. Before the time for the Conference was expir'd, he receiv'd a Royal Letter (a Copy of which may be ſeen in Mr. *Pierce's* 4th *Plea for the Nonconformiſts*, pag. 37.) ſign'd by Secretary *Nicholas*, dated *Jun.* 1. which gave him a *Superſedeas* from his Publick Employment, promiſing him 100 *l. per Annum* during Life, to be paid by his Succeſſour. The Good Doctor tho't it would be fruitleſs to contend with the Court in that Juncture, and that it would not be long that he could keep his Place, as things were then manag'd, and thereupon reſign'd: And had the Annuity promis'd punctually paid

* *He Publiſh'd himſelf ſome ſmall Pieces: As Death diſarm'd: Or, The Grave ſwallow'd up in Victory*, 1654. *Balm of* Gilead *for the Wounds of* England *apply'd in a Sermon*, 1654. *A Good Day well improv'd, in 5 Sermons*, 1656. *And after his Death were Publiſh'd Forty Sermons of his, upon ſeveral Occaſions*; *Qu.* 1676. *And his* Prælectiones Theologicæ; *containing all his Theological Lectures and Exerciſes, while he continu'd in his Publick Employment in the Univerſity*; Qu. 1679.

paid him by Dr. *Gunning*, who ſucceeded him, as long as he liv'd. He ſpent the reſt of his Days in Solitude and Retirement; and hath left behind him the Character of an *Eminently Pious and Learned Man, a true Friend, an Indefatigable Student, a Candid Diſputant, and an Earneſt Promoter of Truth and Godlineſs.*

Mr. *William Moſes*, Maſter of *Pembroke*-Hall.

Mr. *William Dell*, Maſter of *Caius*-Colledge.

Mr. *John Sadler*, Maſter of *Magdalen*-Colledge.

John Bond, LL. D. Maſter of *Trinity*-Hall.

Mr. *John Fido*, Fellow of *Trinity*-Colledge.

Mr. *Joſeph Hill* *, B. D. was many Years Fellow of *Magdalen*-Colledge, of which Society he was a great Ornament, and was much eſteem'd for his Learning and very great Diligence in Educating of his Pupils, which were more Numerous than thoſe of any Fellow in the Colledge, *An.* 1659. He was Senior Proctor of the Univerſity; in which Office he effectually prevented and repreſs'd all open Immoralities. He kept the Act of Batchellour of Divinity, at a Publick Commencement in the Year 1660. After which he reſign'd his Fellowſhip, and remov'd to *London*, where he Preach'd (I think at *Alhallows Berking*) 'till 1662; when he Travell'd beyond Sea; and after having reſided ſome Years in *Holland*, he was choſen Miniſter of the *Engliſh* Church at *Middleburgh*: Which Station he loſt, for writing a Defence of the *Zealanders* Choice to ſubmit rather to the Crown of *England* than to that of *France*. Returning afterwards into *England*, he might have had good Eccleſiaſtick Preferment, had he bin willing to have Conform'd: But not being ſatisfy'd in that, he accepted a Call to be Miniſter of the *Engliſh* Church at *Rotterdam*, where he is yet living.

* *He hath a Sermon in the Morn. Exc. at* Crippl. *upon* Moderation.

Mr. *Thomas More*, M. A. Fellow of *Magdalen*-Colledge.

Mr. *James Ellingworth*, B. D. Fellow of *Emanuel*-Colledge.

Mr. *George Duncombe*, M. A. Fellow of *King's*. Mr. *Reyner*, of *Emanuel*. Mr. *Robert Brinſley*, M. A. of the ſame. Mr. *Edward Hulſe*, M. A. of the ſame; ſince an Eminent Phyſician in the City of *London*; yet living.

Mr.

Mr. *John Wood*, M. A. Fellow of *Magdalen*-Colledge. Mr. *Henry* in his Life gives this Account of him: *That he was a Learned Man, but wanted the Faculty of Communicating: One that feared God, and walked in his Integrity to the last: Had no certain Dwelling-place on Earth, but I trust* (saith he) *hath one in Heaven.* He Dy'd *Sept.* 19. 1692, at *Mitton* in *Shropshire*, Aged about 70.

Mr. *Cromwell* and Mr. *Batloe*, both of *Magdalen*-Colledge.

Mr. *Alexander Green*, M. A. Fellow of *Pembroke*-Hall.

Mr. *Henry Sampson*, M. A. Fellow of *Pembroke* Hall. He was Nephew to those two Eminent Linguists Mr. *John* and Mr. *Samuel Vicars*, the joynt Authors of the *Decapla* on the Psalms; and Son-in-Law of Dr. *Obadiah Grew* of *Coventry*. He had one of the best Livings that was in the Gift of his Colledge, *viz.* that of *Framlingham* in *Suffolk* bestow'd upon him. Here he was when he publish'd that Correct Edition of the Learned *Theses* of Mr. *Thomas Parker*, entit. *Methodus Divinæ Gratiæ, &c.* A Golden Book with a Golden Epistle of his own Prefix'd to it: Both of them having a great deal of Weight in a little room. While he continu'd here, he made several Visits to *Coventry*, where he often Preach'd for the Doctor, his Father-in-Law, with great Acceptation, as well as among his own People. In both which Places his Name is as a precious Oyntment, and his Memory had in Honour to this Day. Upon the Restauration of King *Charles*, being oblig'd to leave his People; and not being satisfy'd to Conform, he apply'd himself to the Study of Physick; the rather because he had never bin ordain'd. He visited several Universities famous for Medicine abroad; stay'd first at *Padua*, and then at *Leyden*, for some time. In the latter of which he became well acquainted with that Eminent Person the Lord Chief-Justice St. *John*, who bore a singular Respect to him as long as he liv'd. Having taken his Degree, he return'd home, and settled in the City, where he enter'd himself of the *Colledge of Physicians*, as Honorary Fellow, and Liv'd and Dy'd in Good Repute.

Mr.

Mr. *Francis Holcraft*, M. A. Fellow of *Clare*-Hall. He was alſo turn'd out of the Living of *Baſſingbourn* in *Cambridgſhire*, and met with great Trouble, and was long Impriſon'd for *Nonconformity*. Mr. *Wildbore* of the ſame Hall.

Mr. *Barker* of *Katharine* Hall.

Mr. *John Ray*, M. A. Fellow of *Trinity*.

Mr. *Thomas Senior* *, B. D. Fellow of *Trinity*. A great Textuary; indefatigably Induſtrious, and an Uſeful Preacher. He reſided in the latter Part of his Life at *Hackney*.

* *He hath Publiſh'd a Tract call'd* God, the King and Church; Oct. *And hath alſo a Sermon in the* Supplement *to the* Morning Exerciſe *at* Cripplegate, *upon the* Hearing the Word with Profit.

Mr. *Joſeph Oddy* of *Trinity*, who was alſo turn'd out of his Living of *Meldred* in *Cambridge-ſhire*.

Mr. *Samuel Corbin*, M. A. of the ſame Colledge.

Mr. *Willoughby Weſt*, M. A. Mr. *Edmund More*, Mr. *John Hutchinſon*, B. A. Mr. *John Davis*, M. A. Mr. *Robert Ekins*, B. A. Mr. *Groſland*, B. A. Mr. *Alcock*, B. A. Mr. *Hayes*, B. A. Mr. *Samuel Ponder*, B. A. Mr. *Thomas Lock*. All of *Trinity*.

Mr. *Wheeler*, M. A. Fellow of *Caius*-Colledge.

Mr. *Broadgate*, B. D. Mr. *Jonathan Tuckney*, M. A. Mr. *Twine*. Mr. *John Wood*, M. A.

Mr. *Hayworth*. Mr. *Towler*, B. A. Mr. *Windreſs*, B. A Mr. *Aſden*. Mr. *Mathum*. Mr. *Grandigh*. All of St. *John*'s.

Mr. *Day*, Scholar of *Emanuel*-Colledge.

Mr. *Abraham Clifford*, B. D. Fellow of *Pembroke*-Hall.

Mr. *Chapman*, M. A. Fellow of *Bennet*-Colledge.

Mr. *Edmund Hough*, M. A. Fellow of *Jeſus*-Colledge.

Dr. *John Pratt*, M. D. Mr. *William Diſney*, M. A. and Mr. *John Caſle*, M. A. Of *Trinity*.

In

In the County of ESSEX.

* *See an Account of his Life & Death, Printed by* Th. Parkhurst, *in* 8*vo.* 1681.

COLCHESTER. Mr. *Owen Stockton*, M. A.* a Man of Great Worth. He was a Native of *Chicheſter*, and fourth Son of his Father, (whoſe Name he bore) who was a Prebendary of that Cathedral. He was bred up in the City of *Ely*, under Mr. *William Hitches*; and admitted into *Chriſt's*-Colledge in *Cambridge* An. 1645, and had the Famous Dr. *Henry Moor* for his Tutor. He was afterwards Fellow of *Gonvile* and *Caius*-Colledge; and began the Exerciſe of his Miniſtry in ſome Villages within 10 or 15 Miles off the Univerſity, with Good Acceptance and Succeſs. *An.* 1654, he was Catechiſt in his Colledge, and ſoon after fix'd as Stated Preacher in St. *Anne's* Pariſh in *Cambridge:* And remov'd thence to *Colcheſter*, where he was choſen by the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council, to Preach to them on Lords-Days in the Afternoon, and every *Wedneſday* Morning: And he of his own accord Preach'd on the Lords-Day Mornings at St. *James's* Church *gratis:* And here he labour'd Faithfully, Diligently and Succeſsfully, 'till the Law diſabled him. He afterwards dwelt 3 Years in his own hired Houſe, and Preach'd to all that came to him, 'till the Year 1665, when the Town was Viſited with the Peſtilence; at which time others flying, he offer'd the Magiſtrates to Stay and Preach to them, if they would allow him the Liberty of a Publick Church; which was deny'd him, notwithſtanding their Neceſſities were then great. Hereupon he remov'd to *Chattiſham* in *Suffolk*, where he had for ſome time an Opportunity of the frequent Exerciſe of his Miniſtry in Publick. When King *Charles* Publiſh'd his Declaration for Indulgence, he had a double Call from a Congregation in *Colcheſter*, and another in *Ipſwich*. That he might Anſwer both as far as he was able, he undertook half the Service of each; and with others, divided his Labours between them as long as he liv'd. Beſides his Preaching twice on the Lords-Day, he many times expoun-

ded

ded and Catechiz'd the Youth, and Resolv'd Cases of Conscience; he Preach'd also a Lecture on the Week-Day at *Ipswich* once a Fortnight: And scarce a Week pass'd, but he assisted in some other Lecture, or was oblig'd to Preach some Funeral Sermon, or engag'd in Private Fasts at Home or Abroad. His Diligence in his Master's Work drew upon him many Enemies, but Divine Providence wonderfully preserv'd him: So that Complaints, Indictments, Convictions, Warrants, Presentments, and Excommunications, touch'd him not; he was never Imprison'd, Apprehended, Distrain'd on, or brought before any Court or Magistrate. He Dy'd in great Peace and Serenity *Sept.* 10. 1680, declaring in his last Sickness his full Satisfaction in his *Nonconformity*, in which nothing influenc'd him but his Conscience towards God. God blessed him with a good Estate, and he made a good Use of it while he liv'd: And when he dy'd, he left the best and most valuable Part of his well-furnish'd Library to *Gonvil* and *Caius* Colledge in *Cambridge*; and order'd his Executrix to lay out 500 *l.* in a Purchase of a Freehold Estate, or an Impropriation, to be settled on the said Colledge, for the Maintenance of a Scholar and Fellow for ever: And in case his only Daughter, whom he left behind him, should Die before the Age of 21, he bequeath'd 20 *l. per Annum* to be settled on the Colledge in *New-England*, for the Education of a Converted *Indian*, or to any other that would learn the *Indian* Language, and Preach to that poor People. He was an excellent Christian; a Man mighty in the Scriptures: And he that will be at the Pains to peruse his Private Papers publish'd in his Life, will find, That he most carefully Practis'd himself the things which he recommended to others. He was a Man more than ordinarily mortify'd to the Pleasures of the Flesh, and the Vanities of the World. His Conversation was in Heaven: His Delight in the Saints: His Business was Religion: His whole Deportment strictly Conscientious. He was a Lover of Hospitality; a Faithful Friend; an Industrious Peace-maker; a Forgiver of Injuries; an Hearty Mourner in *Israel*; a Man full of Charity: In a Word; One who eminently Recommended Religion to all that

obſerv'd him. A Sermon was Preach'd at his Funeral by Mr. *John Fairfax*, M. A. which Sermon is printed at the end of the Account of his Life †.

Dedham. Mr. *Matthew Newcomen.* Dr. *Collins* in his Preface to Mr. *Fairfax*'s Sermon which he Preach'd at his Funeral, gives this Account of him: That he had had 30 Years Acquaintance with him, and in that time had bin well acquainted with many Learned and Pious Perſons; but that he never knew any that excell'd him, conſidering him as a *Miniſter in the Pulpit*, a *Diſputant in the Schools*, and a *deſirable Companion.* In the firſt Capacity, his Gift in Prayer (ſays he, who muſt be allow'd by all Men to be a competent Judge) was incomparable. He was a ſolid, painful, pathetick and perſwaſive Preacher. He ſucceeded that great Man Mr. *John Rogers* of *Dedham*; but their Gifts were very different. Mr. *Rogers* was a grave, ſevere, ſolid Divine: His great Gift lay in a peculiar Geſture, Action and Behaviour in the Delivery of what ſolid Matter he had prepar'd; ſo as few heard him without Trembling at the Word of God: But Mr. *Newcomen*'s Gifts lay almoſt all ways; and his worſt Enemies muſt ſay he ſhew'd as much Art as Piety in his Sermons and Prayers, and all Religious Services. He was a moſt accompliſh'd Scholar and Chriſtian. His Sermon preach'd before the Parliament upon *Nov.* 5. 1641, his *Irenicum*, indeed whatever of his appear'd to the World, ſpeak him ſuch a one as none can pretend his want of Learning, without bringing their own in queſtion. His Management of the Argument againſt *the Toleration of the Jews*, (tho' never Printed) made him Admired by all that

† *He publiſh'd in his Life time a Scriptural Catechiſm, and a Treatiſe of Family Inſtruction*; 8vo. 1672. *A Rebuke to Informers*, 4to. *Counſel to the Afflicted*, 8vo. 1667; *which tho' compoſed particularly upon occaſion of the waſting Fire of* London, *is as valuable and uſeful a Book as can well be put into the Hands of ſuch as are under any ſort of Affliction. He alſo left behind him fit for the Preſs, The Cure of the Fear of Death. A Treatiſe of glorifying God. The Beſt Intereſt. And a Warning to Drunkards.*

that heard it. Take him in his ordinary Converſe, he was pleaſant and facetious, and of extraordinary Humility, Affability, and Courteſie. His whole Converſation was both Pious and Amiable. After he had undertaken the Conduct of the Church of God in *Dedham*, (which was immediately upon the Death of Mr. *Rogers*) he would liſten to no Temptation to any other Place, tho' he had both many and great Offers; but continu'd there till 1662. when he was Ejected. He was ſoon after invited to the Paſtoral Charge of the Church at *Leyden* in *Holland*; which he the rather accepted, becauſe he knew he ſhould there have the Publick Liberty of his Miniſtry, which he preferr'd to any thing in this World. He was there exceeding acceptable to Dr. *Hoornbeck*, and the other Profeſſors and Learned Men of thoſe Parts. And he there Died of a Feavor, which prevail'd much in that City, in the Year 1668. or 1669.

There was alſo ſilenc'd at *Colcheſter* and *Dedham*, Mr. *Edmund Warren* and Mr. *George Smith*.

Shalford, near *Braintree*: Mr. *Giles Firmin*. He was a *Native of Suffolk*, Educated at *Cambridge*, under the Tuition of Dr. *Hill*, and afterwards (as I am inform'd) Fellow of *Emanuel* Colledge. He at firſt apply'd himſelf to the Study of Phyſick, and practis'd it afterwards ſeveral Years in *New-England*, whither he retir'd with ſeveral Pious Perſons, who in thoſe Days, left their Native Country, that they might have the Liberty of Acting according to the Light of their Conſciences. He was in *New-England* in the Time of thoſe Troubles, which were Created by the *Antinomians*, (under the Conduct of Mrs. *Hutchinſon*) a Particular Account whereof is given by Mr. *Weld*, who was Aſſiſtant to the Famous Mr. *Elliot*, in his Hiſtorical Narrative. He was at the Synod that was held by thoſe Churches upon that Occaſion, and afterwards wrote in Defence of the Miniſters. Returning into *England* about the latter End of the Civil Wars, He ſuffer'd Shipwrack on the Coaſts of *Spain*. At that very Time when he was in extream Danger of being drown'd, a little Child of his about 4 Years Old, then with her Mother and the reſt of

the Family in *New-England*, lay crying out by Times, all Night, *My Father, my Father*; and could not be ſatisfy'd, which mov'd them to pray heartily for his Safety. This Paſſage being well atteſted, is related becauſe of its Peculiarity.

Some Time after his coming into *England*, he bro't over his Family, and ſettled at *Shalford* or *Shawford*, where when he was near upon 40 Years of Age, he was Ordain'd by Mr. *Stephen Marſhall*, of *Finchingfield*, and other Miniſters. There he continu'd a painful Labourer, in the Work of the Miniſtry, till he was turn'd out with others of his Brethren. After his Ejectment the Church Doors were ſhut up for ſeveral Weeks, nay Months; and God had no Publick Worſhip there, becauſe he could not conform to the Ceremonies. And he Complains, it was ſo alſo in ſeveral other Places; in his Queſtion between the *Conformiſt* and *Nonconformiſt* truly Stated, and briefly Diſcuſs'd; in Anſwer to Dr. *Falkner*, *Page* 29. Some time after he retir'd to *Redgwell*, another Country Village about 7 or 8 Miles diſtant, where he continu'd till his Death.

He practis'd Phyſick for many Years, and yet was ſtill a Conſtant and Laboricus Preacher; both on the Lord's Days, and on Week Days too; ſaving that once a Month there was a Sermon in the Church, at which Time he was an Auditor there. And he held on thus, in the hotteſt Part of King *Charles*'s Reign, having large Meetings, when ſo many other Meetings were ſuppreſs'd. He had one conſiderable Advantage above his Brethren, which was the Favour and Reſpect which the Neighbouring Gentry, and Juſtices of Peace had for him, on the Account of their uſing him as a Phyſician. He was extreamly reſpected indeed by all: For there were none but he was ready to ſerve them; and of thoſe whom he took the Care off, he was tender, and yet would take but little, tho' the Phyſick was of his own preparing. The Poor applying themſelves to him, had often both Advice and Phyſick too for nothing; and of thoſe who were more able, he took but very moderate Fees: Whereby he loſt the Opportunity of getting an Eſtate, which had been a very eaſie Thing.

He

He was a Man of a ſtrong Conſtitution of Body, and liv'd in much Health, till above Fourſcore. There appear'd little Decay of Parts or Vigour in him, to what is uſual in Perſons of ſuch an Age. He lay but a little while Sick; being taken Ill on the Lord's Day Night, after he had Preached Twice: And the *Saturday* following he Dy'd, in *April* 1697. He was a Man of excellent Parts, and a General Scholar: For beſides his Skill in Phyſick and Chyrurgery, and other Sciences ſubſervient both to them and Divinity, he was eminent for the Oriental Tongues, well read in the Fathers, Schoolmen, and Church Hiſtory, and the Controverſies with *Papiſts*, *Socinians*, *Armenians*, &c. Tho' he was one of eminent Holineſs and Zeal for God's Glory, and moſt ſincere and plain-hearted in the whole Courſe of his Converſation, yet he was exercis'd with various Temptations, and was in very perplexing Fears, as to his Spiritual Eſtate: Which had this Effect upon him, that they made him very Humble and Meek, (tho' naturally a Man of a very great Spirit) and careful in his Preaching and Writing, as not to encourage Hypocrites, or embolden any in Sin, ſo neither to Create any cauſeleſs Trouble, to truly gracious Perſons. And herein lay much of his Excellence. In his Life he had much ſpiritual Trouble; but in his Death he had much Comfort. Then he told thoſe about him, how he had been Converted when he was a School Boy, by Mr. *John Rogers* of *Dedham*. He went late on a Lecture-day, and Crowded to get in: Mr. *Rogers* taking Notice of his Earneſtneſs, with a Youth or Two more, for Room, with his uſual Freedom, cry'd out, Here are ſome Young ones come for a Chriſt: Will nothing ſerve you but you muſt have a Chriſt? Then you ſhall have him, *&c.* Which Sermon made ſuch an Impreſſion upon him, that he thence Dated his Converſion.

He was a Man of a Publick Spirit: not Rigid and Morose, but of great Moderation *. He went about doing Good, and therein was his chief Delight. He was a Man of Peace, and his Loss was generally lamented all the Country round.

* *He hath Printed, a Treatise of the Schism of the Parochial Congregations in* England, *and of their Ordination*, Oct. 1658. *The Real Christian, or a Treatise of Effectual Calling*, Qu. 1673. *The Questions between the* Conformist *and* Nonconformist, *truly Stated, and briefly Discuss'd; in Answer to Dr.* Falkner, *and the Friendly Debate*, Qu. 1618. *And several others.*

† *There is an excellent but faithful Character of him, which was drawn up by an Ingenious and Pious Gentleman who was particularly acquainted with him, prefix'd to the 2d Edition, of his Treatise of* the Method of Salvation.

Hatfield Broad-Oak. Mr. *John Warren*, M. A†. He was Born *Sept.* 29. 1621. And bred up in the University of *Oxford*, where he took his Degrees, tho' Mr. *Wood* takes no Notice of him. Mr. *Baxter* says, *He was a Man of great Judgment, and Ministerial Abilities; Moderation, Piety, and Labour.* He came to *London*, in 1642. designing to go beyond Sea, with some Merchants: But meeting occasionally with Sir *Thomas Barrington*, he was so pleas'd with his Converse, that he prevail'd with him to go to *Hatfield* in the beginning of 43, to succeed their Lecturer then lately Dead. There he continu'd till he was forc'd away; and tho' he had Invitation to several more Publick Places, where he might have had far greater worldly Advantage, he refus'd to remove, being extreamly Delighted with the Conversation of many Eminent Christians, which that Place was then bless'd with; often saying, *That he would not leave* Hatfield *Christians for any Place in* England. When he had been there some time, the Minister of the Place removing into *Norfolk*, the whole Work devolv'd upon him. So that he Preach'd constantly Three Times a Week at home, and took his turn in several other Lectures, which were kept by a Combination of Ministers. There was also a Monthly Meeting of Ministers in those Parts, which he was the first Promoter of, that continu'd many Years, wherein there were Disputations and Latin Sermons, and Determinations which might well have become the Divinity Schools, or have entertain'd an Academical Auditory. After his Ejection, Mr. *Brooksby* was put in his Place, by *Trinity* Colledge in *Cambridge*,

bridge, which had the Right of Preſentation. He was a moderate Man, and Mr. *Warren*'s good Friend. He went to Church to hear him; and afterwards inſtructed ſome few that repair'd to him, in his own Houſe: And there was a good Correſpondence between them. He afterwards remov'd to *Stortford*, where he continu'd his uſeful Labours, till both his Strength and Intellectuals fail'd him: And he there Exchang'd this for a better Life, in *September*, 1696. He was a General Scholar, had a great quickneſs of Apprehenſion, and clearneſs of Tho't; a large and retentive Memory; a ſolid and ſound Judgment. He was an indefatigable Student, and had an inſight into almoſt all Parts of uſeful Learning. He was an excellent Preacher. His Stile was eaſie and plain, but clean and neat. His Words proper and ſignificant. His Exhortations and Motives both convincing and affecting. He had an excellent Delivery, and all the Advantages of Elocution. He was an admirable Expoſitor. A mighty Man in Prayer, and an excellent Caſuiſt. He was of a very Publick Spirit: A very cloſe Walker with God. A very humble Man. His Converſation was always profitable. He had a perfect Good-will to all Mankind, he ſeem'd made up of Love and Sweetneſs, Kindneſs and Amity, Tenderneſs and Compaſſion. Tho' he was driven from his Habitation as a Diſturber of the Peace, and cited to the ſpiritual Courts, and put to the trouble and charge of attending them, he was not at all exaſperated: He never ſpake of his Treatment with any Heat or Paſſion, or made the leaſt Reflection on the Perſons concern'd in it; and if others at any Time did it in his Hearing, he ſeem'd uneaſie under it, and diſcourag'd them from it: He heartily forgave them, and beg'd Forgiveneſs of God for them. He was very charitable to Man; and very ſubmiſſive to the Will of God in all his Exerciſes. In ſhort, he was a great Man, a general Scholar, an admirable Chriſtian, a Mirrour of Holineſs: And a Pattern both to Miniſters and Chriſtians, Living and Dying. His Funeral Sermon was Preach'd by Mr. *Henry Lukin*, where the Reader will find a farther Account of him. He was very back-

ward to Publiſh any Thing in his Life Time: But ſince his Death, a Manuſcript of his hath been Printed, Entit. *The Method of Salvation:* Oct. 1697.

Henham: Mr. *Ely*, who liv'd afterwards at *Biſhops Stortford:* He was a great Critick in *Greek* and *Hebrew*, and the Oriental Tongues; and one of great Worth, but humble and modeſt to a Fault.

Felſtead: Mr. *Nath. Ranew.* He was of *Emanuel* Colledge in *Cambridge*, and afterwards Miniſter of *Little Eaſt-Cheap* in *London*, whence he remov'd into *Eſſex*. After his Ejection at *Felſtead*, he retir'd to *Billerecay*, where he Preach'd conſtantly, in the latter Part of his Life: And there he Dy'd, *Anno* 1672. Aged about 72. He was a Judicious Divine, and a good Hiſtorian, which made his Converſation very pleaſant and diverting. He was well belov'd by the late Earl and Counteſs of *Warwick*, who allow'd him 20 *l. per Annum*, during Life. The Old Earl of *Radnor* (ſometime Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*) had a great Reſpect for him, and admitted him to an intimate Acquaintance with him, and indeed he was generally eſteem'd and valu'd.

Boreham: Mr. *John Oakes.* He was invited into the City upon the Death of Mr. *Thomas Vincent*, whom he ſucceeded in his Congregation. He was one of a very chearful Spirit, of a ſweet even Temper, of unaffected Piety, and great Charity and Candour: And of an Exemplary Life and Converſation. He was ſuddenly ſeiz'd by a Divine Arreſt in his Pulpit, and ſilenc'd by his great Maſter, in the midſt of his Work, in *December* 1688. His Funeral Sermon was Preach'd by Mr. *Slater.* He was ſucceeded by Mr, *Daniel Williams.*

Barmyſtone, or *Barnſtone:* Mr. *John Beadle*, M. A. He Printed the Journal or Diary of a thankful Chriſtian, *Oct.* 1656.

Morton: Mr. *Edmund Calamy*, M. A. Eldeſt Son of Mr. *Calamy* of *Aldermanbury.* After his Ejectment he retir'd to *London*, where he for ſome Years kept a Meeting in his own Houſe in *Aldermanbury.* When King *Charles* put forth his Declaration for Indulgence, he ſet up a Publick Meeting in *Carriers-Hall* near *Cripplegate.* He continu'd his Labours there, as long as the Times would

would permit. And when the Laws againſt the Poor *Diſſenters* were rigorouſly put in Execution, he met his People privately as he could. And tho' he did it uſually every Lords Day, and ſometimes Twice in a Day, and at other Times ſeveral Times in a Week, yet ſo favourable was Providence to him, that he was never once diſturb'd in the Time of Divine Worſhip; nor was he ever apprehended, or carry'd before a Magiſtrate, tho' Warrants were often out againſt him. He was ſeveral Years in the Crown Office, with ſeveral others of his Brethren, which was both troubleſome and chargeable. He was a Man of Peace, and of a very Candid Spirit. Could not be charg'd by any that knew him, of being a *Nonconformiſt*, either out of Humor or for Gain: Abhorr'd a cloſe and narrow Spirit, which affects the confining Religion to a Party; was much rather for a Comprehenſion, than a perpetuated Separation; and was ready to do good to all as he had opportunity, tho' ſuch a Lover of Privacy and Retirement, that he was for paſſing thro' the World, with as little Obſervation as might be: And therefore was not upon any Occaſion to be perſwaded to appear in Print. He Dy'd of a Conſumption, in *May* 1685.

High Laver: Mr. *Samuel Borfet.* After his Ejection in *Eſſex* for Nonconformity, he ſettled at *Maidſtone* in *Kent*, where he was very uſeful and much belov'd. Being driven thence by the Rigours of King *Charles* his Reign, he retir'd into the City. He there ſucceeded Mr. *Calamy* in his Congregation after his Deceaſe; was an uſeful profitable Preacher, and exemplary Liver. For ſeveral of the latter Years of his Life, he was diſabled from his Work by manifold Infirmities; and confin'd very much to his Chamber. During this his Confinement, it pleas'd God he was ſorely exercis'd in his Spirit, and ſometimes extreamly depreſs'd with Fears as to his future Eſtate. Once in Particular I remember having been for ſome Nights depriv'd of his Reſt, he was like one Diſtracted, his Diſcourſe was extravagant, he gave up all Hopes, Tho't his Caſe deſperate, and apprehended Hell was already begun in the Horrors of his Soul: But God mercifully affording him his wonted Sleep,

he

he was in a few Days again Reviv'd; and ſenſibly found the Difference between a Natural Diſorder and a Grounded Deſpair. And when his End drew near, God gave him abundant Comfort, ſo that he parted with this Life, with chearful Hopes of a better.

Witham: Mr. *Walton*. This I take to be him who afterwards turn'd Schoolmaſter, and had a flouriſhing School, firſt at *Biſhops-Hall*, and afterwards at *Bednal-Green*, dear *London*.

Little Laver: Mr. *Whiſton* *, who was alſo turn'd out at *Maidſtone* in *Kent*: But which was firſt, I am uncertain. Stanborn: Mr. *Henry Havers*. Coggeſhall: Mr. *John Sams*. Ridgwell: Mr. *Daniel Ray*. Brayntree: Mr. *John Agur*, or *Augur*. Topesfield: Mr. *John Overhead*. Chelmsford: Mr. *Mark Mott*. Springfield: Mr. *John Reve*. Shenfield: Mr. *George Bownes*, or *Bound*. Hemingham-Caſtle: Mr. *Brewer*. Magdalen Lavor: Mr. *Harvy*. Styſteed: Mr. *Clark*. Ryvenghal: Mr. *George Liſle*. Terling: Mr. *John Stalham*. Kelvedon: Mr. *Chandler*. Maldon: Mr. *Horrocks*, or *Horrex*. Halſteed: Mr. *William Sparrow*. Great Baddo: Mr. *Chriſtopher Wragge*. Little Baddow, Mr. *Thomas Gilſon*. Great or Little Waltham: Mr. *John Harriſon*. High Ongar: Mr. *John Lavender*, a Man of extraordinary Piety: Who Pray'd like an Angel. Southweld: Mr. *Rathband*. Chipping Ongar: Mr. *John Larkin*. Ingerſtone: Mr. *John Willis*. Dunmow: Mr. *John Smith*. Burbrook: Mr. *Iſaac Grandorge*. Steple Bumſted: Mr. *Edward Sims*. Great Yeldam: Mr. *John Chadſley*. Prittlewell: Mr. *Thomas Peck*, M. A. who hath a Funeral Sermon extant on the *Inſeparable Union between Chriſt and a Believer*. Takely: Mr. *Smal*. Elſenham: Mr. *George Willſon*. Finchingfield: Mr. *Hugh Glover*. Burſted: Mr. *Bridges*. Stanſted: Mr. *Robert Abbot*. Hornchurch: Mr. *Wells*. Quendon: Mr. *Clifford*. Arkiſden: Mr. *Pepys*. Wickham St. Paul: Mr. *John Deereſly*. Shelley: Mr. *Fitch*. Fingringhoo: Mr. *Grigg*. Boxted: Mr. *Lax*. Thaxted: Mr. *Perkins*. Chiſſell

* *He hath Printed a Valuable Book, entit. An Eſſay to Revive the Primitive Doctrine and Practiſe of Infant Baptiſm,* Oct. 1676.

Chiſſell: Mr. *Willet.* High Roding: Mr. *Hill.* Low-Layton: Mr. *Anderton.* Upmynſter: Mr. *Hawkes.* Colne Engane: Mr. *John Clark.* Pentlow: Mr. *Eſdey.* Geſtlingthorp: Mr. *Davis.* Lawford: Mr. *William Milner.* Okeley: Mr. *John Hubbard.* Little Brumley: Mr. *Candler.* Wyley: Mr. *Dowel.* Boxted: Mr. *Carr.* Copford: Mr. *Hampſon*, or *Thompſon.* Markeſtay: Mr. *Rand.* Great Tay: Mr. *Green.* Panfeld and Wigboro': Mr. *George Purchas.* Inworth: Mr. *Robert Dod.* Fering: Mr. *Conſtable.* Wickham: Mr. *Billio*: His Living was worth 120 *l. per Annum*: He was a Plain, Zealous, Practical Preacher: and his Miniſtry was bleſs'd to the Converſion of many Souls: He Preach'd conſtantly, in the moſt Difficult Times, till his Death. Pedmerſhe: Mr. *Blakely.* Thoydon Garnon: Mr. *Chandler.* Wethersfield: Mr. *John Cale.* Alphamſton: Mr. *Brinſley.* Whit Colne: Mr. *Bigley.* Great Bentley: Mr. *Beard.* Caſtle Heveningham: Mr. *Smith.* Clavering: Mr. *John Moor.* Little Leighes: Mr. *Benſon.* High Eaſton, or Eaſter: Mr. *Martin Holbridge.* Ranaſden, or Ramſden-Bellowes: Mr. *Clapton.* Dandbury: Mr. *Man.* Hadleigh in the Hundreds: Mr. *Boole*, or *Pool.* Great Wakering: Mr. *Chriſtopher Scott.* Sea-Church or Hackwell: Mr. *Joſiah Church.* Ratendon: Mr. *William Clapton.* Little Haſtingbury: Mr. *Willſon.* Stebbing: Mr. *Sam. Bantoft*; and Mr. *Angel.* Aſhildon: Mr. *Fiſher.* Stow Maries: Mr. *Maulden.* Norton: Mr. *Hubbard.* Erles Colne: Mr. *Ralph Joſſeline.* Stapleford Taweney. Mr. *Lewis Calandrine.* Chickney: Mr. *Archer.* Great Paringdon: Mr. *Baſtwick.* Ugle: Mr. *Lucas.* White Roding: Mr. *Brand* and Mr. *Sandford.* Naſing: Mr. *Browne.* Fordham: Mr. *Bulkley.* South Okingdon: Mr. *Barnaby.* Coupers Sale, or Cowpers Hall: Mr. *Francis Chandler.* Lynſell: Mr. *Clark.* Water Belcham: Mr. *Dearſly.* Hempſted: Mr. *Tho. Ellis.* Stanford Rivers: Mr. *Elliſton.* Hockley: Mr. *Farnworth.* Norton: Mr. *Ferris.* Braintree: Mr. *Frier.* Runwell: Mr. *Green.* Childerdiche: Mr. *Harvy.* Patſwick: Mr. *Ralph Hill.* Wanſted: Mr. *Hoare.* Black Chappel: Mr. *Holbitch.* Wrettle: Mr. *Holmes.* Inworth: Mr. *Jenkins.* Witham: Mr. *Thomas Ludgatter.* Radwinter: Mr. *Moxom.* Little Wareley;

Wareley: Mr. *Powell.* Upminſter: Mr. *Robotham.* Eaſtwood: Mr. *Satcheverall.* Stock: Mr. *Martin Simpſon.* Sandon: Mr. *Sam. Smith.* Black Notley: Mr. *Sparrowhawk.* Otin Belcham, or Poles Belcham: Mr. *Thomas.* Copford: Mr. *Robert Thompſon.* Stapleford Tawney: Mr. *VVard.* Littlebury: Mr. *Water* Theydon Mount: Dr. *VVells.* Shobury: Mr. *VVat ſon.* Roding Abbey: Mr. *VVood.* Cranham: Mr. *Yardley.*

Beſides theſe, there were ſeveral alſo Ejected whoſe Places are uncertain: As Mr. *Cardinal,* Mr *Green,* and Mr. *Keitly,* who was ſomewhere near *London.* And we may add to them Mr. *Lukin* *, an Eminent Divine, who was in *France* three Years together, about that time, when the reſt of the Miniſters were turned out: Who is yet Living in this County whom no Temptation hath bin able to induce to Conform.

Of thoſe who were Nonconformiſts at firſt in this County, I can hear of but three that Conform'd, *viz. Mr. Harper* of *Epping*; *Mr. Howel* of *VVickford*, *VVickſhow*, and *Mr. Latham* of *Orſet.* If there were any more, I ſhould be glad of Intelligence.

In the County of SUFFOLK.

Kediton, or *Ketton*: *Mr. Samuel Fairclough* Senior † He was Born at *Haveril* (where his Father was Miniſter) *April* 29. 1594. He came Originally from *Lancaſhire*, where the Family is Antient. He was Train'd up in School Learning by the Famous *Mr. Robotham*

* *Beſides his Funeral Sermon for Mr.* Warren, *he hath Printed ſeveral Valuable Tracts: As, An Introduction to the Holy Scriptures*; Oct. 16 *The Chief Intereſt of Man: Or, A Diſcourſe of Religion*; Twelves 1665. *The Life of Faith*; *with the General Uſe of Faith*; Oct. 16 *The Intereſt of the Spirit in Prayer*; Oct. 1674. *A Remedy againſt Spiritual Trouble*; Twelves 1694. *The Practiſe of Godlineſs*, &c.

† *See the Narrative of his Life and Death, drawn up by his* inſerted *in the Laſt Volume of* Clark's *Lives.*

Ridgeham, under whom he was ſo Induſtrious, that he ſent him at Fourteen to the Univerſity, with this Character, *That he was the beſt Scholar he had ever ſent forth in the Thirty Years time he had bin a Maſter.* He receiv'd ſerious Impreſſions upon his Heart betimes, under the Miniſtry of *Mr. Samuel VVard*, then Lecturer of *Haveril*. Being ſent to *Cambridge*, he was put under the Tuition of *Mr. Berry* of *Queen's*-College. When he had ſpent Two Years in the College in hard Study, and made a good Improvement for his time, by the Recommendation of Dr. *Tyndal* the Maſter, he became Sub-Tutor to *Spencer* Lord *Compton*, eldeſt Son of the Earl of *Northampton*, who was ſent thither for his Education; Dr. *Towers*, who was afterwards Biſhop of *Peterborough*, being the Head Tutor. He became an intimate Acquaintance of Dr. *Preſton*, *Mr. Davenant*, afterward Maſter of this Colledge, *Mr. Hilderſham*, *Mr. Perkins*, and many others who were Eminent for Piety and Learning. When he was but Batchelor of Arts ſtanding, but accompliſh'd in the Arts and Sciences of *Logick*, *Rhetorick*, *Ethicks*, *Phyſicks* and *Metaphyſicks*, beyond the common Rate, the Earl of *Northampton* offer'd him the Priviledge of Travelling with his Son into *France* and *Italy*: He was much enclin'd to it, but wav'd it, out of Obedience to his Mother. After ſome time, he retir'd from the Colledge into the Family of *Mr. Richard Blackerby*, of *Aſhen* in *Eſſex*, an Eminent Divine, greatly skill'd in the Hebrew Tongue, and reputed one of the Holieſt Men on Earth. With him he perfected his Studies in all Parts of Humane Literature and Divinity: And in the mean time he preach'd about Occaſionally in the moſt noted Towns in *Eſſex* and *Suffolk*, with great Acceptance. At length he was fix'd at the Town of *Lynn* in *Norfolk* their Lecturer; the Magiſtrates allowing him 50 *l. An.*, and the People of the Town as much. But Popularity ſtirr'd up Envy: Bp. *Harſnett* frown'd on him, for his Neglecting the Sign of the Croſs, and was cited before his Chancellour, and met with ſo many other Difficulties, that he deſired the Magiſtrates to diſmiſs him; which they at length yielded tho' not without ſome Regret. After this he fix'd in

in a ſmaller Lecture at *Clare* in *Suffolk*: Where he had not bin long, before Sir *Nathanael Barnardiſton*, (that Ornament of his Country for Piety and Integrity) who was his frequent Auditor, ſent him, without his at all ſeeking for it, the Preſentation of the Living of *Barnardiſton*, become Vacant by the Death of the Incumbent: With a Promiſe under his hand, if he accepted that for the preſent, he ſhould have any of the greater Livings he had in his Gift, which he lik'd beſt, upon a Vacancy. Accepting it, he Preached twice every Lords-Day, once upon every Feſtival Day, and once a Month a Preparation Sermon for the Lord's Supper. He Catechiz'd Young and Old; Viſited all in his Pariſh once a Month, enquiring into the State of their Souls, and Counſelling and Directing them as there was Occaſion. While he was thus employ'd in doing Good, the Devil rais'd him a Troubleſome Oppoſition. Preaching one Lord's Day at *Sudbury*, on occaſion of the Sickneſs of the Miniſter of one of the Pariſhes there, and repeating in the Evening his Sermons in the Family, the Miniſter of the other Pariſh exhibited Articles againſt him as a Factious Man in the Star-Chamber: Upon which he was conven'd before the *Lords of the High Commiſſion*, and forc'd to attend upon them at time for two Years together; ſo that his Fees and Journies together ſwallow'd up the whole Profit of his Living. At length, the Matter being referr'd to his Diocеſan and Ordinary at *Norwich*, a good Number of Jacobuſſes procur'd a certain Lady of that City to gain ſuch a Certificate from the Biſhop, as obtain'd a full Diſcharge. Some time after, Dr. *Gibſon* the Incumbent of *Ketton* dying, Sir *Nathanael* his Patron, ſent him the Preſentation of that Living alſo; and procur'd him Inſtitution into it from the Biſhop, without his Perſonal Attendance upon the Biſhop, taking the Oath of Canonical Obedience, or Subſcribing the 3 Articles. In this Place he continu'd near 35 Years, Preaching four times a Week; twice on the Lord's Day, a Thurſday Lecture, (which was attended by all the Miniſters for many Miles compaſs) and a Sermon on the Saturday Evening in his own House; and all the Country round flock'd to him. Wh

he first came to this Place, he found it Ignorant and Profane, not so much as One Family in Twenty calling upon the Name of the Lord; but when he had bin there some time, so great was the Alteration, that there was not a Family in Twenty but profes's'd Godliness, but their Governours offer'd up to God their Morning and Evening Sacrifice. Great at that time was the Advantage of that Town: Magistracy and Ministry join'd both together, and concurr'd in all things for the Promoting of true Piety and Godliness. Mr. *Fairclough* and his Patron Acted by Concert. Both join'd together to promote Catechizing; both endeavour'd to hinder the visibly Prophane from approaching the Lord's Table. When the Book of Sports came out; and other Innovations were bro't in, he was for his Neglect often Cited to Appearance before the Arch-Deacon and Commissary at *Bury*; but he was disabled from Riding by a Weakness occasion'd by a Fall, which was his Excuse for his not appearing. Whereupon the Commissary adjourn'd the Court to the Parsonage House of *Ketton*, and tho' it was fear'd he would have bin Suspended, yet when it came to, there was little more done than the taking Cognizance of his Bodily Lameness: He had Liberty left to go on in his Work as before. He was nominated one of the Assembly of Divines, but got himself excus'd from attending. He absolutely refus'd the Engagement. He was offer'd the Mastership of *Trinity*-Colledge in *Cambridge*, but shunn'd it that he might not be drawn out of his Beloved Privacy and Retirement. When the Times turn'd, he could not be satisfy'd to turn with them. This was his fix'd Determination, *That he would not do what he apprehended a Sin, to gain ever so much Good, or avoid ever so great Mischiefs*: And by this Means he was assur'd he should not suffer as an Evil-Doer, but only as a Person that was afraid to do Evil. He was no Enemy of Episcopacy, but desirous of Bp. *Usher*'s Reduction: but could not declare an Assent and Consent, where he knew his Heart would not have gone along with his Lips. For the Peace of his Conscience, he left a Living of 200 *l. per Annum*, a Pleasant Parsonage House, a fine Glebe, a great Auditory, a loving People,

ple, and a kind Neighbourhood. Dr. *Tillotson*, who was afterwards Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, was by the Patron presented to the Living, upon his Ejection: And it was no small Ease to Mr. *Fairclough*, that a Man of that Worth did succeed him.

The *Oxford Act*, which forc'd him upon a *Separation from his former People*, did rather grieve him more than the Loss of his Living. But hereupon he had the Comfort of living for some time in the same House, with two of his Sons and two of his Sons in Law, who were Ministers, and had left their Livings, who being scatter'd before in 5 several Counties, were bro't together in the time of this Storm. Father and Sons Preach'd by turns in the Family, the Neighbours coming in. When they had continu'd thus 4 or 5 Years, the Badness of the Air, and some other Reasons, caus'd them to disperse: And the Father went and liv'd with his youngest Son, who was a Conforming Minister at *Kennet* in *Cambridgeshire*. Here he went every Lord's Day to Church, and Preach'd in the Evening to the Family. After he had bin there some time, he remov'd to the Habitations of his Daughters, successively, and spent the residue of his Life, in Solitude and Sacred Exercises, patiently waiting in Expectation of his Change, which he at last chearfully welcom'd, when he was 84 Years of Age. A Conforming Clergy-man gives him this Character: *That he was a* Boanerges *in the Pulpit, an Admirable Preacher both very Judicious and Moving; a Man of great Gravity, temper'd with a surprizing Sweetness. Very exact in Family Discipline. He was mighty in the Scriptures, Fervent in Spirit, Serving the Lord Night and Day with incessant Prayer. He was one of a most exact and solid Judgment, and an excellent Peacemaker, of great Temper and Moderation as to the Differences among us.* One Consulting him about Conformity, he told him, *He must excuse him from giving him a Positive Resolution; but that if a Man liv'd Holily, and walk'd Humbly with God, he should ever love him, notwithstanding his Conformity: But if he were Proud, Contentious and Prophane, he could never think well of him for his Nonconformity.* After his Withdrawment from *Ketton*, he was always Chearful, and complain'd of nothing

nothing but the Prophaneneſs and Iniquity of the Times, and Diviſions of the Church of God. And Lov'd all that had any Thing of Goodneſs in them, &c. He that would ſee a fuller Account of him, is referr'd to the Narrative of his Life, where he will meet with uncommon Evidences of unaffected Piety, ſeveral remarkable Anſwers to his Prayers, obſervable Inſtances of the Succeſs of his Miniſtry; with ſundry other Particularities, arguing him to have been a great Man, an eminent Saint, one highly Favour'd of God, and ſo ſingular a Bleſſing to the Age, as cannot but Create ſome regret in a tender Spirit, that ſo valuable a Perſon ſhould be laid aſide, as uſeleſs. Among other Things, this is remarkable, that he and his, parted with above a 1000 *l. per Annum*, upon their Nonconformity.

Hunſton: Mr. *James Waller*. He was a very Faithful, Worthy, and Induſtrious Servant of Jeſus Chriſt. He remembred God from the Days of his Youth. Was Dedicated betimes by his Parents to the Miniſtry. Was throughly inſtructed in Grammar Learning, and had the Advantage of a good Education in *Cambridge*, when ſoundneſs of Faith, and Purity of Worſhip were the Glory of it. After five or ſix Years Study there, he was ſettled at *Hunſton*, and ſoon after ſolemnly Ordain'd by Faſting and Prayer, and Impoſition of Hands, to the Work of the Miniſtry. After Four or Five Years Labour there with good Acceptance, he fell with his Brethren at the Fatal *Bartholomew*. After which time tho' debarr'd of Reſidence with them, he ordinarily viſited his People every Week; and as Liberty was granted exercis'd his Miniſtry with them, as alſo in ſeveral other Places; nor was he left by God without Witneſs, being acknowledg'd by many to be their Spiritual Father. He was well inſtructed for the Kingdom of God. His Judgment was Solid: His Counſel Wiſe and Faithful: His Language Full and Significant: His Converſation Grave and Serious: His Reaſon reign'd, and kept the Throne in his Soul; ſubduing all his Paſſions to a due Order. It was ſaid by an intimate Brother in the Miniſtry, who had been acquainted with him more than Forty Years, that he

never saw him in any inordinate Passion. His Charity was very Large towards those who were otherwise minded. He utterly abhorr'd the Censorious Temper of many Professors, and the impaling Religion within their own Party. To the Needy he was always kind; tho' it was not much of his own that he had to distribute, yet he did them many good Offices as Occasion offer'd. Humility was his Clothing. He had a very low Esteem of himself; and by that was enabled to bear the low Esteem of others. God gives not all his Gifts to any, but to every one as it Pleases him. One thing was desir'd in this excellent Person, and that was a free and familiar delivering himself to Vulgar Hearers, while he gave abundant Satisfaction to the more Judicious. His Name is Worthy of an honourable Memorial, as a Man, a Scholar, a Christian, and a Minister. He left few more Solid, Substantial, Practical, Pertinent, and Soul-searching Ministers behind him in all those Parts. He Dy'd at his House at *Rattlesden* in *Suffolk*, *Anno* 1697. And his Funeral Sermon was Preach'd at *Hunston* Church by Mr. *John Fairfax*.

Ousden: Mr. *John Meadows*. He was a Holy Person in all manner of Conversation. Constantly careful to please God, and preserve the Peace of his own Conscience. Always Jealous of his own Heart, and on every Occasion diligent to try it. He serv'd God with great Pains, and comfortable Success while in his Publick Ministry: Was very Cautious in admitting to the Sacrament, and as Cautious in refusing. Was a diligent Visitor and Instructor of his Flock. He ever maintain'd a Catholick Charity for all *Protestants*. He greatly bewail'd the Divisions of the Church, and the Intemperate Heats of Men of all Perswasions. He liv'd in occasional Communion with the Church of *England*, yet could not desert the Duty of his Office. Such was the Integrity of his Life, and such his Moderation as to the Circumstantials of Religion, that his Enemies could only Object his Nonconformity as his Crime. He was really a Pattern of true Religion, of Christian Candour, and of generous Charity; of an unblemish'd Conversation, Of great Humility, Of Gospel Simplicity

plicity, and quiet Deportment in the Church of Chriſt. Was an hearty Friend, a courteous Neighbour, an indulgent Husband, a tender Father, a kind Maſter, a practical and moving Preacher. He Preach'd freely, he Liv'd exemplarily, he Dy'd comfortably, and was Bury'd honourably. f

Worlington: Mr. *John Salkeld.* He was a Perſon o great Piety, and a ſolid Judgment. Of ready Parts, good Learning, and facetious Converſation. For ſometime Fellow of *Queen's* Colledge in *Cambridge*, afterwards fix'd in this Living, of above an Hundred Pounds *per Annum:* And tho' turn'd out by Man, tho't not himſelf diſmiſs'd by God, and therefore did not deſert his Miniſtry. Sometimes exerciſing it in Private, and for ſome Years by Connivance in a Publick Church; till ſome Seditious Words were ſworn againſt him by one *E. S. viz.* that he ſhould ſay, *Popery was coming into our Nation a great Pace, and no Care taken to prevent it.* Whereas many Hundreds of his Hearers beſides, could teſtifie, that his Words were, *That the Parliament ſaid* (as they actually did) *That* Popery *was coming into our Nation a great Pace, and no Care taken to prevent it.* However it being poſitively ſworn againſt him that theſe were his Words, He was preſently Fin'd a Hundred Pound, and committed to the Common Priſon, in St. *Edmunds Bury*, till the Fine ſhould be Paid: Which he refuſing, ſuffer'd Three Years Impriſonment, and then by the Interceſſion of the Lord *Dover* with King *James*, was Diſcharg'd *Anno* 1686. And his Fine was afterwards remitted, by his Preſent Majeſty King *William.* During this long and cloſe Impriſonment, he was very helpful to his Fellow Priſoners, both as a Miniſter, and as a chearful Chriſtian. But tho' his Table was daily furniſh'd by his *Bury* Friends, yet his Eſtate was much weaken'd; and his healthful Conſtitution was almoſt ruin'd by this Confinement. After he had his Liberty, he continu'd his Miniſtry, in *Walſham in the Willows*, for many Years together, tho' under great bodily Infirmities: and there finiſh'd his Courſe, on *Decem.* 26. 1699. in the 77th Year of his Age.

Barking: Mr. *John Fairfax*. The Son of an eminently Pious and Faithful Minister of Jesus Christ. Very happy in a Religious and Liberal Education, train'd up in the Schools, and Fellow of *C. C. C.* Blessed with an early Conversion to God in the 11th Year of his Age. His Living was worth 120 *l. per Annum*. And while he was in it, he was generally Respected. He was discharg'd from his Service there, by the Act of Uniformity. He was a Person of a clear Head, strong Reason, deep Judgment, quick Fancy, retentive Memory, undaunted Courage; and of a great natural Acumen to whatsoever he apply'd himself. An excellent Scholar, a smart Disputant, and Eloquent Orator. Much esteem'd by all Men of Moderation and Candour: Nor could any deny his Worth besides himself, or any other so well express it. His Gift in Prayer was extraordinary, especially upon peculiar Occasions. He had a great Aptness in Speech, variety of Words, pertinency of Matter, and a fervency of Spirit, to bring all forth. He was a great Enemy to all New and Upstart Notions in Religion. He had a most attracting and captivating Power in his Preaching. His Words were as Apples of Gold in Pictures of Silver. He was to his Hearers as a very Lovely Song, of one that had a pleasant Voice. He sought out for acceptable Words, and God made them powerful. He was a Scribe, throughly instructed to the Kingdom of Heaven. A Promptuary of all Spiritual Stores. Having a Body of Divinity always in his Head, and the Power of it within his Heart. He would spend and be spent in his Lord's Work. He abhorr'd trifling either in his Study or Pulpit. He Lov'd to Engrave his Sermons on his own Heart by Meditation, and to Imprint them on the Memories of his Hearers by Method. He ever dislik'd all crude and undigested Expressions in the Pulpit; and would always advise Young Ministers to Study before they spake, and by no Means to allow themselves in a loose and careless way at first.

He statedly Preach'd Seven Times in a Fortnight for many Years together, besides Occasional Sermons which were not few. He often ventur'd into the Pulpit when many of his Hearers could scarce ex-

pect

pect him alive out of it; and he ordinarily found relief by it as to his bodily diſorder, and therefore call'd Preaching his Remedy. He was much delighted in his Work. Tho' he made it his Buſineſs, yet it was his Pleaſure, to Preach the Goſpel: Yea ſo much was his Heart ſet upon this Work, that he was actually Preaching to his Family and Friends about him, when a Dying, 'till his Speech began to faulter. He was the Happy Inſtrument of Converting many Souls. He never courted Preferment, nor would accept it, when it would have tempted him from the Poor People of his firſt-Love. He had Bonds and Afflictions every where abiding him: But tho' his Perſecutions, and Sufferings, and Impriſonments were many, yet whenever he could have Opportunity, he never forſook his Work for fear of Men: Reſolving that Chriſt ſhould be magnify'd in his Body, whether by Doing, or by Suffering.

Having continu'd many Years in the Lord's Harveſt, and done great Service there, He with much chearfulneſs reſign'd up his Soul to Chriſt, at his Houſe in *Barking*, Aug. 11th. 1700. in the 77th Year of his Age, with the Apoſtles Words; *I have fought the good Fight of Faith, I have finiſhed my Courſe, I have kept the Faith: Henceforth there is laid up for me a Crown of Righteouſneſs, which the Lord the Righteous Judge will give me at that Day* *. More of his Character may be ſeen in his Funeral Sermon, Preach'd by Mr. *Bury* of St. *Edmunds-Bury*, which is ſhortly expected.

* *He hath Printed the Life of Mr.* Owen Stcokton *with his Funeral Sermon,* Oct. 1681. *And* Primitiæ Synagogæ: *A Sermon Preach'd at* Ipſwich *at the opening of a New Erected Meeting Houſe. But as for his Sermon upon the Death of Mr.* Newcomen, *'twas Printed by Dr.* Collings, *againſt his Conſent.*

Hemingſton: Mr. *Tobias Leg*. A Miniſters Son, Bred up at *Glaſcow* in *Scotland*. He took his Degrees there, and returning into *England* was admitted *ad Idem*, at *Cambridge*, where he for ſome time reſided. Fixing at *Hemingſton*, he had the general Reputation of a worthy ingenious Man; and in a Time of Tryal kept his Conſcience void of Offence, towards God,

and towards Man. In a divided Nation, he follow'd no Party for Humour or Fear, or Worldly Advantage. When he was ſilenc'd by the *Bartholomew* Act, his People who lamented their Loſs, were Witneſſes for him of his faithful Preaching and Holy Life. He was forc'd by the Corporation Act to chooſe another Settlement, where for above 20 Years he Preach'd in his own Houſe almoſt every Lord's Day, not receiving or deſiring one Penny for his Labour, tho' he had a large Family of Children to maintain. He refus'd not occaſional Communion with the Church of *England* to ſhow his Charity; and liv'd in great Friendſhip with the Miniſter of his Pariſh. He met with that General Love and Reſpect, that when other Miniſters ſuffer'd Impriſonment and Loſs of Goods, he was conniv'd at, and the worſt of Men were aſham'd to appear againſt him. When Providence open'd a wider Door, he embrac'd all opportunities for Preaching Publickly; and was an Inſtrument of good to many. He had a great Affliction in the latter Part of his Life, which he bore with an invincible Patience. At length after a long Confinement by the Gout, he ſurrendred his Soul to God in the 77th Year of his Age. His Funeral Sermon was Preach'd by Mr. *John Fairfax*.

Ipſwich: Mr. *Gouge*. Mr. *Benjamin Brunning*, Jun. Mr. *Philip Candler*, Jun. Mr. *Edward Sherman*. Who was a judicious able Preacher, but exceeding Modeſt. After his Ejection he became Schoolmaſter at *Dedham*, and ſo continu'd till he Dy'd: And Mr. *Stoneham*.

St. *Edmunds-Bury:* Mr. *Nicholas Claget*. Mr. *Slater*. And Mr. *Taylor*.

Mr. *Clagget*, M. A. was a Native of *Canterbury*, a Student in *Merton* Colledge in *Oxford*, and afterwards of *Magdalen* Hall: An able Moderator in Philoſophy. Firſt Vicar of *Melbourne* in *Derbyſhire*, and then Rector of St. *Mary*'s in *Bury*. A Man of good Worth, and Temper *, and a very uſeful Preacher. He Dy'd *Sept.* 12. 1663. Dr. *William Clagget*, a celebrated Author was his Son.

* *He hath Publiſh'd a Book, Entit. The Abuſes of Gods Grace, diſcover'd in the Kinds, Cauſes, &c. Propos'd as a ſeaſonable Check to the wanton* Libertiniſm *of the Age.* Oxon. 1659. 8°

Mr.

Mr. *Slater*; who was vigorouſly oppos'd, by ſome that acted by way of Anticipation, before the Act for Uniformity paſs'd. He and Mr. *Clagget*, were troubled at the firſt Aſſizes after King *Charles*'s Reſtauration, for not reading the Book of *Common-Prayer*. Some time after, he remov'd to the City of *London*, where he is yet Living, Paſtour of a Conſiderable Congregation *.

* *He hath ſeveral Things in Print Sermons Preach'd at the Funerals of Mr.* John Reynolds, *Mr.* Finchet, *and Mr.* Day. *A Thankſgiving Sermon on the Diſcovery of the Horrid Plot. A Diſcourſe of Family Religion in Eighteen Sermons,* Oct. *Of Family Prayer, in* 12's. *And a Diſcourſe of the Precioufneſs of Gods Tho'ts towards his People, in* Oct. *Lately Printed.*

Sudbury: Mr. *William Folkes.* Batisford: Mr. *Tho. Holborough.* Hundon: Mr. *Francis Crow.* Hindereley: Mr. *Howlett.* Froſtenton: Mr. *Proud*, or *Pronde.* Saylehome: Mr. *Haberſham.* Weybread: Mr. *Bayes.* Rombrughe: Mr. *Benjamin Fairfax.* *St.* Margarets: Mr. *John Strongher.* Brampton: Mr. *Bathoe.* *St.* Croſs: Mr. *Samuel Petto* †. Wrentham: Mr. *Ames*, and Mr. *Thomas King.* Kuſhmere and Henſted: Mr. *Spurdange.* Roydon and Covehith: Mr. *Mayhew.* Southould, or Sowowlde: Mr. *Woodward.* Walderſwyck: Mr. *Simonds.* Dunwich, *St.* Peters: Mr. *James Votier.* Walpole: Mr. *Samuel Manning.* Sibton: Mr. *Thomas Danſon*, M. A. ſometime Fellow of *Magdalen* Colledge in *Oxford.* He was alſo preturn'd out of *Sandwich* in *Kent*; but which was the Sequeſtred Living, and in which he was fix'd after his being Ejected there, I am uncertain. He was a very ready Man: And hath Written ſeveral Things *.

† *He hath Publiſh'd the Difference between the Old and New Covenant,* Oct. 1674. *Preface'd by Dr.* Owen. *the Voice of the Spirit with Roſes from* Sharon, Oct. *And a Diſcourſe proving Infant Baptiſm to be of Chriſts Appointment.*

* *A Diſcourſe of Predetermination. Three Diſputations with* Fiſher *the* Quaker *at* Sandwich, *Anno* 1659. *An Anſwer to Dr.* Sherlock's *Diſcourſe concerning the Knowledge of Chriſt*, &c.

Blighborough: Mr. *S. Smith.* Yoxford: Mr. *Sam. Chapman.* Rendham: Mr. *Davis.* Cranesford: Mr. *Henry King.* Saxmundham: Mr. *Tho. Nuttall.* Layſton:

ſton: Mr. *Wyncop.* Woodbridge: Mr. *Frederick Woodall*, and Mr. *Cade.* Peaſinghall or Peſnall: Mr. *John Manning.* Waldringfield: Mr. *Tho. Lupton.* Combes: Mr. *Richard Jennings.* Sprowton: Mr. *Joſeph Waite.* Stoke by Neyland: Mr. *Thomas Mott*, a very valuable Man. Aſſington: Mr. *Walker.* Stretford: Mr. *Daniel Wall.* Eyke: Mr. *Barker.* Cleydon: Mr. *Collet.* Barham: Mr. *Jeremy Catlin.* Codenham: Mr. *Matthias Candler*, Sen. Eaſton Gosbek: Mr. *T. Davis.* Creting: Mr. *Samuel Spring.* Needham: Mr. *Thomas James.* Willſham: Mr. *Nathan. Fairfax.* Newton: Mr. *John Wilkinſon.* Whatfeld: Mr. *Sam. Backler*, a very uſeful Popular Man: Who Preach'd frequently after his Nonconformity in the Churches, and was Conniv'd at. Naughton: Mr. *Sparrow.* Bildeſton, or Bilſton: Mr. *John Weld.* Barnardiſton: Mr. *Wood.* Waldengfield Parva: Mr. *Deerſley.* Great Bradley: Mr. *Adrian.* Chelmondſton, *al.* Chempton: Mr. *Sanders.* Beckles: Mr. *Clark.* Brightwell: Mr. *Mercer.* Hunnington, or Hinnyton: Mr. *John Page.* Roydon: Mr. *Warren.* Parham: Mr. *Winbourne.* Debenham: Mr. *John King.* Stratford: Mr. *Aſty.* Haverill: Mr. *Stephen Scandaret* *. Somerton, or Somerleto: Mr. *Barber.* Hitcham: Mr. *William Burkett.* Weſthall: Mr. *Franklyn*, who afterwards came to the City of *London*, and remain'd there all the Time of the Plague, in 1665; when it pleas'd God to make him inſtrumental for Good to many Souls. He was a great Sufferer for Nonconformity in King *Charles*'s Reign, and is yet Living. Great Wratting: Mr. *Mark Mott.* Holton: Mr. *Swaine.*

* *Who hath written an Antidote againſt* Quakeriſm. *Qu.*

Several others were alſo ſilenc'd in this County: the Places where, are uncertain. As, Mr. *Lawſon*, Mr. *Howel*, Mr. *Ellis*, Mr. *Bulkley*, Mr. *Parr*, Mr. *Smith*, Mr. *Whiting*, Mr. *Otty*, and Mr. *Voice.*

Thoſe of the ſilenc'd Miniſters that afterwards Conform'd, were Mr. *Groſsman* of *Sudbury*, Dr. *Iſaac Harriſon* of *Hadleigh*, Mr. *John Simſon* of *Trimley*, Mr. *Roger Young* of *Ipſwich*, Mr. *Samuel Hudſon* of *Capel*, (the Worthy Author of the Two Diſcourſes concerning *the Eſſence and Unity of the Catholick Church Viſible*;) Mr. *Havil* of *Weſt Creting*, Mr. *Tucker* of *Little Wratting*, Mr. *Ray* of *Stansfield*, Mr. *John Fairclough* (young-

(youngeſt Son of Mr. *Fairclough* of *Ketton*,) Mr. *Thomas* of *Debden*.

In the County of NORFOLK.

In the City of *Norwich*, were ſilenc'd *John Collins*, D. D. of St. *Stephen's*, Mr. *Thomas Allen* of St. *Georges*: Mr. *Benjamin Snowden*. Mr. *Windreſs* of St. *Faiths*. Mr. *Francis Engliſh* *. Mr. *Enoch Wodyard*. Mr. *Richard Brewſter*. And Mr. *John Haſibert*.

Dr. *Collings* †, was a Man of great Worth and Reputation. He was Born in *Eſſex*, and bro't up in *Emanuel* Colledge in *Cambridge*. One of General Learning, ſignal Piety, and eminent Miniſterial Abilities. A Bleſſing to the City of *Norwich*, for above Forty Years. One mighty in the Scriptures, an excellent Caſuiſt, an unwearied Preacher, and a Patient Sufferer. He was one of the Commiſſioner's at the *Savoy*, and very deſirous with his Brethren of an Accommodation, but in vain. He had an Intereſt in many Perſons of Note and Figure, notwithſtanding his Nonconformity. He was of a very Candid and Peaceable Spirit; and an Admirer of true Goodneſs,

* *He Publiſh'd a Treatiſe entit. the Saints Ebenezer.*

† *His Works are many. A Caveat for old & new Prophanenes; about keeping the Feſtival of our Saviour's Birth,* Qu. 1653. *Cordials for fainting Souls, or Eſſaies for Satisfaction of wounded Spirits.* 3 Vol. 1649. *Qu. Five Leſſons*, Oct. 1650. Vindiciæ Miniſterii Evangelici revindicatæ; *againſt Lay Preachers. Intercourſes of Divine Love between Chriſt and his Church*, Qu. 1676. *Diſcourſes of the Actual Providence of God*, Qu. 1678. Par nobile; *the Excellent Woman, repreſenting the Lady* Howard. *Faith and Experience in the Holy Life of Mrs.* Mary Simpſon. *A Modeſt Plea for the Lords Day as the Chriſtian Sabbath*, Oct. 1669. *A Short Diſcourſe againſt Tranſubſtantiation*, 1675. *A Word in Seaſon. Defenſive Armour againſt Four of Satan's moſt Fiery Darts*, Oct. 1680. *The Weavers Pocket Book, or Weaving Spiritualiz'd*, Oct. 1675. *Sermons upon the whole firſt and ſecond Chapter of* Canticles. *Thirteen Sermons upon ſeveral uſeful Subjects. A Plea for the* Nonconformiſts *juſtifying them from the Charge of* Schiſm, *Oct.* 1674. *A reaſonable Account of the Judgment of the Nonconforming Miniſters as to Preſcribed Forms of Prayer; with a Supplement: In Anſwer to Dr.* Falconer *of Liturgies*, Oct. 1679. *And he had alſo a Hand in the Supplement to* Pool's *Engliſh Annotations; of which* vid. *Page* 193,

where-

whereſoever any of it was diſcernable. He Dy'd much Lamented in *January*, 1690. in the 67th Year of his Age. His Funeral Sermon was Preach'd by Mr. *Martin Fynch*.

Mr. *Thomas Allen* was alſo a valuable and worthy Man *.

* *He hath Two Treatiſes in Print*, viz. *the Way of the Spirit in bringing Souls to Chriſt: And the Glory of Chriſt ſet forth, with the neceſſity of Faith, in ſeveral Sermons.*

As to Mr. *Benjamin Snowden*, He was a Man of a moſt amiable Temper. Ingenuous Learning illuſtrated his Mind; Love of God and Man poſſeſs'd his Heart: Purity of Doctrine, Neatneſs of Stile, and Exemplary Holineſs, adorn'd and enliven'd his Miniſtry: Conſtant Serenity, Sweet Affability, and an unclouded Alacrity ſhone in his Countenance. Humility and Meekneſs adorn'd his Life. His whole Converſation ſpake Quietneſs and Peace; in every Condition he ſhew'd a juſt Æquanimity: And in a Word, he paſs'd ſo inoffenſively thro' this World, as ſcarce to have an Enemy (if he had needed one) to help him towards a Better. *Norwich* gave him his Birth; *Emanuel* Colledge in *Cambridge* his Education; Biſhop *Hall* his Orders; the Great Biſhop of Souls the Gift of good Acceptance, and that in his own Native City, which enjoy'd and rejoic'd in the Light of his Miniſtry, firſt in the Publick Churches, till Black *Bartholomew* hid it (with ſo many more) under his dark Mantle: Afterwards in Private or leſs Publick Aſſemblies, until She Lamented its total Remove to an higher Orb, *April* 28. 1696. *Ætat.* 70.

Great Yarmouth: Mr. *John Brinſley*, M. A. He was Born at *Aſhby de la Zouch* in *Leiceſterſhire*, *An.* 1600. His Father was a Worthy Miniſter whoſe Name he bore. His Mother was Siſter to Biſhop *Hall*, as appears by an Epiſtle Written to her, (*Decad.* 2. *Ep.* 4.) He was bro't up by his Father, who took upon him the Care of the Publick School of *Aſhby*. He was admitted of *Emanuel* Colledge in *Cambridge* at the Age of Thirteen and an Half; and having reſided there about Three or Four Years, waited upon his Reverend Uncle Dr. *Hall* then Dean of *Worceſter* as his Amanuenſis to the Synod of *Dort*. After his return he continu'd conſtant in his Studies, and being Elected Scholar of the Houſe, reſided there till he took his Degrees. Being Ordain'd, he Preach'd at

Preſton

Preſtons near *Chelmsford*; and was afterwards call'd to *Yarmouth*. But being Elected by the Town-ſhip contrary to the good liking of Biſhop *Harſnet* of *Norwich*, he met with no ſmall Trouble and Vexation. At his coming to the Town or ſoon after, the Plague broke out violently, and the Bills of Mortality roſe to near a 100 a Week, and yet thro' the goodneſs of God he was preſerved, tho' he conſtantly attended his Charge. After ſome time, by the Means of Sir *John Wentworth*, a Door was open'd for the Exerciſe of his Miniſtry on the Week Day, at a Country Village in the Iſland of *Leving-land*. Hither the People of *Yarmouth* and other Places reſorted, God bleſſing his Labours, and making them more than ordinarily Effectual. The Long Parliament coming on, the Town-ſhip apply'd themſelves to his Majeſty for his Licenſe for Mr. *Brinſley* to Preach again in *Yarmouth*, which he had been debarr'd off; and the King readily granted it: Upon which he wholly devoted himſelf to the Service of their Souls. He continu'd Induſtrious and Diligent in his Work till the Fatal *Bartholomew*: And tho' Tempted with the offers of Preferment at rhe Kings Return, yet he clos'd with none; deſiring no higher Honour than to ſerve his Saviour in the Miniſtry, in that place where he had been ſo uſeful, with a ſafe Conſcience. When the Uniformity Act took Place, he deſiſted from the Publick Exerciſe of his Miniſtry: Tho' he had no Writ of Eaſe; for his conſtant Labour in Reading and Writing was the ſame as formerly.

As for his Carriage, it was highly Civil tho' Grave. His Diſcourſe was facetious, eſpecially in ſuitable Company. In the Pulpit none had a more Reverend Aſpect, and Compos'd to an higher Pitch of Gravity. Nothing dropp'd from him that had the leaſt ſhew of Levity. He had many Afflictions, (among the reſt, he loſt Two hopeful Sons, when they were arriv'd to Manhood) which ſomewhat clouded his Spirit, tho' they never Created any Moroſeneſs or Sharpneſs. He was of an even Temper, rarely ruffled into a Paſſion; ſcarce ever, unleſs the Cauſe of God or Goodneſs requir'd it. The World was not a little contemn'd by him; for he never ſought after more than a Competency to enable him

to

to be ſerviceable in his Work. He was very well skill'd in ſacred Criticks, and ſpent a conſiderable Part of his Time in ſtudying the Holy Scriptures throughly. And if he handled any difficult Text, He would make it as clear, as the abſtruſeneſs of the Subject would permit. In a Word, he liv'd Exemplarily, and by the Aſſiſtance of the Almighty, bore up againſt all the Oppoſition he met with in the way of his Duty; and at laſt with great Calmneſs, reſign'd his Soul to God*, *Jan.* 22. 166⅔. *Ætat.* 65.

* *He hath Printed ſundry Tracts.* A *Looking Glaſs for Good Women*, Qu. 1645. *The Arraignment of the Preſent Schiſm, or New Separation in Old* England, *Qu.* 1646. *His Bridle for the Times*, Qu. 1647. *Chriſts Mediatorſhip: And the Myſtical Implantation*, Oct 165⅛ *The Myſtical Brazen Serpent, or Chriſt Exalted on the Croſs*, Oct. 1653. *The Saints Communion with Chriſt, Sacramental, Spiritual, and Cæleſtial*, Oct. 1654. *Groans for* Iſrael *or the Churches Salvation*, &c. *Oct.* 1655, *Three Sacred Emblems; and Tears for* Jeruſalem, *oct.* 1656. *Goſpel Marrow, or the Myſtery of Redemption*, Oct. 1659. &c,

At the ſame Place was ſilenc'd Mr. *Tookey*; and Mr. *William Bridge*, M. A. who was a Student in *Cambridge* about Thirteen Years, and was there for ſeveral Years Fellow of *Emanuel* Colledge. He was a Miniſter in *Eſſex* for Five Years, and then call'd to the City of *Norwich*, where he ſettled in the Pariſh of St. *Georges Tom-land*, where he held on his Miniſtry for ſeveral Years; but was at laſt ſilenc'd by Biſhop *Wren*, An. 1637. As not being a thorough Conformiſt. He continu'd in the City, ſome time after his Suſpenſion, until he was Excommunicated, and the Writ *de Capiendo* came forth againſt him: Upon which he withdrew into *Holland*. He return'd into *England*, in 1642. in the Time of the Long Parliament, before whom he Preach'd frequently. He was one of the Diſſenting Brethren in the Aſſembly of Divines. He fix'd at *Yarmouth*, and there continu'd his Labours, till the *Bartholomew* Act took Place.

The *Friendly Debate* was very ſevere upon him: But how eaſie had a Retaliation been, could it have been Tho't that the expoſing thoſe whoſe aim it was to do good, had been likely to do any Service to Religion.

One

One to whom he was well known, gives this *Account* of him; that he was no mean Scholar, had a Library well furnish'd with Fathers, Schoolmen, Criticks, and most Authors of worth; that he was a very hard Student, and rose at Four a Clock in the Morning Winter and Summer, and continu'd in his Study till Eleven; and that many Souls heartily blessed God for his Labours.

One Thing must not be omitted. Tho' he was strictly Congregational, yet he heartily respected his Brethren that had other Sentiments. There is good Proof of this, in his Carriage to his Fellow Minister at *Yarmouth*, Worthy Mr. *Brinsley*, who was of another Stamp and Character. When the Government was in the Hands of those, who openly befriended such as were of Mr. *Bridges* his Perswasion, Mr. *Brinsley* had many Enemies, and was much oppos'd; and there were strenuous Endeavours us'd to get him remov'd, as an Enemy to the Powers that then were: But Mr. *Bridge* stood up for him, and us'd all his Interest to continue him peaceably in his Place *: And they Liv'd and Convers'd together very comfortably for many Years. He Dy'd *March* 12. 1670. *Ætat.* 70.

* *One and Twenty of his Treatises are Collected into* 2 *Volumes, in* Qu. 1657. *Besides which, and several Sermons before the Parliament, he hath sundry Tracts Extant.* 10 *Sermons of Gods return to the Soul.* 10 *Sermons on Christ and the Covenant. Eight Sermons of Good and Bad Company. Seasonable Truths in Evil Times. The Freeness of the Grace and Love of God to Believers. The Sinfulness of Sin and Fulness of Christ. A Word to the Aged. His Remains*, &c.

Feltwell: Mr. *John Butler*. A Man of a sound Judgment, unblameable Life, and most healthful Constitution. His Living was Worth by Repute 200 *l. per Annum*. After his Ejectment, he for some Years Preach'd but seldom; and was prevail'd with to Travel to *Smyrna*. At his return he Preach'd oftner: Within some time, more statedly at *Harwich*; whence he remov'd to *Ipswich*, where he Preach'd occasionally, and in the Country round. He Dy'd *Anno* 1696. in the 84th Year of his Age. His Funeral Sermon was Preach'd by Mr. *Fairfax*.

N. Walsham:

N. Walsham: Mr. *Nat. Mitchel.* Drayton: Mr. *Richard Vin.* Stalham: Mr. *John Lucas.* S. Reppes: Mr. *Edmund Broome.* N. Reppes: Mr. *Edward Corbet.* Hardingham: Mr. *Joseline.* Rowton, or Roughton: Mr. *John Rennolds*, who after his Ejectment came to the City of *London*, where he Liv'd and Dy'd: Being universally esteem'd an *Israelite indeed, in whom was no Guile.* His Funeral Sermon was Preach'd by Mr. *Slater.* Bleklinge: Mr. *Burrough.* Alby: Mr. *John Longher* *. Dykeburgh, or Dickleboro: Mr. *Elias Crabtree.* S. Waltham, or Walsham: Mr. *Baker.* Dis: Mr. *More.* Heydon: Mr. *Thomas Newman.* Aldbye: Mr. *John Banister.* Tunsted: Mr. *Grene.* Mounsley: Mr. *Paul Amyraut.* Foulsham: Mr. *Richard Worth.* Barningham: Mr. *Worts.* A Worthy Man, and a great Sufferer for Nonconformity. He was Imprison'd by a Writ *de Excommun. Capiend.* taken out *Nov.* 15. 1664. and continu'd in the Common Goal till *Sept.* 3. 1665. He was afterwards Imprison'd again in the Castle of *Norwich*, and continu'd there full Seven Years with strange Usage †. Wimundham, or Windham: Mr. *Mony*, and Mr. *Purt.* New-Buckenham: Mr. *Nich. Pitt.* Fomset: Mr. *Hinton.* Intwood: Mr. *Shefield*, Sen. Netishead: Mr. *Burket.* Blofield: Mr. *Marlborough* Lopham: Mr. *Ellis.* Funwell, or Bunwell: Mr. *Sheppard.* Trunch: Mr. *Richard Lawrence.* Lynn: Mr. *Horne.* N. Runton, or Runtonholme: Mr. *Charles Sumpter.*

Several were turn'd out in this County, whose Places are uncertain: As, Mr. *John Cory.* Mr. *Bidbank*, Sen. Mr. *Bidbank*, Jun. Mr. *Israel Shipdham.* Mr. *Lane.* Mr. *Smith.* Mr. *Pew.* Mr. *Brewster.* Mr. *Fenwick.* Mr. *Pearch.* Mr. *Pool.* And Two Mr. *Townsends.*

Of those who were Ejected here, several afterwards Conform'd: As Mr. *John Benton.* Mr. *Lewis* of *Shipdham.* Mr. *Elwood* of *Walcot* and *East-Ruston.* Mr. *Day* of *Hyngham.* Mr. *Durnham* of *Cawston.* Mr. *Gooch.* Mr. *Sampson.* And Mr. *Newton.*

* *He hath Printed Sermons on 5 several Subjects. Precious Promises the Portion of over-comers. And a Discourse of the Preciousness of Christ, and of the Preciousness of Faith.*

† *See the Conformists 4th Plea for the Nonconformists*, Page 66. *where there is a Particular Account of his Treatment.*

In the County of CAMBRIDGE.

Willingham: Mr. *Nathanael Bradſhaw*, Son of Mr. *Thomas Bradſhaw* of *Bradſhaw* in *Lancaſhire*. Born at *Keddington* Hall in *Suffolk*, May 29. 1619. Dedicated to the Miniſtry by his Parents from his Birth. Educated at *Felſted* School in *Eſſex* under Mr. *Wharton:* And early admitted in *Trinity* Colledge in *Cambridge*, of which he was afterwards Fellow. He was for ſome Years very averſe to the Work of the Miniſtry, till God viſited him with the Small Pox, and under that Affliction enclin'd his Heart to undertake it. He was a *Boanerges*; well adapted to the People of *Wirlingham*, whom he found very Prophane and Ignorant, but in a little time God was graciouſly pleas'd to give him numerous Seals to his Miniſtry among them; and he left many good People, and a Living of between 3 and 400 *l. per Annum*, for the Eaſe and Safety of his Conſcience, *Aug.* 24. 62.

Some Years after he continu'd to Preach in his own and other Families. Then the Providence of God gave him the Liberty of a Pulpit in a ſmall Village, which he us'd with ſo much Prudence and Moderation, that he was conniv'd at for about Five Years. When that was deny'd him, he Preach'd at *Childerly*; and after that in *London*. But as ſoon as the Act for Toleration came forth, he return'd to his Old People of *Wirlingham*, and Preach'd amongſt them to the laſt Sabbath of his Life. He was eminent in Perſonal Holineſs. A ſtrict obſerver of the Sabbath: And a Laborious Catechiſt in his Family; to whom he conſtantly expounded the Scripture Morning and Evening. In the latter Part of his Life, he did his Maſters Work in great Pain: And by a Scorbutick Dropſie ended his Pilgrimage, at St. *Ives* in *Huntingdonſhire*, Oct. 16. 1690. in the 71ſt Year of his Age.

Swaffham Pryor: Mr. *Jonathan Jephcot*. Who was Born at *Anſty* Four Miles from *Coventry*, and bred up in the Free-Shool in that City, whither he went every Morning when a Child; and was there ſo Early, that his Maſter for ſome Years took it for granted he

Boarded

Boarded in the Town. His Parents were Mean and Low, and Liv'd in a ſmall Farm; were deſirous to Educate him for the Miniſtry, but could contribute little to it. He however vigorouſly purſu'd his Learning, and by 17 Years of Age, was an Excellent School Scholar, and a Young Man of extraordinary Sobriety, Seriouſneſs and Induſtry. He entred himſelf in the Univerſity of *Oxford*, and then taught a School in the Country for a Year, (being recommended by his Maſter) and when it was expir'd he went to reſide at *Oxford*, and maintain'd himſelf by the Money his School had bro't him in, together with what his Father could allow him: And when it was gone, he went and taught School for more And thus he held on for ſome Years. Notwithſtanding theſe Difficulties, he by his Diligence made conſiderable Improvements, and was Tho't competently qualify'd for the Miniſtry, by all that knew him His Friends were very earneſt for his fixing at *Shilton* the next Pariſh to *Anſty*, the Living was about 10 *l.* a Year; there was a Vicar in it whom the People were weary off; and as a Teſtimony of it, they were ready to give him a Years Profits, if keeping ſtill the Title, he would yield to Mr. *Jephcot*'s ſupplying his Place. Upon his Agreeing, Mr. *Jephcot*, applied himſelf to the Biſhop of the Dioceſs; Biſhop *Morton* (who was counted very ſevere in examining Candidates) who examin'd him himſelf, and while he rejected ſeveral, readily ordain'd him firſt a *Deacon* and afterwards *Presbyter*. Upon this he fix'd at *Shilton*, Preaching conſtantly on the Lords Day, and often on Holidays, beſides Occaſional Sermons: And he went every Day Two Miles to teach School, and all bro't him in but 20 *l.* a Year. This Courſe he continu'd for a few Years; but upon the Death of the Miniſter of the Neighbouring Pariſh of *Balkington* (which was a better Living) the Inhabitants were mighty deſirous of having Mr. *Jephcot* in his Room The Living being in the Kings Gift, the People by joint Conſent accommodated Mr. *Jephcot* with Two Horſes, and a Man to attend upon him in a Journey to *London*, in Order to his getting the Preſentation; they drew up a Writing expreſſing their Heart

Conſe

Conſent to his fixing amongſt them as their Miniſter, and ſent a Letter to Sir *Chriſtopher Yelverton* (who had an Eſtate in the Town) begging him to uſe his Intereſt in the Lord Keeper, in order to the Accompliſhment of their Deſires Mr. *Jephcot* to gratifie the Peoples earneſt Deſire undertook a Journey to *London*, and apply'd himſelf to the Lord Keeper, on whom he was forc'd to wait for Seven Weeks together, and at Laſt was diſappointed; for he gave *Buckington* to one Mr. *Eldred* to whom he had before given the Promiſe of ſome ſuch Living when it fell Vacant: But that Mr. *Jephcot* might not wholly looſe his Labour, he gave him the Preſentation of St. *Mary's* in *Swaffham* in *Cambridgeſhire*. When he came to the People there, he found them uneaſie becauſe of his being an utter Stranger to them; but after no long Trial of him, they were extreamly pleas'd and thankful that they were ſo well provided for. He Preach'd Twice on the Lord's Day, Catechiz'd in the Afternoon according to the Canon, and repeated at Night. When the *Book of Sports* came out, He (as I am inform'd) read it according to Order, and then Preach'd for the ſanctifying the Day. There were Two Pariſhes in this Town. When he had been there ſome time, the Miniſter of the other Pariſh Dy'd, and left his Widow in Debt: Mr. *Jephcot* was Aſſiſtant to her all ways poſſible, and did her much Service, but could not keep her from dying of Grief. He that ſucceeded in the other Pariſh, was Ejected as Scandalous in the Time of the Long Parliament, and Mr. *Jephcot* (who was Marry'd ſome time before) having a growing Family was not able to Live upon his Income in his own Pariſh, (which was but 30 *l. per Annum*) and thereupon apprehending that both Pariſhes join'd together might make a Competent Maintenance for him that could obtain them, he remov'd to a Free School in *Thurlow* in *Suffolk* offer'd him by Sir *William Soams*, intending to reſign his Vicaridge in *Swaffham*, to any Worthy Man that could get the other, whom the People approv'd off. Having thus determin'd, he continu'd Preaching to them for Half a Year, tho' he Liv'd Eight Miles off. In the mean Time the People being

exceeding desirous of his Continuance with them, made such an Interest, as that they got the other Vicaridge United to His; (they are since United by Act of Parliament) and an Augmentation too, which if it had been Paid, would have amounted in all to nigh upon 100 *l.* a Year: And they gave him an unanimous Call. Upon this he return'd to them, gave himself wholly to the Work of the Ministry, in which he took extraordinary Pains, both in Preaching, Repeating, Catechizing, and Visiting. Neither were his Labours without Success: He was a means of Converting many, was an Instrument of much Good to several in the Family of *Roger Rant*, Esq; and useful to all the serious People of those Parts: And yet he had a sore Fatigue, thro' the Carnality and Bitterness of some, and the Giddiness of several others. He was troubled with some People that pretended to Visions and Revelations. There was one Woman in the Neighbourhood, who took upon her to foretel that the Day of Judgment would be within so many Months, on such a Day; and an honest Minister (whose Heart was better than his Head) who from thence was call'd *Doomsday Sedgwick*, was seduc'd by her; and as it fell out many were very much affrighted. For the Evening of the Night that was fix'd being very Clear, there arose on a sudden a terrible Tempest of Thunder and Lightning in the Night following: But the Fear thereby Occasion'd was soon over. He was earnestly desirous of contributing to the settling some Christian Discipline in the Church, in order to the promoting Knowledge and Holiness. For the carrying on this Design he had stated Meetings with the Neighbouring Ministers, in 1656, *&c.* They Agreed upon many Things with joint Consent, which they were to Practise in their several Parishes; and promis'd to help one another by mutual Advice in any emergent Difficulties. Finding that many would not be at the Pains of Learning the Assemblies Shorter Catechism, they drew up one that was much Shorter, and Printed it for the Use of the most Ignorant in their Parishes. While he continu'd at *Swaffham*, there was an unu-

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uſual Kind of Meteor * appear'd in the Field, in a violent Hot Day, an Account of which is here added in his own Words, out of his own Papers, for the Satisfaction of the Curious.

* *Die Jovis*, Maii 21. 1646. *Horâ 3a Pomeridianâ*, Swaffhamæ Prioris, *in Comit.* Cantabrigienſi.

Poſt aliquod Tonitru ſine Pluviâ, in Nube, Oppidò prædicto, imminente, apparuerunt duæ Luminares Eruptiones lucidæ & oblongæ, quarum altera ſubinde evanuit, altera verò eodem temporis Articulo in Pyramidalem Fumum Craſſum & ſubrubicundum lineatim eructatur, cujus Figura ſupernè acuta, inferne quatuor Perticas Craſſa.

Vapor emiſſus tanto impetu Fundi Superficiem invaſit, ut inde maximo ſonitu in reſultum rapidiſſimum retrò ageretur, reſiliendo autem Fornacis fumigantis inſtar præ ſe tulit.

Pyramide in duas Partes diviſâ, vapor hâc deſcendere, illâc aſcendere ad ventriculum nubis videbatur, in uno loco haud ſiſtens, nunc citatiore nunc tardiore motu Turbinis inſtar circumvolitatus, duos Lapides ab Ortu ad Interitum ſemihorâ tranſmigravit. In cujus exitu, Tonitru rapidiſſimum rurſum auditur, cujus fulminatione lineâ Perpendiculari terræ incuſſâ Vapor Priori haud multum diſſimilis a ſolo reſiliit, antequam ad nubem perveniſſet prorſus diſſipatus. Guttæ Pauculæ toto hoc tempore rariſſimè deſcenderunt.

In 1661. the former Incumbent that had been put out, came again into one of the Livings in *Swaffham Prior*, and Mr. *Jephcot* knowing that the other would not be ſufficient for the Maintenance of his Family, foreſeeing that he ſhould be in danger of having his Conſcience ſtraitned by Eccleſiaſtical Impoſitions, and finding many in the Place alter'd for the worſt, turning with the Tide, and ſwimming with the Stream, determin'd to remove at the firſt Opportunity. Soon after, he was Recommended by Dr. *Tuckney* to the Free School of *Boſton* in *Lincolnſhire*, which being offer'd him he readily accepted; and remov'd thither with his Family. Going to Biſhop *Sanderſon* for a Licenſe, he treated him very reſpectfully, told him, it was Pity a Man of his Worth ſhould be confin'd to the Drudgery of a School, and offer'd him his Choice of Two ſmall Livings which he had then to beſtow, worth about 60 *l.* a Year a Piece. He thank'd his Lordſhip, but wav'd Acceptance. His main Reaſon was, becauſe as Things went at that Time, he apprehended he ſhould quick-

ly be turn'd out of a Living; but hop'd he might have been ſuffer'd to continue in ſo ſmall a Thing as a School. But when he had been in it about half a Year, and was juſt ſettled, he was turn'd out at *Bartholomew* Tide. Many of the Chief of the Town were ſenſible they ſhould have a great Loſs in his quitting the School, and were thereupon Incens'd, againſt him who had occaſion'd his being call'd on to Conform. Some of the New Aldermen urg'd him much to Conform and keep the School; but he told them, *if he could Conform, he would not do it to teach Boys.* Many conſiderable Perſons were deſirous of his ſtaying there, after he was caſt out: But he rather choſe to be near his Friends in *Cambridgeſhire*, and therefore ſettled at *Ouſden* near *Bury* in *Suffolk*, being much induc'd to it by the Deſire of a very Religious Gentleman Mr. *Moſely*, who Dy'd juſt upon his coming thither. But he had there the Pleaſure of the Converſation of Mr. *Meadows*, the Ejected Miniſter of the Place. Here it was his Conſtant Practiſe to go to Church both Morning and Afternoon on Lords Days, and alſo to the Sacrament; and he was commonly one of the firſt in the Church, tho' he liv'd at a Miles Diſtance from it: But withal, he kept up a Weekly Lecture, among a ſmall Company of honeſt well-meaning People. In the latter Part of his Life he kept Boarders, whom he train'd up in Learning and Piety.

He much Employ'd himſelf in writing Letters to ſeveral Perſons upon a Spiritual Account for the good of their Souls: And indeed his whole Heart ſeem'd ſet upon the promoting the Work of Grace in himſelf and others. In him it began early, under his Mothers Inſtruction, when he was but about 5 or 6 Years Old: So that he had the Happineſs (which Mr. *Dod*, was us'd to ſay he would Envy, if he envy'd any ones Happineſs) of turning to God betimes.

His Abilities for the Miniſtry were great, and he was very Laborious and Painful in it. And when he was reduc'd to a more retir'd Life, he reap'd what he had been ſowing; having as much of the comfortable Preſence of God, and ſettled Aſſurance of his Love,

Love, as can well be ſuppos'd attainable in this Life. In a tedious and painful Sickneſs, he was marvelouſly ſupported by the Comforts of Gods Spirit, even to his Death; which he ſeem'd to be above the Fear of: Compoſing himſelf for it, by the moſt Devout Addreſſes upwards, and gracious, and ſerious Diſcourſes and Exhortations to thoſe that were about him, as long as his Strength ſerv'd him to ſpeak. He Dy'd in *Nov.* 1673. *Ætat.* 66.

He was Eminent for his unuſual Accuracy in the *Hebrew*, *Greek*, and *Latin* Tongues, Philoſophy, *&c.* And in ſome Parts of the Mathematicks: And us'd often to Practiſe Dyalling, Surveying, *&c.* for his Recreation.

In the City of *Ely*: Mr. *William Sedgwick*, call'd *Doomſday Sedgwick*, upon the Account mention'd before. Thoſe who knew him well, repreſent him as a Pious Man, with a diſorder'd Head.

Sutton: Mr. *Hunt*. Wentworth: Mr. *Burchel*. Little Swaftham: Mr. *Fort*. Crawden: Mr. *King*. Bartlowe: Mr. *Samuel Ball*. Chippenham: Mr. *Parr*. Abbington: Mr. *Iſaac King*. Owre: Mr. *Wilſon*. Eaſt Hatley: Mr. *Richard Kennet*. Stow or Chevely: Mr. *Abraham Wright*. In the Iſle of *Ely*: Mr. *Thomas Giles*. Wisbitch: Mr. *Sheldrake*. Fowlmere: Mr. *Hezekiah King*. Litlington: Mr. *Henry Townly*. Mr. *Bindſhal*, and Mr. *Negus*, at uncertain Places. I can hear of but one in this County who afterwards Conform'd, who was Mr. *John Nye*.

In the County of HERTFORD.

Kempton: Mr. *Willſon*, who was the Learned Author of the Anſwer, to *Philoſophia Scripturæ Interpres*; and to *Wolzogen*. *Watford*: Mr. *Philip Godwin* *. Biſhops Stortford: Mr. *John Paine*. Ware: Mr. *Young*. Shenly: Mr. *Iſaac Loefs*. Cheſton: Mr. *William Yates*. St. Albans: Mr. *Partridge*, and Mr. *Haworth*. The

* *He hath ſeveral Practical Treatiſes extant. As, Family Religion reviv'd. A Diſcourſe on Family-Prayer. The Lords-Day reviv'd; or a Diſcourſe concerning its Sanctification. Evangelical Communion; or a Treatiſe on the Sacrament, all in* Octavo. *He hath alſ Publiſh'd, the Myſtery of Dreams, Hiſtorically Diſcuſs'd, &c.*

Latter was of St. *Peter's*; and being desir'd to Preach a Funeral Sermon there after his Ejectment, he was hindred: Whereupon the Congregation went to the Cloysters in the Abbey. In Sermon Time the Soldiers came in to take him; and one of the Hearers interposing to prevent it, was shot to Death. Mr. *Haworth*, was try'd at the Assizes on this Account, and was at Last Deliver'd but Fin'd; while the Soldier escap'd Scot-free.

Hertford: Mr. *Bunwell.* Tharfield: Mr. *Marmaduke Tenant.* Kelshul: Mr. *William Janeway*, who was the Father of that Excellent Person Mr. *John Janeway* of *Kings* Colledg in *Cambridge*, whose Life is Extant in *Octavo:* And of Mr. *James Janeway*, an useful Minister near the City of *London.* Wallington: Mr. *Sherwin.* Cottered: Mr. *Gardiner.* Aldbury: Mr. *Francis Comyn.* Barly: Mr. *Nathanael Ball* *. Ashwell: Mr. *John Crow.* Willion: Mr. *Isaac Bedford.* Gravely: Mr. *Cater.* Harding: Mr. *Nathanael Eles.* Eastwick: Mr. *Goodwin.* Munden Parva: Mr. *Graves.* Langley Abbey: Mr. *King.* Geldesden: Mr. *Mocke*, or *Mockett.* Walden *St.* Pauls: Mr. *Peachy.* Bernet: Mr. *Shaw.* Baldock; the Lecture: Mr. *Sherwin.* Little Hadham: Mr. *Shingle.* Totteridge: Mr. *Tutty.* Bushy: Mr. *Ward.* Thoreley: Mr. *Edward Warren.* Great Hadham: Mr. *Dan. Dyke.*

* *The Author of a good Practical Serious Book, Entit.* Spiritual Bondage and Freedom, *&c.*

There were several in this County, who were Nonconformists at first, who afterwards Conform'd. As Mr. *Halsey* of *Broxborne.* Dr. *Hicks* of *Hartingford-bury.* who was afterwards Rector of St. *Margarets Patens* in *London.* Mr. *Owen* of *Branfield.* Mr. *Stallybrasse* of *Effenden.* And Mr. *Thornton* of *Wheathamsteed*; and no more that I can hear off.

In the County of MIDDLESEX.

Sheparton: Mr. *John Dodderidge.* He was an ingenious Man, and a Scholar; of the University of *Oxon:* An acceptable Preacher, and very peaceable Divine. His Rectory was worth 150 *l. per An.*

Acton;

Acton: Mr. *Elford.* A grave Divine of conſiderable Parts and Learning; a Moderate *Independent.* A Guide and Friend unto Dr. *Thomas Manton,* when he firſt entred into the Miniſtry. His Living was worth 200 *l. per Ann.*

Eling: Mr. *Gilbert.* A *Scottiſh* Divine of uſeful Abilities for the Miniſtry, and of great Zeal againſt Error and Prophaneneſs.

Uxbridge: Mr. *Godbolt.* An Aged Divine, of great Sobriety and Moderation.

Finchley: Mr. *Thomas Goulſton.* Sometime of *Queens* Colledge in *Cambridge.* A good Scholar, and of great Modeſty and Humility: A conſtant, diligent Preacher, and bleſs'd with good Succeſs.

Fulham: Mr. *Iſaac Knight.* A Godly Man, and of a good Temper: But he wanted Academical Learning.

North-Hall: Mr. *Malthurſt.* An Antient Divine Contemporary with Mr. *William Pemble,* at *Magdalen* Hall in *Oxford.* A Man of ſtrong Reaſon, and mighty in the Scriptures: Of great Eloquence and Fervour: Only Defective in Elocution. His Nonconformity coſt him 300 *l. per Annum.*

Enfield: Mr. *Daniel Manning.* An excellent Scholar and Preacher: Much admir'd and follow'd both for his natural Wit, and good Learning, and ſerious Godlineſs. He was educated in *Katharine* Hall in *Cambridge,* and noted there as Eminent in his Improvements for his Time.

Harrow on the *Hill:* Mr. *Thomas Pakeman.* A Grave, Sound, Pious, Sober, and Peaceable Divine. He was Maſter of Arts of *Clare* Hall in *Cambridge.*

Willeſden: Mr. *Edward Perkins.* A Great Man. A very ready, and well ſtudy'd Divine, eſpecially in School Divinity. A great Tutor in *Magdalen* Hall in *Oxon.* And particularly famous for his giving Mr. *John Corbet* his Education, and Direction in his Studies.

Staines: Mr. *Gabriel Price.* An honeſt plain Preacher, and of a Blameleſs Life and Converſation.

Kingsbury: Mr. *James Prince.* A Gentleman Born, and of a good Family. In good Repute both for Learning and Piety, but Young, when Ejected.

He is yet Living, Pastor of a Congregation at *Ockingham* in *Berkshire*.

Pinnar: Mr. *John Rolls*. A Grave and very Pious Man, and very useful in his Place: Tho' he never administred the Sacraments; being in a Chappel of Ease, belonging to *Harrow on the Hill*.

Hampsteed: Mr. *Sprint*. A Man well reported of both for his Doctrine and Life. He was the Son of the Author of that celebrated Book, *Cassander Anglicanus*.

Stanmore Mag: Mr. *Samuel Stancliff*. An Eminent Divine; of no Party: Yet Living, Pastor of a Congregation at *Rotherith*. His Rectory was worth better than 150 *l. per Annum*.

Edgworth: Mr. *Swift*. A Pious Man; but led away by the Fifth Monarchy Notions, *&c.*

Hillingdon: Mr. *Taverner*. A Grave Peaceable Divine, of an unblamed Life; but who chose to live retir'd. His Rectory was reputed worth 100 *l. per Annum*.

Sunberry: Mr *Turner*. A Man of great Sincerity, extraordinary Humility, and profitable Labours and Industry: Belov'd by all who knew him. He settled in *London*, after he was Silenc'd; and had a considerable Meeting, first in *Fetter Lane*, and afterwards in *Hatton-Garden*.

Hendon: Mr. *Francis Wareham*, of *Bennet* Colledge in *Cambridge*. A Man of great natural Wit, of genteel Learning, of great Pleasantness in Conversation, and a very Practical and Profitable Preacher but unsuccessful. His Vicaridge was worth about a 100 *l. per Annum*.

Twickenham: Mr. *Thomas Willis*. A good Scholar Like his Father the famous School-Master of *Twickenham*. A Grave Divine, a Solid Preacher, of a very good Presence, and a Man zealous for Truth and Order in the Churches of Christ: Of great Holiness of Life, of a Publick Spirit, and much fervour in his Work, and great usefulness in the County of *Middlesex*.

Hackney:

Hackney: Dr. *Spurſtow.* (a) Who had before been turn'd out from his Maſter-ſhip of *Katharine* Hall in *Cambridge.* He was one of the Aſſembly of Divines; and afterwards one of the Commiſſioners at the *Savoy.* A Man of great Humility and Meekneſs; and great Charity, both in giving and forgiving. He always had an innocent and grateful Chearfulneſs in his Converſe, which render'd it very acceptable. He was of a very peaceable Diſpoſition. He was preſerv'd in the Peſtilential Sickneſs; but Dy'd not long after.

(a) *He was one of the Authors of* Smectymnuus. *And hath Publiſh'd beſides, a Treatiſe on the Promiſes,* Oct. 1659. *And the Spiritual Chymiſt in Six Decades of Meditations,* Oct. 1666. *The Wiles of Satan: In a Diſcourſe on* 2 Cor. 2.11. *And ſome Sermons Preach'd upon Publick Occaſions.*

Stepney: Mr. *Greenhil,* and Mr. *Matthew Mead.* Mr. *Greenhil,* (b) was one of the Aſſembly of Divines; and one of the Diſſenting Brethren in that Aſſembly. But a Worthy Man, and much valu'd.

(b) *He hath left behind him, an Expoſition of the Prophecie of* Ezekiel, *in Five Volumes, in* Quarto.

Mr. *Mead,* (c) was a Man of great Prudence, and an excellent uſeful Preacher. He had a large Congregation after he was Ejected, at *Stepney*; and no Man was more follow'd when he Preach'd in the City. He Dy'd, *Oct.* 16. 1699. His Funeral Sermon was Preach'd by Mr. *How*; to which the Reader is referr'd for his Character.

(c) *He hath Printed, the Almoſt Chriſtian try'd and caſt,* Oct. *The good of Early Obedience,* Oct: *A Sermon to the United Brethren, upon their Agreement. Sermon's upon* Ezekiel's *Wheels. And Funeral Sermons, for Mr.* Roſwell, *and Mr.* Cruſo, *&c.*

Newington: Mr. *Bull.* A good Scholar, and very agreeable Preacher. As to what remains, I deſire leave to draw a Vail, Requeſting ſuch as from his ſingle Inſtance, give themſelves a Liberty to paſs their Cenſure upon others of the ſame Denomination with him, to take the Pains to peruſe a ſhort but excellent Diſcourſe upon *Charity with Reference to others Mens Sins*; which was firſt Preach'd, and afterwards Printed by Mr. *How*, with whom he was for ſome time Fellow-Labourer.

I ſhould here alſo bring in Mr. *Edward Terry* Rector of *Greenford*, M. A. but that I mention'd him before, as Fellow of *Univerſity* Colledge in *Oxon.* He was many Years uſeful there in Inſtructing and Governing Young Gentlemen and Scholars: And of great Fame for his many Exerciſes in the Colledge and Schools; and particularly for his Funeral Oration at the Interrment of Dr. *Joſhua Hoyle* Maſter of that Colledge, and *Regius* Profeſſor of Divinity in that Univerſity. This Dr. *Hoyle*, was a Member of great Eſteem and Honour in the Aſſembly of Divines, as a Maſter of all the Ancient Learning of the *Greek* and *Latin* Fathers, and one who reign'd both in his Chair, and in the Pulpit. Mr. *Terry*'s Living at *Greenford*, was worth to him better than 200 *l. per Ann.* And he was much honour'd for his Work's Sake, and as a Lover of Truth and Peace. He is yet Living.

Hanwell: Mr. *Ambroſe.* Paddington: Mr. *Arnhall*, or *Arnold.* Aſhford: Mr. *Catch.* Ickenham: Mr. *Nicolas.* Littleton: Mr. *Edmund Taylor*, and Mr. *Sandford*, and Mr. *Goodman*, whoſe Places are uncertain.

Of thoſe who ſtood out at firſt in this County, there were but Three that I can hear of who afterwards Conform'd, *viz.* Mr. *Ezekiel Hopkins*, Lecturer at *Hackney*, an Excellent and Learned Perſon, afterwards Biſhop of *London-Derry* in *Ireland:* Whoſe Works have ſince his Death been Printed together in a *Folio.* Mr. *Timothy Hall*, of *Norwood* and *Southam*; who was by King *James* II. preferr'd to the Biſhoprick of *Oxon* for reading his Declaration of Indulgence to *Diſſenters:* And Mr. *Rolls* of *Thiſtleworth* who was driven into Conformity by his Sufferings after his Ejection.

In the County of SURREY.

Lambeth: Mr. *Rawlinſon.* A Grave Divine (ſaith Mr. *Baxter*) *of great Ability.*

Long Ditton: Mr. *Rich. Byfield*, M. A. He was half Brother to Mr. *Nicolas Byfield* of *Iſtleworth*, the Author

Author of the Commentary on the *Coloſſians*, and other Things: He was one of the Aſſembly of Divines; and a Man of great Piety and Zeal. *Adonitam Byfield*, the Scribe of the Aſſembly, was his Younger Brother. He Dy'd at *Mortclack* (whither he retir'd after his Ejectment at *Ditton*) in *Decem* 1664. * *He hath left behind him beſides Sermons before the Parliament, theſe Tracts: The Light of Faith, and Way of Holineſs, ſhewing how and what to Believe in all Eſtates and Conditions*, Oct. 1630. *The Doctrine of the Sabbath Vindicated, or a Confutation of* Brerewood's *Treatiſe on that Subject, againſt his Brother*, Mr. Nicolas Byfield, *Qu.* 1632. *The Power of the Chriſt of God*, Qu. 1641. *The Goſpels Glory without Prejudice to the Law*, 1659. *The Beginning of the Doctrine of Chriſt*, Tw. 1660. *The Real Way to good Works: A Treatiſe of Charity.* 12's.

Eggham: Mr. *William Rayner*, B. D. An Eminent Divine: Another Member of the Aſſembly.

Clapham: John Arthur, D. D. A very conſiderable Man, bro't up in *Emanuel* Colledge in *Cambridge*. He Liv'd and Dy'd a Moderate Nonconformiſt.

Mortclack: Mr. *David Clarkſon* *, B. D. ſometime Fellow of *Clare* Hall in *Cambridge*. Of whom Dr. *Bates* in his Funeral Sermon for him, gives this Character. *He was a Man of Sincere Godlineſs and True Holineſs, which is the Divine Part of a Miniſter, without which all other Accompliſhments are not likely to be Effectual for the great End of the Miniſtry. He was a Conſcientious Improver of his Time for acquiring of uſeful Knowledge, that he might be throughly furniſh'd for the Work of his Divine Calling. When depriv'd of his Publick Miniſtry, he gave himſelf wholly to Reading and Meditation, whereby he obtain'd an Eminent Degree of Sacred Knowledge, and was Converſant in the retir'd Parts of Souls. He hath Two Sermons in the Volumes of the Morning Exerciſe: One in that at* Cripplegate, *on this Queſt. What muſt Chriſtians do, that the Influence of the Ordinances may abide upon them? And another in that againſt Popery; ſhewing, How the Doctrine of Juſtification is dangerouſly corrupted in the* Roman *Church. Since his Death have been Publiſh'd a Diſcourſe of his, on* Free Grace; *another concerning* Epiſcopacy: *And a Third concerning* Liturgies *all in* Octavo: *And a Volume of his Sermons, in* Folio. * *He hath an excellent Diſcourſe againſt the* Romaniſts *Extant, in* Qu. *Entit. The Practical Divinity of the* Papiſts *prov'd Deſtructive to Chriſtianity and Mens*

Learn-

Learning, in which many who are qualify'd to Preach a profitable Sermon, are unacquainted. Humility and Modesty were his distinctive Characters wherein he excell'd. He was well satisfy'd to serve the Church, and illustrate the Truth, and to remain in his beloved Secrecy. In his Conversation, a comely Gravity mixt with an innocent Pleasantness were attractive of Respect and Love. He was of a calm Temper, not ruffled with Passions, but Gentle, and Kind, and Good; his Breast was the Temple of Peace. In the Discharge of his Sacred Work, his Intellectual Abilities and Holy Affections were very evident. Great was his Solemnity and Reverence in Prayer; and his Preaching was very Instructive and Perswasive. The Matter of his Sermons was clear and deep, and always judiciously deriv'd from the Text. The Language was neither Gaudy and Vain, with light Trimmings; nor rude and neglected, but suitable to the Oracles of God. His Death was unexpected, yet as he declar'd no surprize to him, for he was entirely Resigned to the Will of God; and he desir'd to live no longer than to be serviceable. With Holy Simeon *he had Christ in his Arms, and departed in Peace, to see the Salvation of God above.* In short (says Mr. *Baxter*) *He was a Divine of extraordinary Worth, for solid Judgment, healing moderate Principles, Acquaintance with the Fathers, great Ministerial Abilities, and a Godly Upright Life.* Among other Things Mr. *Clarkson* Tho't it a great Honour to him, to have had an Hand in the Education of so excellent a Person, as Dr. *John Tillotson*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who bore a singular Respect to him as long as he liv'd.

* *He hath Publish'd, a Plain Answer to this Practical Question: What Course may a Christian take to have his Heart quicken'd and en-*

Kingston: Mr. *Richard Mayo* *. A Man of Sincere Godliness. His Labours at *Kingston* were Crown'd with an abundant Success; and his Name and Memory is precious there to this Day. He had afterwards a large and flourishing Congregation in *London*, where for many Years he continu'd an Affectionate useful Preacher. He was a great Lover of Peace and Union. He had a great deal of Sweetness in his natural Temper, and in all his Conduct manifested great Sincerity. In his Last Sickness, which was of about Six Weeks continuance, he had great inward Peace and Serenity. His End was like the Light

Light of the Evening when the Sun ſetteth; an Evening without any Clouds. He had this ſaying to his Worthy Fellow-Labourer; *I have had my Infirmities and Failings, but my Heart hath been Right with God as to the Main: And I look for the Mercy of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt to Eternal Life.* He Dy'd *Sept.* 8. 1695. His Funeral Sermon was Preach'd by Mr. *Nathanael Taylor*, who alſo ſucceeded him.

larg'd in the Duty of Secret Prayer. A Sermon in the Morning Exerciſe againſt Popery, *ſhewing that the* Papiſts *dangerouſly corrupt Holy Worſhip, by their ſinful Prayers to Saints and Angels. Another in the Continuation of the Practical Morning Exerciſe*, Vol. 3. *Shewing what we muſt do, to prevent and Cure Spiritual Pride. And another in the Fourth Volume, ſhewing from what Fear of Death, the Children of God are delivered by Chriſt*, &c. *The Life and Death of Dr.* Staunton. *Two Conferences; One betwixt a* Papiſt *and a* Jew: *The other between a* Proteſtant *and a* Jew. *In Two Letters. A Letter from* Leghorn. *A Comment on the Epiſtle to the* Romans, *in the Continuation of* Pools *Annotations. And a Sermon of the Cauſe and Cure of Strife and Diviſions.*

Farnham: Mr. *Stileman.* Worpleſdon: Mr. *Farewell.* Guildford: Mr. *John Manſhip.* Purbright: Mr. *Wickham.* Weſt-Horſley: Mr. *John Plot.* Ockley: Mr. *Nowel*, or *Nevil.* Byflet: Mr. *Scudamore.* Aſhted: Mr. *King.* Eaſt and Weſt Mouldſey: Mr. *John Jackſon.* Ewel: Mr. *Batho.* Hatcham: Mr. *James Fiſher.* Merſtham: Mr. *William Angel.* Darking: Mr. *Samuel Nabbs.* Culſdon: Mr. *Richard Roberts.* Walton upon Thames: Mr. *David Anderſon.* Eaſt-Horſley: Mr. *Sampſon Caryl*; and Mr. *Glyde Beaumont*; Mr. *Smith*, and Mr. *Story*, at uncertain Places.

I don't hear of any in this County, who Conform'd after they were once Ejected for Nonconformity.

In the County of KENT.

Maidſtone: Mr. *John Crump.* A conſiderable Divine, and uſeful Preacher. He hath Publiſh'd the Parable of the Great Supper. Town-Malling: Mr. *Samuel French.* Feverſham: Mr. *Nath. Wilmot.* Cranbrook: Mr. *William Goodridg.* Staplehurſt: Mr.

Mr. *Daniel Poyntel.* Barham: Mr. *Barton.* Dover: Mr. *John Davis*, and Mr. *Nathanael Barry.* Chidingſton, or Denton: Mr. *Thomas Scyliard.*

Canterbury: Mr. *John Durant.* An Excellent Practical Preacher. Mr. *John Player*, Brother to Sir *Thomas Player*, the Chamberlain of *London.*

Mr. *Thomas Ventreſs* of St. *Margarets.* A Man of great Piety and Learning; one of uncommon Prudence: Who ſo carry'd it in the midſt of all the Changes and Alterations he paſs'd through, as to keep a clear Conſcience, and an unſpotted Reputation, and yet was univerſally reſpected by all Parties.

Mr, *Taylor* of St. *Alphage:* And Mr. *Beak* of St. *Stephen's.*

Aſhford: Mr. *Nicolas Sprigg.* Ilkam: Mr. *John Swan*, who turn'd Phyſician. Addeſham: Mr. *Charles Nicols.* Chart-magn. Mr. *Edward Line.* Chilham: Mr. *Sampſon Horne.* Tenterden: Mr. *George Haws.* Benenden: Mr. *Joſeph Osborne.* Biddenden: Mr. *William Horner.* Gowdherſt: Mr. *Edward Bright.* Rolvinden: Mr. *Gyles.* Sandherſt: Mr. *Elliſton.* Lenham, or Leeds: Mr. *Showel.* Ulcombe: Mr. *William Belcher.* Egerton: Mr. *Palmer.* Looſe: Mr. *William Lock.* Hunton: Mr. *Latham.* Birling: Mr. *Thomas Guns.* Linton: Mr. *Nichols.* Langley: Mr. *Tilden.* Barming: Mr. *Nichols.*

Rocheſter: Mr. *Ackworth.* Ightam: Mr. *Alexander.* Chatham: Mr. *Roſwell.* Mr. *Adderley*; and Mr. *Thomas Carter.* Stroude: Mr. *Daniel French.* South Frith: Mr. *Simons.* Graveſend: Mr. *Sharp.* Deptford: Mr. *Mallory.* Lee: Mr. *Hiccocks.* Horſimonden: Mr. *Edward Rawſon.* Lamberherſt: Mr. *Steed.* Nettleſted: Mr. *Deacon.* Fairelane: Mr. *Darby.* Deale: Mr. *Sillyard.* Godmarſham: Mr. *Robert Ferguſon.* Denton: Mr. *Clement Barling.* Aſhe: Mr. *William Noakes.* Bromley: Mr. *Henry Arnold.* Folkſtone: Mr. *Baker.* Hawkerſt: Mr. *Boſhel*, or *Bothel.* Raynam: Mr. *Carter.* Challocke: Mr. *Corken*, or *Corker.* Betteſhanger: Mr *Dod.* Spelherſt: Mr. *Draper.* Shoram: Mr. *Duke.* Sturmouth: Mr. *Dury.* Woolwich: Mr. *Hawkes.* Lydde: Mr. *Hemmings.* Clyff: Mr. *Henry Holdcroft.* Norborne: Mr. *Lane.* Penſherſt: Mr. *Maudett.* Ive-Church: Mr.

Oſmanton

Oſmanton. Eltham: Mr. *Overton.* Hener: Mr. *Petter.* Stone: Mr. *Henry Price.* Waltham: Mr. *Shorel.* Smeeth: Mr. *Singleton.* New Church: Mr. *Spencer.* Smarden: Mr. *Vaughan.* Sandwich: Mr. *Webber.* Chatham-Dock: Mr. *Lawrence Wiſe.*

THANET-Iſland: St. *Nicolas:* Mr. *William Jacob,* St. *Margaret's:* Mr. *Street.* Monkton: Mr. *Thorowgood.* Mr. *Winkfield:* And Mr. *Johnſon,* Mr. Culmer.

At uncertain Places: Mr. *Coppin.* Mr. *Williamſon.* Mr. *Hoadley:* And Mr. *Rolls.*

Neither muſt I here omit Mr. *Edmund Trench* *. Who tho' not Benefic'd at the Time of the Act for Uniformity, was yet worthy of any Living in the County. He was Born *October* 6. 1643. went at 15 to *Cambridge,* and was plac'd in *Queens* Colledge, under the Tuition of Mr. *Henry Paſchall.* Towards the End of 1660. He went to *Oxford* to *Magdalen* Hall. When he had ſtay'd there about Two Years, and taken a Degree, he went to *Leyden* in *Holland.* In his younger Years he was Looſe and Careleſs, and drawn aſide by ill Company. Afterwards, he became an Eminent Inſtance of ſerious unaffected Piety. When he determin'd for the Miniſtry, he was very willing to have Conform'd, but had ſome Scruples which he could not remove. He ſent them to Worthy Dr. *Conant* for Reſolution. After half a Years Expectation, the Dr. ſent him this Meſſage: *That upon the moſt ſerious Tho'ts he could hardly ſatisfie himſelf, and therefore would never perſwade any to Conform while he Liv'd.* This with the Licentiouſneſs of *S. Parker,* and ſome others who had been more zealous *Puritans* than himſelf, but who upon ſtretching their Conſciences viſibly declin'd from their former Seriouſneſs, confirm'd him in his Nonconformity. His Motto was this: In *Simplicity and Godly Sincerity.* He Liv'd and Dy'd a Pattern both to Miniſters and Chriſtians: In Proof whereof, the Reader is referr'd to the Printed Account of his Diary.

* *See ſome Remarkable Paſſages in the Holy Life and Death of Mr.* Edmund Trench. *Oct.* 1693.

I can hear but of one in this County, who afterwards Conform'd: *viz.* Mr. *Daniel Hayes* of *Preſton.*

N. B.

N. B. There are several turn'd out in this County whom I have omitted, because they were Twice Ejected, and are mention'd elsewhere: As Mr. *Danson* of *Sandwich:* Turn'd out also in *Suffolk.* Mr. *Starr* of *Sandherst*, turn'd out also at *Carlisle* in *Cumberland.* And Mr. *Whiston* in *Essex*; and others elsewhere.

In the County of SUSSEX.

Lewes; St. *Ann's*: Mr. *Edward Newton.* A Worthy Divine; yet Living. St. *Michaels:* Mr. *Gualter Postlethwait.* Sedlescomb: Mr. *Edmund Thorp.* An Excellent Scholar. Burwash: Mr. *Thomas Gouldham.* A Man of good Polite Learning, and an acceptable Preacher. Brightling: Mr. *Joseph Bennet.* A Man of great Moderation: Who hazarded his Life by visiting his People in the Time of the Plague, when other Ministers forsook their Charge.

Petworth: Dr. *Francis Cheynel* *. A noted Member of the University of *Oxon.* One of the Assembly of Divines. One of considerable Learning, and great Abilities. He lost a very valuable Living, for the sake of his Conscience. After his being silenc'd, he retir'd, to a little Village between *Chichester* and *Midhurst* in this County where he had an Estate. There he Dy'd, in *September* 1665. *Wood* says, *He was little better than Distracted* towards the Close of his Life: But by that, in his Phraseology, no more perhaps may be intended, than that *he was seriously and closely Tho'tful of that other World into which he was passing*, which to one of his Complection seem'd *little better than Distraction.*

* *He hath Printed several Sermons before the Lords and Commons, and upon Publick Occasions. The rise, growth and danger of* Socinianism, *Qu.* 1643. Chillingworthi Novissima, *Qu.* 1643. *Divers Letters to Dr.* Jasp. Mayne, *concerning False Prophets*, Qu. 1647. *A Copy of some Letters which pass'd at* Oxford, *between him and Dr.* Hammond. *A Relation of a Disputation in St.* Mary's *Church in* Oxon *between Mr.* Cheynell, *and Mr.* Erbury *a* Socinian, *Qu.* 1646. *The Divine Trin-unity of the Father, Son, and the Holy Ghost*, 1650. Qu. *A Discussion of Mr.* Fry's *Tenents*, &c. *And* Socinianism *prov'd to be an Unchristian Doctrine.*

Mr

Mr. *Richard Stretton*, M. A. of *New* Colledge in *Oxon.* Was Aſſiſtant to Dr. *Cheynel* at *Petworth*, from the beginning of 1658. till *Michaelmas* 1660. when the Dr. was Ejected, to make room for Dr. *King* Biſhop of *Chicheſter*. Mr. *Stretton* however ſtay'd and Preach'd there till *November*, having Two Friends (*viz.* Capt. *Taylor*, and Mr. *Bernard*) who were very great with the Biſhop, and prevented his ſending down any other. The Biſhop by them offer'd Mr. *Stretton* a 100 *l. per Ann.* and the Choice of any *Prebend* he had that was Empty, if he would be his Curate at *Petworth:* But upon his poſitive Refuſal, he ſent down another, and upon his Arrival Mr. *Stretton* quitted the Place, and came to *London*, where he the next Day was carry'd by Mr. *Nalton* to the Lord *Fairfax*, who was in want of a Chaplain. He continu'd with him in that Capacity in *Yorkſhire*, for 11 Years; till he Dy'd: And afterwards ſtay'd Six Years at *Leeds*, and then came and fix'd in the City, where he is yet Living Paſtor of a Congregation. *Wood* will have it, that he was a Traveller abroad, beyond the Sea; but if Mr. *Stretton* himſelf may be believ'd, *Lambeth* Ferry-Boat is the greateſt Veſſel he was ever in. And as for the Account of the *French* Barbarities towards their Priſoners of War which he Fathers upon him, he knows nothing of the Matter, but hath heard it was written by one Captain *Strutton*, of whom he hath no Knowledge. We may judge from hence of the Credit of Mr. *Wood*'s Intelligence.

Mayfield: Mr. *John Maynard* *; M. A. An Eminent and Judicious Divine; a Member of the Aſſembly: And tho' at his Death he became a Benefactor to *Magdalen* Hall in *Oxon*, where he had a Part of his Education, yet *Wood* has not a good Word for him.

* *Beſides ſome Sermons before the Houſe of Commons, he hath Printed,* [illegible] *Young Man's Remembrancer, and Old Man's Monitor*, Oct. 1669. *The Law of God ratify'd by the Goſpel of Chriſt; or the Harmony of the Doctrine of Faith, with the Law of Righteouſneſs*, Oct. 1674. &c.

At the ſame Place was ſilenc'd Mr. *Paul D'Aranda:* Who was afterwards Miniſter of the *French* Church at *Canterbury*.

Foundington: Mr. *John Ridge*. Downton: Mr. *William Corderoy*. North Chappel: Mr. *John Wood*. Fitleworth: Mr. *John Walwin*. Chicheſter: Mr. *William Speed*, and Mr. *William Martin*; the former of St. *Pancras*, the Latter of St. *Peters*. Weſt-Stoke: Mr. *Thomas Jackſon*. A very able Man. Cardford: Mr. *John Beaton*. Little-Horſted: Mr. *Nehemiah Beaton*. A ſolid Divine and excellent Scholar. Arundel: Mr. *John Goldwire*, Sen. Eaſt-Terring: Mr. *John Earl*. Hayllſham: Mr. *John Lover*. Wiſton: Mr. *James Bricknal*. Hellingle: Mr. *John Stone*. Siddleham: Mr. *William Vouſden*. Celſey: Mr. *John Hamper*. Felpham: Mr. *John Goldwire*, Jun. Shipley: Mr. *John Buckley*. Billinghurſt: Mr. *William Willſon*. Nuthurſt: Mr. *Robert Fiſh*. Who hath ſince ſettled at *Ockley* in *Surrey*. A Pious Man, of good Learning, and great Probity. An affectionate uſeful Preacher. One of great Self-Denial; who would never leave a poor People, tho' upon conſiderable Offers. Clapham: Mr. *Samuel Wilmer*. Pagham: Mr. *Tho. Wilmer*. Barlavington: Mr. *Richard Garret*. Weſt-Terring: Mr. *William Pixe*. Lindfield: Mr. *John Stone-Street*. Street: Mr. *Thomas Hallet*. Brighthelmſtone: Mr. *Robert Everenden*. Rigmer: Mr. *Elias Arnold*. Denton: Mr. *Thomas Grundy*. Weſt-hoadley: Mr. *Thomas Blake*. Eaſt-hoadley: Mr. *William Atterſol*. Glyne: Mr. *Zachary Smith*. Buckſted: Mr. *Stephen Street*. Radmill: Mr. *Henry Godman*. Who afterwards ſettled at *Deptford*, near *London*; where he had a conſiderable Congregation. Framfield: Mr. *John Buſhnell*. Who was not only a good Preacher, but had an excellent Mechanical Head, and was more than ordinarily vers'd in the Mathematicks. Wartling: Mr. *John Moor*. Rye: Mr. *Thomas Allen*. Marsfield: Mr. *Johnſon*. Dicheling: Mr. *Edward Lullam*. Weſt-Grinſtead: Mr. *Tredcroft*. Eaſt-Grinſtead: Mr. *Chriſtopher Snell*. Ovigdeane: Mr. *Daniel Reyner*. Eaſt-Deane: Mr. *William Wallace*. Weſtmiſton: Mr. *Nathanael Jones*. Ifield: Mr. *Thomas Safford*. Slynford: Mr. *Matthew Woodman*. South-ſtoak: Mr. *Henry Staples*. Pert: Mr. *Eldred*. Tangmer: Mr. *Eldridge*. Walberton: Mr. *Henry Jordan*. Fiſh-

borne:

borne: Mr. *John Abbot.* Kingſton: Mr. *Edward Beecher.* Greene: Mr. *Zachary Clifton.* Eartham: Mr. *George Freeman.* Iſting: Mr. *Joſeph Heyhurſt.* Plaiſtoe: Mr. *Stephen Hughes.* Alſiſton: Mr. *Thomas Malchus.* Eaſt-Lavant: Mr. *Robert Parke.* Bignor: Mr. *Thomas Reeves.* Singleton: Mr. *John Simonds.* Wivelsfield: Mr. *John Ollive.* Combes: Mr. *Iſaac Wilmer.* Preſton: Mr. *Richard Turner.* Wollavington: M. *John Mills.*

Mr. *William Stoughton.* Mr. *John Brett,* M. A. An eminent Schollar, and univerſally Eſteem'd; who afterward turn'd Doctor of Phyſick. Mr. *John Crouch.* Mr. *Henry Fowles.* Mr. *Stephen Martyn.* Mr. *John Panton,* M. A. who alſo turn'd Phyſician. Mr. *William Sandine.* Mr. *Edward Sone.* Mr. *William Staninough.*

If any of theſe afterwards Conform'd, I ſhould be glad to know it.

In the County of SOUTHAMPTON.

Bramſhot: Mr. *John Corbet.* A great Man every way. Born and bro't up in the City of *Gloceſter,* and Student in *Magdalen* Hall, *Oxon.* He firſt began his Miniſtry in his Native City of *Gloceſter,* and there he Liv'd for ſome Years, under Dr. *Godfrey Goodman,* a *Papiſt* Biſhop of the *Proteſtant* Church*. Here he continu'd in the Time of the Civil-Wars, of which he was an Obſervant, but Mournful Spectator. His Account of the Siege of *Gloceſter,* is reckon'd to give as good an Inſight into the Riſe and Springs of the War, as any thing Extant in a narrow Compaſs. He afterwards remov'd to *Chicheſter,* and thence to *Bramſhot,* a Living of better than 200 *l.* a Year, where he was Ejected in 62. He afterwards Liv'd privately in and about *London,* till King *Charles*'s Indulgence in 71, at which Time a Part of his Old Flock

* *If this be a ſcandal, 'tis Matter of Truth; for the Biſhop himſelf own'd it in his Laſt Teſtament in Print:* Wood *in his Account of him gives his very Words; and yet ſuch is the Temper of the Man, as to give a more favourable Character of this Biſhop* Goodman, *than of Two ſuch Perſons as Biſhop* Wilkins, *and Arch-Biſhop* Tillotſon.

invited him to *Chicheſter*, where he continu'd his Labours with great Aſſiduity and Succeſs. God many Years afflicted him with the Stone, which at laſt was his Death: And while the Pain was tolerable to Nature he endur'd it, and ceas'd not Preaching, till within a Fortnight of his being brought up to *London* to have been Cut. But before that could be done, he left this for a better Life, *Dec.* 26. 1680. His Funeral Sermon was Preach'd by Mr. *Baxter* who gives him this Character. *He was a Man of great clearneſs and ſoundneſs in Religion, and blameleſs in his Converſation. He was of ſo great Moderati n and Love of Peace, that he hated all that was againſt it, and would have done any thing for Concord in the Church, except ſinning againſt God, and hazarding Salvation. He was for Catholick Union and Communion of Saints, and for going no further from any Churches or Chriſtians than they force us, or than they go from Chriſt. He was for loving and doing Good to all, and living peaceably with all, as far as was in his Power. Something in* Epiſcopacy, Presbytery *and* Independency *he liked, and ſome Things he diſlik'd in all. He was true to his Conſcience, and valu'd not the Intereſt of a Party or Faction. If all the* Nonconformiſts *in* England *had refus'd, he would have Conform'd alone, if the Terms had been reduc'd to what he tho't Lawful. He manag'd his Miniſtry with Faithfulneſs and Prudence. He had no worldly Deſigns to carry on, but was eminent in Self-Denial. He was not apt to ſpeak againſt thoſe by whom he ſuffer'd; nor was he ever pleas'd with ripping up their Faults. He was very careful to preſerve the Reputation of his Brethren, and rejoic'd in the Succeſs of their Labours as well as of his own: And a moſt careful avoider of all Diviſions, Contentions, or Offences. He was very Free in acknowledging by whom he profited; and preferring others before himſelf. He was much in the Study of his own Heart; as is evident from the little Thing of his, that is Publiſh'd, call'd* Notes for himſelf, *&c. He had good Aſſurance of his own Sincerity; and yet was not altogether without his mixture of Fears. He had the Comfort of ſenſible growth in Grace. He eaſily perceiv'd a notable Increaſe of his Faith, and Holineſs, and Heavenlineſs, and Humility, and Contempt of the World,*

ſpec-

especially in his latter Years, and under his Affliction, as the Fruit of Gods correcting Rod: And Dy'd at last in great Serenity and Peace *. There's no Occasion for Wonder, that such a Man should fall under the Censure of Mr. *Wood*. His Commendation, had really been a Disgrace to him.

* *His Publish'd Writings, are, An Historical Relation of the Military Government of* Glocester, *from the beginning of the Civil War between King and Parliament, to the removal of Col.* Massie *from that Government, to the Command of the* Western *Forces*, Qu. 1645.

A Vindication of the Magistrates of the City of Glocester, *from the Calumnies of* Robert Bacon, *Printed in his Relation of his Usage there. To which is added, The Discussion of Ten Questions, tending to the Discovery of close* Antinomianism, *Qu.* 1647. *The Interest of* England *in the Matter of Religion: In Two Parts*, 1661. Oct. *An admirable Book, where any Man may clearly see the Spirit and Temper, Aim and Design of those call'd* Presbyterians, *at and after King* Charles's *Restauration; and the Pleas they made use of, to induce to that Lenity which would have made this Nation Happy, and prevented those Calamities we have since been under, many sad Effects whereof, yet remain among us. The Kingdom of God among Men, a Tract of the sound State of Religion: To which is added a Discussion of the Point of Church Unity and Schism*, Oct. 1679. *A Discourse of the Religion of* England; *asserting that the Reformed Christianity settled in its due Latitude, is the Stability and Advancement of this Kingdom: In Two Parts*, Qu. *His Self-Employment in Secret, containing Memorials for his own Practice, his Evidences upon Self-Examination, and his Tho'ts in his last painful Affliction, in* 12s. 1681. *And his Remains, containing, A Discourse of the Church, of the Ministry, of Certainty and Infallibility: And the true State of Ancient Episcopacy: A Consideration of the present State of Conformity in the Church of* England: *A Discourse of Divine Worship: An Exposition of* Jonah 2. *the four first Verses: An Exposition of* John 16. 33. *An Enquiry into the* Oxford *Oath: A Plea for Communion with the Church of* England, *&c. With a Modest Defence of his Ministerial Nonconformity, and the Exercise of his Ministry, in Answer to the Bishop of* Winchester's *Charge against him. An Explication of the Decrees and Operations of God, &c. And an Account of the Principles and Practises of the* Nonconformists; *shewing that their Religion is no other than what is profess'd in the Church of* England.

He had also a considerable Hand in compiling Mr. Rushworth's *first Volume of Historical Collections, which is reckon'd a Master-piece of the Kind, by competent Judges of such Writings.*

Crundall: Mr. *Humphrey Weaver*. A good Scholar, who had a good Estate, and a generous Temper, and was a very Publick Spirited Man.

Rockborne: Mr. *Haddesley*. His Parsonage was worth 200 *l. per Annum*. He was very much of Mr.

Baxters Judgment in the Quinquarticular Points, and of a Catholick Healing Spirit,-with Reference to our Church Controverſies. He was Pious, Prudent, and Humble: Had an excellent Gift in Prayer, and was a very uſeful Preacher. But ſo exceſſively Modeſt, as to be under ſome Awe when his Brethren were preſent at any of his Performances; tho' they were very much his Inferiours. In the latter Part of his Life he ſettled at *Salisbury*, where he had a flouriſhing Congregation. He Dy'd there, ſome Years ſince.

Weald: Mr. *Martin Moreland*, M. A. Fellow of *Wadham* Colledge in *Oxford*. Eminent in the Univerſity, and afterwards. He was a Man of clear Reaſon, and great Reading, an accurate, and affectionate Preacher: Moderate in his Principles, charitable in his Temper, ſerious and remarkably Upright in his Life, and Converſation.

Baddſley: Mr. *Lancaſter*. One of eminent skill in the Oriental Languages.

Houghton: Mr. *Thomas Warren*. A noted Man: Whom Mr. *Eyre* of *Salisbury* oppos'd in the Point of Juſtification. Mr. *Warren* wrote upon the Subject; a Book entit. *Unbelievers no Subjects of Juſtification*, nor of *Myſtical Union to Chriſt*, Qu. 1654.

Ewhurſt: Mr. *John Harmar* *; M. A. brought up in *Wincheſter* School, and *Magdalen* Colledge in *Oxon*. He was *Greek* Profeſſor at *Oxford:* And even Mr. *Wood* himſelf gives him this Character, *That he was a*

* *He hath Printed,* Praxis Grammatices: Verum & genuinum Declinationum & Conjugationum uſum liquidò indicans, *&c. Oct.* 1622. Janua Linguarum: Sive Methodus & ratio Compendiaria & facilis ad omnes Linguas ad Latinam verò maximè aperiens, *Qu.* 1627. Eclogæ Sententiarum & Similitudinum, e *D. Chryſoſtomo* decerptæ: Græc. & Lat. cum Annot. *Oct.* 1622. Protomartyr Britannus: Seu Elegia Sacra in Converſionem & Martyrium *S. Albani*, Qu. 1630. Lexicon Etymologicon Græcum, junctim cum Scapula 1637. *Fol.* Epiſtola ad *D. Lambertum Osbalſtonum*, Cui intexitur Apologia pro honoratiſſ. illuſtriſſimoque viro ac Domino, *D. Johanne Williams* Archiep. Eborac. & *Angliæ* Primate, *Oct.* 1649. Oratio *Oxoniæ* habita, in Schola Publica Linguæ Græcæ aſſignatâ, 15. *Kal. Aug.* 1650. *Oct.* Oratio Sereniſſimi Protectoris Elogium Complectens, *Oxoniæ* habita 50. *Kal. Maii* 1654. *Qu.* Ad Protectorem Carmina de Pace, cum *Belgis* ſancitâ Vindiciæ Academiæ *Oxonienſis*; Sive Oratio Apologetica qua Exercitiorum Academicorum in Trimeſtre vacat. a Crimine vindicatur, *Oct.* 1662. *M. Tullii Ciceronis* Vita.

moſt

most excellent Philologist, and a tolerable Latin *Poet; and was happy in rendring* Greek *into* Latine, *or* Latine *into* English, *or* English *into* Greek *or* Latine, *whether in Prose or Verse.* He was Ejected after King *Charles's* Return, and retir'd to *Steventon* in this County; where he Dy'd, *An.* 1670.

ex optimis quibusque Scriptoribus delibata, & in Compendium reducta, *Oct.* 1662. Oratio Panegyrica in honor. *Car.* 2. &c. in Angliam, Plaudente Orbe *Britannico*, remigrant. Habita *Ox.* 27. *Maii.* 1660. *He also Translated the Assemblies Shorter Catechism into* Greek *and* Latin, *&c.*

In the *Isle of Wight:* Newport: Mr. *Robert Touchin.* Calhourne: Mr. *Edward Buckler.* Freshwater: Mr. *John Creswick*, or *Carswick:* Some time Fellow of St. *Johns* Colledge in *Cambridge.* Week: Mr. *Thomas Newnham.* Yaverland: Mr. *Martin Wells.* Yarmouth: Mr. *John Martin.* West Cowes: Mr. *Simon Pole.* Guernsey: Mr. *Le Marsh.*

East Tidworth: Mr. *Samuel Sprint.* His Living was worth at least 120 *l. per An.* He was Son to the famous Author of *Cassander Anglicanus*, and much of his Judment in Relation to our Ecclesiastical Controversies. He was an intimate Friend of Mr. *Woodbridge*, and of the same Pacifick, Healing, Catholick Spirit. A compleat Scholar, a very useful Preacher, and of a very Pious, uniform Conversation. Of wonderful Modesty and Humility; and therefore contented to live in an obscure Corner, tho' he had large Offers elsewhere. He was generally respected by all his Neighbours, and very intimate with many of the Clergy near him. Bishop *Morley* had a peculiar Respect for him, and urg'd him to Conformity. Mr. *Sprint* mention'd the Cross in Baptism, as what he could not comply with. To which the Bishop Reply'd; this was honest Mr. *Dod's* Scruple: But gave no other Answer than this; *That the Cross was only a visible Profession of our Believing in a Crucify'd Saviour, in Conformity to the Practise of the Primitive Christians, who cross'd themselves; by this Action as by Words, owning their being Christians*; but it did not thence appear to Mr. *Sprint*, that it might lawfully or safely be made a *Term of Communion.* He on his Death-bed

declar'd his full Satisfaction, in the Cauſe of Nonconformity. He had but a very inconſiderable Allowance from his People whom he Preach'd amongſt: But was us'd to ſay; If the Bottle and Satchel held but out to the Journey's End, it was ſufficient. He was exercis'd with a very lingring Sickneſs, which carry'd him off, and thro' the whole of it he diſcover'd great Longings to be at reſt.

Benſteed: Mr. *John Yates.* Headling: Mr. *Samuel Jefferſon.* Selborn: Mr. *John Farroll.* Odiham: Mr. *Samuel Touchin.* Hartley Weſpel: Mr. *Jennins.* Kingſworthy: Mr. *John Hook.* Wallop: Mr. *Marriot.* Alresford: Mr. *Taylor.* Crawley: Mr. *Samuel Tomlins.* Who I ſuppoſe is he that afterwards ſettled at *Marlborough.* Michelmerſh: Mr. *James Terry.* Biſhopſtoake: Mr. *Cox.* Hurſley: Mr. *Walter Marſhal.* Southampton: Mr. *John Robinſon.* Milbrook: Mr. *Brown.* Longſtock: Mr. *Pinkney.* Brokenhurſt: Mr. *Robert Tuchin.* Southwick: Mr. *Symonds.* Portſmouth: Mr. *Benjamin Burgeſs,* and Mr. *Thomas Bragg.* Titchfield: Mr. *Oakes.* Rowner: Mr. *George Whitmarſh.* Upton Gray: Mr. *Noah Webb*; who was alſo turn'd out at *Chevely* in *Berkſhire.* Portſey: Mr. *John Bicknell.* Wablington: Mr. *John Harriſon.* Exton: Mr. *John Ridg.* Ferlington: Mr. *Robert Leiceſter.* Hayling: Mr. *John Rowel.* Rumſey: Mr. *John Warren.* Ropley: Mr. *Up John.* Otterborn: Mr. *Web.* Clanfield: Mr. *Dyman.*

Wincheſter: Dr. *Faithful Tate,* Mr. *Cook,* and Mr. *Tho. Gale.*

Overton: Mr. *Kentiſh.* Heckfield: Mr. *Goſs.* Sunburn: Mr. *Jones.* And, Dean: Mr. *Rogers.*

I cannot hear that any of theſe Conform'd: Or indeed that any who ſtood out at firſt in this County, comply'd afterwards, except Mr. *Samuel Ellis* of *Wincheſter.*

In the County of DORSET.

Dorcheſter: Alhallows Mr. *Benn.* St. Peters and Trinity: Mr. *George Hammond.* Mr.

Mr. *Benn* * was an eminent Divine, famous in all the *West* of *England*. He was bred up in *Queens* Colledge in *Oxon*, Preacher for ſometime at *Okingham* in *Berks*, afterwards Chaplain to the Marchioneſs of *Northampton*, with whom he Liv'd in *Somerſetſhire*, whence by the Intereſt and Endeavours of the celebrated Mr. *John White*, call'd the Patriarch of *Dorcheſter*, he was remov'd to that Town, where he continu'd in great Reſpect and Reputation, Rector of *Alhallows*, till the Fatal *Bartholomew*. He was not ſatisfy'd with his conſtant Labouring at *Alhallows*, but Preach'd beſides on a Week Day, to the Priſoners in the Goal, which was in his Pariſh; and he caus'd a Chapel to be built within the Priſon Walls, in good Part at leaſt, at his own Charge. When he was ſilenc'd, he ſtill continu'd among his Ancient People, and Preach'd to them as he could; for which he was often bro't into Trouble, and ſometimes Impriſon'd. He Dy'd in the latter End of the Year, 1680. After his painful, faithful, and ſucceſsful Labour in the Vineyard of Chriſt, for above 50 Years. He was richly furniſh'd with all Miniſterial Abilities; one of unparallel'd Perſeverance in Prayer. For he Pray'd in his Study Seven Times a Day: And it was his conſtant Cuſtom in his Prayers at thoſe ſtated Seaſons, to give God Thanks for certain Deliverances from Danger, which befel him, *June* 5. 1636. *Oct.* 23. 1643. *Aug.* 12. 1645.

* *He hath written an Anſwer to Mr.* Francis Bampfields *Letter, in Vindication of the Chriſtian Sabbath againſt the* Jewiſh: *Which is Printed in Mr.* Bampfield's *Judgment for the Obſervation of the* Jewiſh *Sabbath*, Oct. 1672. *And after his Death, ſome Sermons of his were Printed concerning Soul Proſperity*, Oct. 1683.

Mr. *George Hammond* †, M. A. after his being ſilenc'd, continu'd ſeveral Years in the Countrey; but at laſt ſettled in *London*, where he is yet Living Paſtour of a Congregation.

† *He hath a Sermon in the laſt Volume of the Morning Exerciſe, on this Queſtion*, How may Private Chriſtians be moſt helpful to promote the Entertainment of the Goſpel? *And he hath alſo Printed a Diſcourſe of* Family Worſhip, *Oct.* 1694. *Which he drew up at the Requeſt of the United Miniſters, in and about* London.

Sherborn: Mr. *Francis Bampfield*, M. A. and Mr. *Humphrey Philips.*

Mr. *Francis Bampfield*, was of a Genteel Family; and Educated in *Wadham* Colledge in *Oxon*. He was Im-

Impriſon'd for worſhipping God in his own Family, quickly after his being Silenc'd *: So ſoon was his unſhaken Loyalty to the King forgotten, and his Zeal againſt the Parliaments War. Often was he alſo Impriſon'd afterwards; ſo that he was forc'd out of the Country. When he came to *London* he met with like Uſage: And at laſt Dy'd in *Newgate*, *Febr.* 16. $168\frac{3}{4}$. His Particular Sentiments I paſs by †: But think none at all acquainted with his ſerious Piety, which hath been generally acknowledg'd, can forbear owning, that he deſerv'd another ſort of Treatment than he met with from the unkind World.

* *A Particular Account of his Treatment at that Time, may be ſeen in the* Conformiſts *4th Plea for the* Non-conformiſts; *Page* 44. *&c.*

† *He Publiſh'd his Judgment for the Obſervation of the* Jewiſh *or 7th Day Sabbath,* Oct. 1672. *And alſo, All in one: All uſeful Sciences and profitable Arts, in one Book of* Jehovah, *&c. Fol.* 1677.

Ower: Mr. *Troit.* Portland: Mr. *John Sprint.* Bridport: Mr. *Eaton.* Holneſt: Mr. *John More.* Simondsborow: Mr. *John Hardy.* Buckland Newton: Mr. *John Weekes.* Who was afterward Miniſter of a flouriſhing Congregation in the City of *Briſtol*; and as Popular a Preacher as moſt in *England.* Fordington: Mr. *Joſhua Churchill.* Weymouth: Mr. *George Thorne.* Muncton: Mr. *Richard Downe.* Blanford: Mr. *William Allen.* Straford: Mr. *Benjamin Wey,* Fellow of *Corpus Chriſti* in *Oxon:* And a good Scholar. Came: Mr. *Chriſtopher Lawrence.* Who had before loſt a Living in *Wiltſhire* for refuſing the Engagement: Which was alſo the Caſe of many of the Ejected Miniſters, tho' 'tis difficult to get a certain Account of them at ſo great Diſtance of Time. Maiden Newton: Mr. *Andrew Bromhall*; or *Brumhill.* Bradpool: Mr. *Sampſon.* Lyme: Mr. *Ames Short,* and Mr. *Keckwich.* Hauke-Church: Mr. *John Hodder.* Brodewinſor: Mr. *Penney,* or *Pinney,* a very Ingenious, Polite, and Learned Man. Rimpſcomb: Mr. *Crane.* Week: Mr. *Dammer.* Lanckton in Purbek: Mr. *John Mitchel.* Warham: Mr. *Chaplain.* Tarrant Hinton: Mr. *Timothy Sacheverell.* Shafton: Mr. *Hallett.* Melberry-bubb: Mr. *Forward.* Hamone: Mr. *Thomas More.* Litchet: Mr. *Thomas Roe.* Morden: Mr. *Edward Bennet.* Bere and

and Kingſton: Mr. *Philip Lamb*, who had afterwards a Congregation at *Clapham* in *Surrey*. Stalbridge: Mr. *Richard Shute*. Dorweſton: Mr. *Gapen*. Whitchurch: Mr. *Weſtley*. Wotton-fitz-pain: Mr. *Huſſey*. Chardſtock: Mr. *John Mills*. Beamiſter: Mr. *Thomas Crane*. He hath written a Diſcourſe of Providence. Charmiſter: Mr. *Samuel Hardy*. Who was not turn'd out in 1662, becauſe his Place was a Peculiar, and yet he did not Conform: He afterwards remov'd to *Pool*, (another Exempt Place) where various Methods were try'd to get him Ejected for want of Conformity, but in Vain: Till there was a ſpecial Commiſſion from the King, to Two Biſhops and ſeveral Juſtices of the Peace to eject him. The Biſhops refus'd to Act in concert with the Juſtices in an Eccleſiaſtical Matter; and ſo left it to them, who very carefully diſcharg'd their Commiſſion: He afterwards ſettled at *Newberry*, where he Dy'd.

Others were caſt out in this County, whoſe Places are uncertain: As Mr. *Iſaac Clifford*. Mr. *Martyn*. Mr. *Avien*. Mr. *Bartlett*. Mr. *Brice*. Mr. *French*. Mr. *Hopkins*. Mr. *King*. Mr. *Light*. Mr. *Mutall*. Mr. *Owſeley*. Mr. *Prinne*. Mr. *Salaway*. Mr. *Trottle*, Sen. Mr. *Trottle*, Jun.

In the County of DEVON.

Exceſter: St. Johns: Mr. *Robert Atkins*. Sidwells: Mr. *Thomas Powel*. St. Mary in the More: Mr. *John Bartlett*. St. Mary Arches: Mr. *Ferdinando Nichols* *. St. Edmunds: Mr. *Thomas Downs*, Mr. *Lewis Stukely*, Mr. *Thomas Mall*. Petrocks: Mr. *Mark Downs*. St. Thomas: Mr. *Hodge*.

Mr. *Thomas Ford*, M. A. bred up in *Oxford* in *Magdalen* Hall: Where he betimes fell under the Diſpleaſure of Biſhop *Laud*, for a Free Sermon at St. *Mary's*, which crampt his Preferment. He was firſt Benefic'd at *Oundle* in *Northamptonſhire*; whence retiring to *London*, he was one of the Aſſembly of Divines. Fixing afterwards in *Exceſter*, he was in great Eſteem; and ſo continu'd, till the *Bartholomew*

* *He wrote the Life and Death of Mr.* Ignatius Jurdain, *ſometime Alderman of the City of* Exeter.

Act Ejected him *. He ſtill continu'd among his People, and was reſpected for his Miniſterial Worth, by the Generality of ſober Men. He Dy'd in *December*, 1676. He was one of great Parts, and of unbyaſs'd Principles; one and the ſame in all Times and Changes.

* *He Preach'd ſome Sermons before the Long Parliament, & hath written, a Treatiſe to prove the Lawfulneſs of Singing of Pſalms*, Oct. 1657. *And another Diſcourſe Entit. The Sinner Condemn'd of himſelf: Being a Plea for God, againſt all the Ungodly, proving them alone Guilty of their own Deſtruction*, Oct. 1668.

Dartmouth: Petrocks: Mr. *James Burdwood*. St. Saviours: Mr. *Allen Geare*: A Man of conſiderable Learning: Who Dy'd about Four Months after *Bartholomew* Day, 1662.

Townſtal: Mr. *John Flavel* †, Educated in *Univerſity* Colledge in *Oxon*. Was ordain'd to the Miniſtry at *Salisbury*, Oct. 17. 1650. He was at that Time Aſſiſtant to Mr. *Walplate* at *Diptford* in *Devon*, and afterwards ſucceeded in his Rectory. From whence upon an unanimous Call he remov'd to *Dartmouth*, after the Death of Mr. *Hartford*, notwithſtanding that *Diptford* was a much more profitable Benefice. Here he continu'd Labouring with Acceptation and Succeſs, till the Act of Uniformity Ejected him. But not thinking his Relation to his People thereupon at an End, he continu'd the Exerciſe of his Miniſtry among them as he had Opportunity. Upon the coming forth of the *Oxford* Act he was forc'd to remove, and went to *Slapton* about Five Miles Diſtance, where he Preach'd twice every Lord's Day to ſuch as would venture to be his Auditors; and he thence made Private Viſits to his Friends in *Dartmouth*. When King *Charles* granted his Indulgence, he return'd thither, and kept an open Meeting in the Town: And when it was call'd in, he continu'd to Preach more privately. Being at laſt in great Danger at *Dartmouth*, thro' the Malice of his Enemies, he reſolv'd to retire for *London*, where he hop'd for more Safety. He went by Sea, and met with a terrible Storm within Five Leagues off *Portland*, when they were in Danger of being loſt, ſo that Maſter and Sea-

* *See the Account of his Life, prefix'd to his Works in* Folio.

Seamen concluded they must of Necessity be Wreck'd, if the Wind did not quickly Change. When Things were in this Posture he call'd all that could be spar'd to Prayer, and recommended himself and them to God; and soon after the Wind chang'd, and he got safe to *London*. There he was in Danger of being taken, at the same Time with Mr. *Jenkins*.

He had not been long here, before he resolv'd to return home, and take his Lot. Doing so, he was in a little Time confin'd close Prisoner to his House. After Mr. *Jenkins* his Death, his People gave Mr. *Flavel* a Call to succeed him, and much importun'd him; but he was not to be perswaded to leave *Dartmouth*. Upon King *James*'s Liberty in 87, his People there, provided him a large Place, in which it pleas'd God to use him for the good of many. He Preach'd Twice every Lord's Day; a Lecture every *Wednesday*, and on the *Thursday* also before the Sacrament. And he was not only Zealous in the Pulpit, but a sincere, lively Christian in his Closet; as appears from his Diary, Part of which is inserted in his Life. He Dy'd *June* 26. 1691. His Funeral Sermon was Preach'd by Mr. *George Trosse* of *Exeter*. Two Passages concerning him, I cannot omit. The first is this, He freely taught Academical Learning to Four Young Men whom he bred to the Ministry, and one of them he maintain'd all the while at his own Charge. The other this, That in the Year 1685. when some of the People of *Dartmouth* accompany'd by some of the Magistrates, were Acted by such a Spirit of Madness, as to make up his Effigies, and carry it thro' the Streets in Derision, with the Covenant, and Bill of Exclusion, Pinn'd to it, and Burn it: He in the mean Time retir'd, and offer'd up his most Hearty Prayers to God, for the Town of *Dartmouth*, its Magistrates and Inhabitants: And when the Passages of their Mock-shew were afterwards related to him, He made no other Return, than in the Words of our Saviour: *Father forgive them, for they know not what they do.* His several Works being Collected together, have since his Death been Printed in Two *Folio's*.

Ply-

Plymouth: Mr. *George Hughes*, B. D. Mr. *Thomas Martyn*: And Mr. *George Horſeman*. Mr. *Hughes* was firſt of *Corpus Chriſti*, and afterwards of *Pembroke* Colledge in *Oxon*. Entring into the Miniſtry, he Preach'd for ſome Time in and near *Oxford*; afterwards he was Lecturer of *Alhallows Bread-ſtreet* in *London*, and remov'd thence to St. *Andrews* in *Plymouth*, were he was an Active and Zealous Inſtrument of much good, till he was Silenc'd in 1662. He continu'd there after he was Ejected, for which he was ſummon'd to appear by a Lieutenant of the Garriſon, as from his Superior. Upon his appearing, an Officer with Two Files of Muſqueteers was commanded to convey him and Mr. *Martyn* into St. *Nicolas* Iſland *, where they remain'd Nine Months. At length his Health being much impair'd, and his Legs black and ſwoln; (which was occaſion'd as is ſuppos'd by the Saltneſs of the Air) he was offer'd his Liberty, upon Condition of giving Security of a 1000 *l.* not to live within Twenty Miles of *Plymouth*. Which was accordingly done by his Friends without his Knowledge. Whereupon he retir'd to *Kingsbridge* in *Devonſhire*, where he Dy'd in *July*, 1667. He was an eminent Divine, reckon'd the Apoſtle of the *Weſt*, and belov'd of all that knew him, that had any real Value for Religion †.

* *A Particular Account of the Treatment of Mr.* Hughes *and Mr.* Martyn, *may be ſeen in the* Conformiſts *Plea for the* N. C. *4th Part Page* 64.

† *He hath Printed ſeveral Sermons Preach'd at Funerals, and upon other Publick Occaſions; and alſo an Expoſition on the Small Prophets*, Fol. 1654. *Sure-footing in Chriſtianity Examin'd: In Anſwer to Mr.* Sergeant, Oct. 1668. *Which Book he wrote when he was Confin'd in the Iſland St.* Nicolas. *An Expoſition on the Book of* Job, *Fol.* 1669. *Aphoriſms determining the Doctrine of the Sabbath*, Oct. 1670. *An Expoſition on* Geneſis, *and Part of* Exodus, *Fol.* 1672.

Mr. *Obadiah Hughes*, Son of this Mr. *George Hughes*, was in no Benefice when the *Bartholomew* Act took Place, and yet was Impriſon'd, and difficultly obtain'd his Liberty which was not to be had, without promiſing not to remain in *Plymouth* Forty Eight Hours; nor to return thither, without Leave from the E. of *B.* or his Deputy. He retir'd hereupon to the City of *London*, and is yet Living, Paſtor of a Congregation at *Enfield*.

Great

Great Torrington: Mr. *John How*, M. A. Some time Fellow of *Magdalen* Colledge in *Oxon.* Well known by his Works *. And yet Living in the City of *London.*

* *His Works are theſe: A Treatiſe of Delighting in God*, Oct. 1674. *The Bleſſedneſs of the Righteous: And the Vanity of Man as Mortal*, Oct. 1678. *The Living Temple of God*, Oct. 1675. *The Reconcileableneſs of Gods Preſcience of the Sins of Men, with the Wiſdom and Sincerity of his Counſels, Exhortations, and whatſoever other Means he uſes to prevent them*, Oct. 1677. *Of Thoughtfulneſs for the Morrow; with an* Appendix *concerning the immoderate Deſire of Fore-knowing Things to come*, Oct. 1681. *Of Charity in Reference to other Mens Sins. Of the Improvement of the Name of God in Prayer. Of Self-Dedication, in* Tw. *The Redeemers Tears wept over loſt Souls. in a Treatiſe on* Luke 19. 41, 42. *With an* Appendix *concerning the Sin againſt the Holy Ghoſt. A Sermon directing what we are to do, after a ſtrict Enquiry whether or no, we truly Love God. The Carnality of Religious Contention, in Two Sermons at the Merchants-Lecture at* Broad-ſtreet. *A Letter to a Perſon of Quality, who took Offence at Dr.* Stillingfleets *Sermon about Separation*, Qu. *A Calm and Sober Enquiry concerning the Poſſibility of a Trinity in the Godhead. A Letter to a Friend concerning a Poſt-ſcript to the Defence of Dr.* Sherlocks *Notion of the Trinity in Unity, relating to the Calm and Sober Enquiry upon the ſame Subject. A View of that Part of the late Conſiderations addreſs'd to H. H. about the Trinity, which concerns the Sober Enquiry on that Subject. A Funeral Sermon for Mrs.* Judith Hammond; *another for Mrs.* Eſther Sampſon; *another for Mr.* Richard Adams; *another for Dr.* William Bates; *another for Mr.* Matthew Mead. *A Sermon Preach'd to the Societies for* Reformation of Manners. *A Sermon Preach'd on the Day of Thankſgiving*, Dec. 2. 1697. *Two Sermons concerning Enmity and Reconciliation to God, Beſides which, he hath ſome Sermons in the Volumes of the Morning Exerciſe: One in that at St.* Giles, On the Mutableneſs of the State in which Man was Created. *And another in the Continuation of Morning Exerciſe Queſtions; on this Queſtion.* What may moſt hopefully be attempted, to allay Animoſities among Chriſtians, that our Diviſions may not be our Ruine (*which Sermon is recommended to the Serious Peruſal, of ſuch as would keep the due Mean, between the Eſtabliſh'd Church and* Diſſenters.) *And he hath lately Written a Diſcourſe of Occaſional Communion, which may ſupply the Place of an* Appendix, *to the foregoing Sermon.*

Barnſtable: Mr. *Nathanael Mather*; who after his Ejection was a Miniſter at *Roterdam* in *Holland*; and Dy'd Paſtor of a Congregation in *London.*

North Taunton: Mr. *Maynard.* He was Aged when Ejected, and had been Epiſcopally Ordained and

and yet not long after, his being Silenc'd, was threaten'd to be ſent to the Work-Houſe, by Juſtice *G*---. See *Conf.* 4th *Pl.* Page 50.

Kenton: Dr. *George Kendal.* He was Born at *Coſton* in the Pariſh of *Dawlith*, near *Exon*; he was bred in *Exeter* Colledge *Oxon*, where he was a Diſciple, and a great Admirer of Dr. *Prideaux.* When the Dr. was promoted to the Biſhoprick of *Worceſter*, Mr. *Kendal* then B. D. ſtood fair to ſucceed him in the Rectory of his Colledge, for he was zealouſly recommended by King *Charles*; but loſt it. *An.* 1647. He became Rector of *Bliſland* near *Bodmin* in *Cornwall.* Thence he remov'd to *London*, where he had a Living in *Grace-Church* Street. In 1654. He proceeded Doctor, and upon King *Charles*'s Return he left the City, and became Rector of *Kenton*, from whence he was Ejected at the Fatal *Bartholomew.* After which he retir'd to *Coſton*, the Place of his Birth, and the Seat of his Family, where he Dy'd *Aug.* 19. 1663. He left behind him the General Reputation of a conſiderable Scholar *, a ready Diſputant, and a good Preacher.

* *He hath Written and Publiſh'd A Vindication of the Doctrine generally receiv'd in the Churches, concerning Gods Intentions of ſpecial Grace and Favour to his Elect in the Death of Chriſt*, Fol. 1653. Sancti Sanciti: *Or the common Doctrine of the Perſeverance of the Saints, againſt* John Goodwin, *Fol.* 1654. Fur pro Tribunali, Examen Dialogiſmi qui inſcribitur, Fur Prædeſtinatus, *Oxon.* Oct. 1657. De Doctrinâ Neo Pelagianâ: Oratio habita in Comitiis *Oxon.* July 9. 1654. Twiſſii Vita & Victoria, &c.

Tiverton: Mr. *Theoph. Polwheile.* Bediford: Mr. *John Bartlett.* Shobrooke: Mr. *Thomas Tuſcott.* Morchard: Mr. *Robert Snow.* Cherinton: Mr. *Nathanael Durant.* Petrockſtowe: Mr. *William Trevithiack.* Poltimore: Mr. *Ambroſe Clare*, a great Scholar. Ilſington: Mr. *William Stook.* Holdworthy: Mr. *Humphrey Saunders.* Eaſt-Ogwell: Mr. *John Stephens.* Honiton: Mr. *Francis Soreton:* A conſiderable Man. St. Mary's: Mr. *William Stidſon.* Stok-flemming: Mr. *William Bayly.* Marledon: Mr. *Chriſtopher Fellinger.* Juſton or Juſtow: Mr. *William Clyde.* Auſtie: Mr. *John Mauditt.* Aſhprington: Mr. *John Burgeſs.* Newton Biſhops: Mr. *William Yeo.* Tot-

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nes: Mr. *Francis Whiddon.* Who Preach'd occaſionally after *Bartholomew* Day, for which he was carry'd up to *London* before the King and Council; and tho' he had nothing done to him, yet was he put to a vaſt Expence. Ugbrock: Mr. *Nathan. Jacob.* Jacobſtowe: Mr. *Peter Osborne.* Kingsbridge: Mr. *John Way.* Newton Ferris: Mr. *John Hill.* Stoke-Cannon: Mr. *John Jordan.* Pyworthy: Mr. *Taylor.* Harberton: Mr. *George Mortimer.* Barnſtable: the Lecture: Mr. *Jonathan Hanmer* *. Stokenham: Mr. *Benjamin Cleveland.* Teyntondrewe: Mr. *Richard Herring.* Mariſtowe: Mr. *John Herring.* Dean-Prior; or Buckland: Mr. *John Simms.* Rattery: Mr. *John Searle.* Bratton: Mr. *Anthony Palmer.* Kentisbeare: Mr. *Richard Saunders.* The Author of a valuable Treatiſe concerning Angels, *Qu.* Brixham: Mr. *John Kempſter.* Who afterwards retir'd to *London.* Woodley: Mr. *Richard Binmore.* Hatherley: Mr. *Bartholomew Yeo.*

Ditteſham: Mr. *Edmund Tucker.* Huckſham: Mr. *Benjamin Berry.* Dunchiedeock: Mr. *Hunt.* Tavelock: Mr. *Larkham.* Northam: Mr. *Antony Downe.* Columpton: Mr. *William Cromſton.* Brixton: Mr. *John Quick* †. Who continu'd among his People Preaching Privately after he was Ejected, and met with very ſevere Treatment, which at laſt forc'd him to leave the Country. He is yet Living, Paſtor of a Congregation in *London.* Taverton: Mr. *John Chipule.* Littleham: Mr. *Jonathan Bowden.* Stoke: Mr. *John Hicks.* Stone-houſe: Mr. *Walmſly.* Upin-hellins: Mr. *Lewis Facy.* Worington: Mr. *William Carſlake.* Tammerton: Mr. *Wyne.* Rew: Mr. *Edward Parr.* Musbery: Mr. *Richard Farrant.* Dunſford: Mr. *William Pearſe.* Ipplepen: Mr. *John Noſeworthy.* Morton: Mr. *Woolcomb.* Staverton: Mr. *Horſham.* Sowton: Mr *John Mortimer.* Axmiſter: Mr. *Barth. Aſhwood.* Broad Hembury: Mr. *Bangor.* Tremington: Mr. *John Bartlett.* Buckland Fylly: Mr. *Bowden.* Kennerley: Mr. *Bubear.* Upleman: Mr. *Robert Carryl.* Tallaton: Mr. *Robert Collins.* Exborne: Mr. *Finney,* Sen. Weſt Buckland: Mr. *Joſias Dale.* Woodbury: Mr. *Sam. Fowns.* Shute: Mr. Hill. Uplyme: Mr. *Goodwin.* Pinhawes: Mr. *Grove.*

* *Who hath written an ingenious and Learned Diſcourſe concerning* Confirmation; *and alſo a View of Antiquity,* Oct.

† *He hath Publiſh'd* Synodicon in Gallia Reformata: *In* 2 *Vol. in* Fol. *A Relation of the Poyſoning of a whole Family in* Plimouth. *A Funeral Sermon for Mr.* Faldo, &c.

Loddeſwell: Mr. *Hind.* Brampford: Mr. *Hallet.* Harberton: Mr. *Harderidge.* Saterleigh: Mr. *Lewis Hatch.* Briddiſtow: Mr. *Knapman.* Little Hempſton: Mr. *John Knight.* Moreton: Mr. *John Mills.* Clayhaydon: Mr. *Matthias Pemberton:* Who was afterwards Miniſter of a Congregation at *Marlborough* in *Wilts.* Plympton Marics: Mr. *Pitts.* Ilfarcombe: Mr. *Prince.* Comeranley: Mr. *Taylor.* Woleſworthy: Mr. *Waldron.* Luppiti: Mr. *Tho. Wellman.* Collaton: Mr. *John Wilkins.* Plimpton Morris: Mr. *Williams.* Eaſt-down: Mr. *John Berry.* Ede: Mr. *Robert Gailard.* Honiton: Mr. *Samuel Hieron.* Woodland: Mr. *Thomas Palk.* Cheſtowe: Mr. *Elliot.*

At uncertain Places, and not then fix'd, when Silenc'd, Mr. *Watſon*, Mr. *Thomas Bridgman*, Mr. *Grundal*, Mr. *Hayward*, Mr. *Salway*, Mr. *Burdwood*, Mr. *Bragg.* And Mr. *Channon.* Mr. *John Hoppin*, M. A. Fellow of *Exceſter* Colledge in *Oxon*; yet Living in *Exceter.* Mr. *Nicolas Sherril*, M. A. of *Magdalen* Colledge *Oxon*; afterwards Miniſter of a Congregation in *Plymouth.* Mr. *John Gidley*, M. A. of *Exceſter* Colledge, ſince Miniſter in *Buckinghamſhire.* Mr. *Oliver Paerd*, of *Magdalen* Colledge. Mr. *J. Hanmore*, Jun. Mr. *George Troſs*, yet Living, Paſtor of a Congregation in *Exeter.* Mr. *John Gay*, Mr. *John Cudmore*, Mr. *Pope*, Mr. *Moor*, Mr. *John Cowbridge*, and Mr. *Richard Whiteway*, M. A. Fellow of *Exc.* Colledge.

There Conform'd in this County (ſome within a ſhorter, and others within a longer Space after *Bartholomew* Day) theſe Perſons following: Mr. *John Tickel* of *Exon.* Mr. *Richard Bickly* of *Denbery.* Mr. *John Law* of *Hinick.* Mr. *Richard Conant* of *Overton.* Mr. *Joſhua Bowden* of *Aſhburton.* Mr. *Bowden* of *Aſhton.* Mr. *Bullhead* of *Rings Aſh.* And Mr. *Francis Collins* of St. *Budax.* If any of thoſe before mention'd Conform'd afterwards, I ſhould be glad to know it.

In the County of CORNWAL.

Lanrake: Mr. *Jaſpar Hicks* *, M. A. A Miniſters Son, Born in *Berkſhire*, and bred up in *Trinity* Colledge in *Oxon.* He was a good Scholar, and a celebrated Preacher: He was a Member of the Aſſembly of Divines. Being Ejected in 62, he continu'd in thoſe Parts, and Preach'd as he had Opportunity, meeting with much Trouble and Diſturbance. He Dy'd, *Ann.* 1677. *Ætat.* 73.

* *He hath Printed ſome Sermons before the Long Parliament.*

Milar and *Mabe:* Mr. *Thomas Tregoſs* †. He was Born of an Ancient and Genteel Family, at St. *Ives* near to the Lands End in *Cornwall.* Bred in *Exeter* Colledge, under the Tuition of Mr. *Francis Howel*; was a Preacher for Two Years in the Place of his Nativity, and in 59 remov'd thence to *Milar*, where he was Ejected in 62. He afterwards Preach'd Twice every Lords Day in his own Family, many of the Neighbours coming in. For this he was Impriſon'd Three Months, and yet ceas'd not to Preach to his Fellow Priſoners, till he was Releas'd by Order from the Deputy Lieutenant. *Ann.* 1663, he remov'd into the Pariſh of *Budock* near *Penrin*, and there held on Preaching privately. There being Preaching but once in a Fortnight at *Mabe* Church, he ventur'd to officiate there, in Publick, rather than the People ſhould be deſtitute; for which he was again laid up Three Months in *Lanceſton* Goal. He was no ſooner out, than he Preach'd at *Mabe* Church again, and Impriſon'd afreſh, in the ſame Place. He was very chearful in his own Spirit; and exceeding uſeful to many by his warm Diſcourſes and Admonitions, Cautions and Exhortations, in all the Times of his Confinement. He was a Fourth Time in Cuſtody of the Mareſchal of *Bodmin*, as a dangerous and ſeditious Perſon: But very unjuſtly; for it could not be charg'd upon him, that either in his Preaching or Conference he ſo much as inveigh'd againſt the Diſcipline and Liturgy of the Church; much leſs did he meddle with State Affairs. But in *September* 1667, he

† *See his Life, Printed at* London, *in* Oct. 1671. *with many of his Letters.*

he was ſet at Liberty by a ſpecial Order from the King to the Mareſchal. After this, he had numerous Meetings at *Penryn*, and was mighty ſucceſsful in his Miniſtry. In 1669. He was ſent to the Goal at *Exceter*, for Preaching privately in a Houſe at *Great Torrington*, as he was Travelling in thoſe Parts: But he was ſoon Bail'd out. From *Midſummer* 1669. to *May* 1670. He Preach'd without Interruption in a Meeting-Place which he hir'd in *Mabe* Pariſh: Afterwards Informers were troubleſome; and many Fines were laid upon him, which Amounted to 220 *l.* and yet Providence ſo ordred Things, as that nothing that he had was ſeiz'd on. Afterwards keeping to the Statute-Number, he Preach'd Five Times every Lords Day, and repeated in the Evening: He Preach'd every *Tueſday* and *Thurſday* ſtatedly, beſides Occaſional Exerciſes: By which Labours he ſoon wore himſelf away. He Dy'd *Jan.* 18. 167⅞.

He was one of Eminent Piety, and yet (which is remarkable) Dated his Converſion, after he had been ſome time in the Miniſtry, nay, and a Sufferer for *Nonconformity* too. He was one whom God ſignally own'd; not only by his being inſtrumental in the Converſion of many Souls, but alſo by remarkable Judgments which befel ſeveral that were inſtrumental in his Troubles: For a Particular Account of which, the Reader is referr'd, to the Printed Narrative of his Life.

St. *Breage*: Mr. *James Innis*, who afterwards Liv'd with the Duke of *Lauderdail*.

Bliſland: Mr. *Charles Moreton*, a very ingenious Man: Who after his Ejection, came up to *London*, and ſettled at *Nenington* Green, where he was very ſerviceable in training up Young Men in all ſorts of Academical Learning. Many of his Pupils are now very uſeful Men, both in Church and State. His Fears of the return of *Popery*, induc'd him at laſt to go to *New-England*, where he Dy'd, a few Years ſince.

Great Columb: Mr. *Thomas Travers*. Tintagel: Mr. *Thomas Hearne*. Lanteglos: Mr. *Jonathan Wills*. Lanivet: Mr. *Henry Flammack*. Foye: Mr. *John Tonchin*. Lanceſton: Mr. *William Oliver*. Saltaſh: Mr.

Mr. *John Hicks.* Truro: Mr. *John Tincomb.* St. Stephens: Mr. *William Tombes.* St. Winnow: Mr. *Thomas Hancock.* Lanſarllos: Mr. *Nathanael Tincomb.* Hillary: Mr. *Joſeph Sherwood.* Sithney: Mr. *Roger Flammack.* Helſtone: Mr. *Robert Jago*, Sen. Redruth: Mr. *Thomas Trigges.* Mawnan: Mr. *Walter Quarum.* Penryn: Mr. *Joſeph Allen.* St. Juſt: Mr. *Edward Sheffield.* St. Anthony: Mr. *John Conbridge.* St. Clements: Mr. *William Upcot.* St. Michael: Mr. *Joſeph Halſey.* Probus: Mr. *Richard Batten.* Creed: Mr. *Tobias Bouchier.* St. Iſſue: Mr. *Stephen Reuel.* Merin, or St. Mellyn: Mr. *Sam. Tapper.* St. Mabyn: Mr. *William Treis.* St. Tudy: Mr. *Nicolas Leverton.* Little Petherick: Mr. *Otho Whitehorn.* Stoke Clymſland: Mr. *John Fathers.* St. Germans: Mr. *Solomon Carſwel*, or *Keſtle.* St. Mellyn: Mr. *John Lidſton.* Bloſtenim: Mr. *William Vincent.* Gwynap: Mr. *John Langsford.* St. Kewe: Mr. *Philip Harris.* Mullian: Mr. *John Aſhwood.* Maugan: Mr. *Sampſon Bond.* Mynheniott: Mr. *Sam. Auſtin.* Burian: Mr. *Joſeph Hull.* Roche: Mr. *John Stephens.* Ladock: Mr. *William White.* Mr. *John Nottwel*; and Mr. *Theophilus Tingcombe.*

Theſe Conform'd in this County, after their being Silenc'd; Mr. *Robert Jago*, Jun. Mr. *Leonard Welſtead* of *Penſanſe*; Mr. *Nicolas Teage*, or *Tyack*; Mr. *Tho. Nichols* of *Lyskerd*; and Mr. *Thomas Warner.*

In the County of SOMERSET.

Taunton: Mr. *George Newton*, M. A. and Mr. *Joſeph Allen.* Mr. *Newton* was a Miniſters Son, a Native of *Devon*, bred up in *Exeter* Colledge. He firſt began the Exerciſe of his Miniſtry at *Hill-Biſhops* near *Taunton*, and in *Anno* 1631, became Vicar of *Taunt. S. Magd.* by the Preſentation of Sir *William Portman* and Mr. *Robert Hill*; and there he continu'd till his Ejectment 62. After which, thinking himſelf oblig'd to continue the Exerciſe of his Miniſtry, he was a conſiderable Sufferer, and impriſon'd for ſeveral Years. He dy'd *June* 12th, 1681. *Ætat.* 79. He was a Good Scholar,

† *He hath Printed, an Exposition with Notes on* John 17. *Fol.* 1660. *The Christians Character Epitomiz'd; a Sermon on* Psalm 91. 16. *Tw. A Sermon at the Funeral of Mr.* Joseph Allein; *and an Account of his Life.*

a Man of a very Genteel Spirit, and a very Useful Preacher †.

* *See the Account of his Life, in* Octavo, 1677.

Mr. *Joseph Allein* *, was Born at the *Devizes* in *Wilts*, and gave Evidences of more than ordinary seriousness from Eleven Years of Age. He was first of *Lincoln* Colledge in *Oxon*, and afterwards of *Corpus Christi*. *Ann.* 1655. He became Assistant to Mr. *Newton* at *Taunton*, and was Ejected with him in 62. He took great Pains to do good to Souls, while he was allow'd the Publick Exercise of his Ministry. He was not contented with Preaching and Catechizing in the Church, but spent several Afternoons in a Week, in visiting the several Families that sate under his Ministry, Instructing, Reproving, Directing, and Cautioning them with great Seriousness and Affection, according as he found their respective Circumstances requir'd; by which Course he was exceeding useful to many. He did not hastily determine upon Nonconformity; but weigh'd Matters faithfully and impartially, consulting with others, and looking upwards for Direction: And upon the whole, could not give the *Assent* and *Consent*, that was requir'd, or renounce the *Covenant*, with any Satisfaction to his Conscience. But being at the same Time fully perswaded, that the Ejection of the Ministers out of their Places, did not disoblige them from Preaching the Gospel, he resolv'd after he was cast out to go on with his Work in Private, till he should be Imprison'd or Banish'd. He set himself hereupon to his Work with great Vigor, Preaching ordinarily Six or Seven Sermons a Week, and sometimes Ten, and sometimes Fourteen, in the Town of *Taunton*, and the Neighbouring Places; and he continu'd in this Course both Peaceably and Successfully from *Bartholomew* Day 62. to *May* 26. 63. When he was carry'd before the Justices, by whom after some rude Affronts, he was committed to *Ilchester* Goal. *Aug.* the 24th. He was Indicted at the Assizes, for a *Riotous*,

tous, Routous, and *Seditious* Aſſembly. He Pleaded modeſtly for himſelf, but was bro't in Guilty by the Jury, and Sentenc'd to Pay a 100 Marks, and to lie in Priſon till the Payment. Before which he declar'd in the open Court, *That he was glad, that it had appear'd before his Countrey, that whatſoever he was Charg'd with, he was Guilty of nothing but doing his Duty; and that all that did appear by the Evidence, was only that he had ſung a Pſalm, and inſtructed his Family, others being there, and both in his own Houſe: And that if nothing, that had been urg'd would ſatisfie, he ſhould with all Chearfulneſs and Thankfulneſs, accept whatſoever Sentence his Lordſhip ſhould Pronounce upon him, for ſo good and righteous a Cauſe.* He was remanded again to Priſon (where his Treatment was very indifferent) and he continu'd there a whole Year, wanting but Three Days. At his return from the Priſon, he was far more Earneſt in his Work than before, till his Weakneſs diſabled him; which growing upon him, hinderd his going into *Wales*, for the ſpreading of the Goſpel, as he intended to have done.

July the 10th. 1665, He was again apprehended for Preaching, and Committed to the Priſon of *Alcheſter*, with Seven Miniſters more, and Forty private Perſons; which Impriſonments, with his hard Labours, heighten'd his Diſtempers to that Degree, that he was quickly carry'd off. He Dy'd *Ann.* 1668.

He was a Man of ſerious, fervent, unaffected Piety; and exemplary in his whole Deportment. Of a moſt ſweet Temper, and courteous Converſe. He was a Man of Courage, and fear'd no Dangers in the way of his Duty. One of a very peaceable Spirit. His Learning was far beyond what could be expected from one that entred upon the Miniſtry at One and Twenty Years of Age, and Dy'd about Forty Five, and Liv'd in ſuch Miniſterial Labours, and Sufferings. His Intellectuals were good, and ſolid, his Memory ſtrong, and his Affections lively, and above all his Holineſs eminent. He had a good Head, and a better Heart. A number of ſuch Inſtances of flaming Love to God and all Mankind, would do more to recommend real Religion to the

World, than the most Pompous *Elogiums* that could be given of it.

In the heighth of his Zeal, he was a Man of great Moderation. Some that have observ'd how long and often he lay in the Common Goal, have tho't, sure this must be a violent unpeaceable Zealot: But with little Ground, for his Zeal was really for Peace and Quietness, for Love and all Manner of good Works. He was not us'd to inflame Men against Parties, nor backbite those from whom he differ'd, nor make those odious, who were willing eno' to have made him so: But he fled from one Extream, with Fear and Suspicion of another. He was indeed a Silenc'd Minister among a People that had his Heart, and that had been Bless'd with his fruitful Labours: And his Judgment was, that it is Sacriledge for a Minister Consecrated to God to Alienate himself, and violate that Covenant and Ministerial Dedication, by giving over his Work while he hath Ability and Opportunity, and the Peoples Souls, a real Necessity. And therefore he chose a long Imprisonment, rather than he would voluntarily cease from his Work as a Minister: But whilst he had Liberty he oft went to the Publick Assemblies, and was a Hearer where he was wont to be a Teacher, and encourag'd the People to do the like. He spake not Evil of Dignities, nor kindled seditious Principles or Passions in the Peoples Minds, nor disaffected them against Authority, nor aggravated his own Sufferings to exasperate their Minds against such as he suffer'd by, tho' they were very considerable: But in Patience he possess'd his Soul, rejoic'd in the Honour conferr'd upon him, and in the Good others receiv'd, by his Suffering as well as his Preaching.

Wood the *Oxonian* fancy'd himself among his Boon Companions, passing away the tedious Minutes of the lingring Glass in its Circular Returns with a wanton Tale, when he compos'd that Farce to which this Good Man's Name is prefix'd (in his *Athenæ Oxonienses.*) But 'tis no Disgrace at all to any one to be Ridicul'd in such a way, as makes the Actor

infamous

infamous in the Eſtimation of all ſuch as have any Relicks, either of Honour or Honeſty *.

* *He Publiſh'd a familiar Explication of the Aſſemblies Shorter Catechiſm*, Oct. A Call to *Archippus: Being an Earneſt Motive to the Ejected Miniſters to continue in their Miniſtry*, Qu. 1664. *An Alarum to the Unconverted*; *a Book which Multitudes will have Cauſe for ever to be Thankful for: No Book in the* Engliſh Tongue, (*the Bible excepted*) *can equal it for the Number that hath been Diſpers'd*; *for there have been* 20 *Thouſand of them Printed and Sold, under the Title of the* Call, *or* Alarum to the Unconverted, *in* Oct. *and* 12's. *And Fifty Thouſand of the ſame Book have been Sold under the Title of* the Sure Guide to Heaven: 30 *Thouſand of which were at one Impreſſion. His Remains: Being a Collection of Sacrament Speeches, Letters*, &c. *And he hath left behind him imperfect, a Body of Natural Theology under Eight Heads, wherein in a good* Latin Style *he firſt laid down the Chriſtian Doctrine, and then added by way of Annotations, the Teſtimony of the Ancient Philoſophers. That Piece of it which was moſt Compleat, and which was Licens'd for the Preſs, tho' it hath never yet appear'd was thus Entituled:* Theologiæ Philoſophicæ ſive Philoſophiæ Theologicæ Specimen: In quo Æterni Dei Providentia Solius Naturæ Lumine comprobatur, validiſſimis rationum momentis demonſtratur, quoad Partes, Species, Objecta, explicatur; contra omnes denique Adverſariorum Objectiones firmatur: *Ex Ariſtotele, Platone, Chalcidio, Salluſtio, Firmico, Empirico, Jamblico, Antonino, Epicteto, Proclo, Simplicio, Cicerone, Seneca, Macrobio, Porphyrio, Xenophonte, Galeno, Plutarcho, Plotino, Tyrio, Apuleio, Alcinoo,* aliiſque Philoſophis, Oratoribus, & Poetis, tum Græcis tum Latinis, ad Atheorum Convictionem, & Orthodoxorum Confirmationem; Elucubratione *J. A. Ann. Dom.* 1661.

Bridgewater: Mr. *John Norman* †, M. A. an able Preacher, and of an exemplary Carriage and Converſation. Much reſpected in all the *Weſtern* Parts. A conſiderable Sufferer for Nonconformity, and yet he kept his Temper and Moderation.

† *Author of the Caſes of Conſcience, in* Octavo

Batcomb: Mr. *Richard Allen*, M. A. A *Somerſetſhire* Miniſter's Son, bred up in St. *Albans* Hall in *Oxon*, a celebrated and uſeful Preacher in this County; and well known thro' the Nation, by his Pious, Practical Writings *. After his Ejection, he retir'd to

* *He hath written,* Vindiciæ Pietatis. *in Four Parts: A Vindication of Godlineſs in the greateſt ſtrictneſs and ſpirituality of it from the Imputations of Folly and Fancy: The Godly Mans Portion and Sanctuary: Heaven open'd; or a brief and plain Diſcovery of the Riches of Gods Covenant of Grace: And the World Conquer'd, or a Believers Victory over the World*, Oct. *Godly Fear; or the Nature*

From

and Neceſſity of Fear, and its uſefulneſs, Oct. 1674. *A Rebuke to Backſliders, and a Spurr to Loiterers*, Oct. 1677. *A Companion for Prayer*; in Tw. 1680. *Inſtructions about Heart-work*, Oct. 1682. *Publiſh'd by Dr.* Anneſley.

From Selwood, and Preach'd Privately there to the Day of his Death, which was *Dec.* 22. 1681. Mr. *Richard Jenkins*, M. A. Vicar of the Place, Preach'd a Sermon at his Funeral, and gave him a fair Character; and Mr. *Wood* calls him a *Lukewarm Conformiſt* for his Pains.

† *He hath Publiſh'd the* Harmony of the Four Evangeliſts, *and their Texts Methodiz'd*, &c. *Fol.* 1668. *The Apoſtolical Hiſtory, containing the Acts, Labours, Travels, Sermons*, &c. *Of the Apoſtles, till the Time of the Deſtruction of* Jeruſalem. *Fol.* 1672. *The Hiſtory of the Old Teſtament Methodiz'd*, *Fol.* 1683.

North Cadbury: Mr. *Samuel Cradock* *, B. D. bred in *Emanuel* Colledge in *Cambridge*, where he was much reſpected. He left about 300 *l. per Annum* for the ſake of his Conſcience; and the Providence of God made it up to him and his, by means of an old Gentleman of the ſame Name, with whom he accidentally became Acquainted, who left him a good Eſtate at his Death, tho' he was really unrelated to him. Fixing in *Suffolk*, where that Eſtate lay, he kept an Academy in his Houſe for ſeveral Years, and was very Uſeful, by having an Hand in the Education of ſeveral Perſons of Note and Worth. Mr. *Wood* ſpeaking of Mr. *Cradocks* being incorporated M. A. at *Oxford*, *Ann.* 1649. (when he was Fellow of *Emanuel* Colledge in *Cambridge*) mentions his Books; one of which being Printed in 1679, he ſays he ſuppoſes Mr. *Cradock* was Dead before, becauſe 'twas ſaid in the Title to it, that he was *Late Rector of North Cadbury*. He often ſuppoſes ſtrange Things when the Poor *Diſſenters* are concern'd; but he Diſcovers little elſe but Ill-will, and Spleen, and Malice. Mr. *Cradock* is yet Living, and Paſtor of a Congregation at *Biſhops Stortford* in *Hertfordſhire*: And if he could but have ſuppos'd a *Nonconformiſt* capable of ſuch Writings as thoſe of this Author, he might eaſily have found out, that the Word *Late* in the Title Page, referr'd to his Ejection for *Nonconformity*.

Knowledge and Practiſe: A plain Diſcourſe of the chief Things to be known, believ'd, and done in order to Salvation, Qu. 1673. *A Supplement to Knowledge and Practiſe*, Qu. 1679. *Which Two laſt, are lately Reprinted in* Folio *with Additions. An Expoſition and Paraphraſe of the Revelation*, Oct. 1696.

Mells

Mells: Mr. *Richard Fairclough*, M. A. Eldeſt Son of the Excellent Mr. *Fairclough* of *Suffolk*. He had all the Advantages of Education from his Childhood, which the Pious Care of an Affectionate, Prudent, Learned Father could give him; and no one could be more receptive of the proper Impreſſions from an ingenuous Inſtitution. He continu'd 12 Years in *Emanuel Colledge* in *Cambridge*, and for ſeveral Years was Fellow there. He went from thence furniſht with an unuſual Stock of Rational, Subſtantial, and Polite Literature. His leaving the Colledge to fix in *Somerſetſhire* was pretty Remarkable. Dr. *Whitchcot*, who was then Fellow of the ſame Colledge, being Preſented to a Living in *Somerſetſhire*, which was in the Diſpoſition of that Colledge, prevail'd with Mr. *Fairclough*, to bear him Company in a Viſit to the People he was to take the Charge of; the Doctor being haſtily call'd away, engag'd him to ſtay behind, and ſupply for him in his abſence. In this Interval, a Gentleman of Note, High Sheriff of the County, ſent to Mr. *Fairclough*, to deſire him to Preach the *Aſſize*-Sermon; and that, when thro' ſome Failure, there was very little time for Preparation: But ſo great was the Exigence, as that he preſs'd his Compliance with great importunity, and would indeed take no Denial. He yielded to Neceſſity, and highly gratify'd the Gentleman, both by the Acceptableneſs of his Performance it ſelf, and by his freedom for it in ſuch an Exigence. Upon which, hearing a little after, of the Death of the Incumbent of *Mells*, (a Living of about 300 *l.* a Year) he told Mr. *Fairclough* he could no otherwiſe ſo fitly gratifie him for his Sermon, as by conferring upon him ſuch a Living. Mr. *Fairclough* accepted it, and fix'd there, and was *a burning and a ſhining Light*. He was reſorted to by all the Country round. His Prayers, Sermons, and other Miniſterial Performances, had that ſtrange Pungency, Quickneſs, and Authority with them at ſome times; and that Softneſs, Sweetneſs and Gentleneſs at others, as was matter of great Admiration. His Labours were almoſt incredible. Beſides his uſual Exerciſes on the Lord's Day of Praying, Reading the Scriptures, Preaching, Catechiſing and Adminiſtring the Sacraments; he

he usually, 5 Days in the Week, betimes in the Morning, appear'd in Publick, Pray'd and Preach'd an Expository Lecture upon some part of the Scriptures in Course, and he had always a Considerable Congregation; nor did he produce any thing in Publick, which did not smell of the Lamp. Besides which, he found time for visiting, not the Sick only, but all the Families within his Charge, in a successive Course; when he would personally and severally converse with every one that was capable, labouring to understand the present State of their Souls, and applying himself to them in Instructions, Reproofs, Admonitions, Exhortations and Encouragements suitably thereto; and he went thro' all with the greatest Facility and Pleasure imaginable; for his whole Heart was in his Work. Every Day, for many Years together, he us'd to be up by 3 in the morning, and to be with God, when others slept. Few Men had ever less hindrance from the Body, or more Dominion over it; for a better habited *Mind* and *Body* have rarely dwelt together. No Controversie arose among his Neighbours, within his Notice, which he made it not his Business to get presently compos'd, and his Help and Advice was wont to be sought by Persons of Eminent Rank, and in matters of great Difficulty, for that Purpose: His own love of Peace inclining him, and his great Prudence well enabling him to be exceeding Useful in any such Case. He Preach'd also often at the Lectures settled in other Places of the County; and was very Active, and much Respected in the Meeting of the Ministers by way of Association, for the Preservation of Common Order. When the Act of Uniformity came forth, he soon Determin'd upon Nonconformity. He could in nothing Prevaricate with his once settled Judgment, or depart in his Practise one Ace from it: Yet such was the Candour of his Spirit, that nothing could be more remote from him, than to pass any hard Censures upon those, that receiv'd that Satisfaction in the scrupled Points, which he could not. In the substantials of Religion no Man more fervently Zealous: About the Circumstantials none more Cool and Temperate. Some Years after he was Ejected at *Axells*, he became a stated

ſtated Preacher in the City of *Briſtol*, where he was uſeful to many. He Dy'd at *London*, July 4. 1682. *Ætat.* 61. His Funeral Sermon was Preach'd by Mr. *How*, who gives him an high *Encomium*, and all that knew him Agree 'twas but his Deſert. *He was a Man of a clear diſtinct Underſtanding; of a quick, diſcerning, and penetrating Judgment, and would on a ſudden ſtrike thro' knotty Difficulties, into the inward Center of Truth, with ſuch a Felicity, that Things ſeem'd to offer themſelves to him, which are wont to coſt others a troubleſome ſearch. But his Moral and Holy Excellencies gave him his chief Luſtre. A Man cannot well be ſuppos'd more under the conſtant governing Power of Religion than he was; which was the Cauſe of his Labouring with ſo much Earneſtneſs, both to Exerciſe and diffuſe it to his uttermoſt. He was even made up of* Life, *and* Love. *Such was the Clearneſs and Sincerity of his Spirit, ſo little darkned by an* Evil Conſcience, *that he ſeem'd to live in the conſtant Senſe of Gods Favour and Acceptance, and had nothing to do, but to ſerve him with his Might; whence his Spirit was form'd to an habitual Chearfulneſs, and ſeem'd to feel within it ſelf a continual Calm. He was of a large and great Soul, comprehenſive of the Intereſts of God, the World, the Church, his Countrey, his Friends, and of the Souls of Men. Ready to his uttermoſt to ſerve them all* *. *Of abundant Compaſſion towards the Diſtreſſed. Of Delight in the Good, and of general Benignity towards all Men. And it was his conſtant Aim to make the neareſt Approaches he could to the Patern and Fountain of all Goodneſs*, &c. Conſiderate Perſons cannot but look upon it as an Employment very unacceptable to God, and very unprofitable to the Church, to have an Hand in Silencing ſuch Men as He was.

* *Beſides an Abridgment of ſome of his later Sermons to his Beloved People at* Mells, *he hath nothing Extant but a Sermon in the Morning Lecture againſt* Popery; *on the Dangerous Tendency to the true Peace and Comfort of Souls, of the Papal Doctrine, which denies the Poſſibility of Aſſurance.*

Chedſey: Mr. *Henry Jeanes*, M. A. of *New Inn* in *Oxon*, where he was a noted and ready Diſputant, and a celebrated Preacher. He was firſt of *Beer Crocomb*, afterwards of *Kingſton*, and laſtly of *Chedſey*, in this

this County. He Dy'd in *August* 1662. near the Fatal *Bartholomew*. He was at first Zealous for the Impositions of the Prelatical Party, and fond of the Modish Notions: Till reading the Writers on the *Puritan* side, he found them misrepresented by their Antagonists; and seeing a Strength in their Arguments, which he apprehended weak before he had weigh'd them, he heartily fell in with them and strenuously defended their Cause *. Mr. *Wood* so far Condescends as to own; *He was a most excellent Philosopher, a noted Metaphysician, and well-grounded in Polemical Divinity. He was also a Scholastical Man, a Contemner of the World, generous, free-hearted, jolly, witty and facetious.* But then comes a Sting in the Tail, *which Qualities seldom meet in Men of the* Presbyterian *Perswasion, who generally are Morose, Clowniſh, and of Sullen, and reserved Natures.* Its a hard Case, (and so esteem'd by any when it comes to be their own) for a Body of Men to be branded for the failures of a few: But supposing this ill-natur'd Censure true, as to any Number of those for whom 'tis intended, I'le leave it to any that are Impartial to judge; whether is better, a little Clowniſhness and Reservedness, for want of Breeding, and being acquainted with the World; or a furious Bigottry that will run the hazard of common Ruine, rather than bate two or three indifferent Ceremonies, and a Zeal for absolute Monarchy, to the betraying Liberty and Property, and the paving the way for Slavery: Which have been the standing Characteristicks of the Men of the *Laudensian* Faction.

* *He hath written a Treatise concerning a Christians Abstinence from all appearance of Evil*, Qu. 1640. *Want of Church Government no warrant for a total Omission of the Lords Supper*, Qu. 1650. *A Vindication of Dr.* Twysse, *from the Exceptions of Mr.* John Goodwin, *Fol. A Reply to Mr.* Fulwoods *Examination of his Discourse of Church-Government, and the Lords Supper. A Mixture of Scholastical with Practical Divinity: In Two Parts*, Qu. 1656. *Together with several Sermons and smaller Tracts.*

Wells: Cornelius Burgess †, D. D. bred in the University of *Oxford*. *Ann.* 1627, He was Chaplain to King *Charles* the I. He was afterwards much vex'd in the High Commission Court, for opposing the *Laudensian* Faction. He was one of those who *Ann.* 1641. were appointed to meet in the *Jerusalem* Chamber,

† *Besides his Sermons before the Parliament, and upon other*

ber, where there was an hopeful Attempt for Accommodating the Eccleſiaſtical Differences: One of the Aſſembly of Divines; and a frequent Preacher before the Long Parliament. By them he was fix'd in an Evening Lecture at *Pauls*, with a Penſion of 400 *l. per Annum*. He laid out all he had in Biſhops Land, which upon the Kings Reſtoration was entirely Loſt. He retir'd afterwards to his Houſe at *Watford*, where he liv'd privately, and was reduc'd to ſtraits. He Dy'd in *June* 1665.

Publick Occaſions, He hath Publiſh'd, A Chain of Graces drawn out at length for Reformation of Manners, Tw. 1622. *A New Diſcovery of Perſonal Tithes: Or a 10th Part of clear Gain prov'd due, in Conſcience*, &c. Oct. 1625. *The Fire of the Sanctuary; or a Tract of Zeal*, Oct. 1625. *The Baptiſmal Regeneration of Elect Infants*. Qu. 1629. *A Vindication of the Reaſons againſt Biſhops Votes in Parliament*, Qu. 1641. *A Vindication of the* Sion Colledge *Society, againſt Two Pamphlets*, Qu. 1648. *No Sacriledge or Sin, to Aliene or Purchaſe the Lands of Biſhops and Chapters*, &c.

Ubleigh: Mr. *William Thomas*, M. A. He was of *Brazen-Noſe* Colledge in *Oxon*. A good Scholar, and an uſeful Preacher: Much reſpected in theſe Parts. He continu'd among his People after his Ejection: And Dy'd at *Ubley*; Ann. 1667 †.

† *His Works are theſe, The Dead ſpeaking: Or the Living Names of Two Deceaſed Miniſters of Chriſt*; viz. *Mr.* Sam. Oliver *Paſtor of* Wells, *and Mr.* Sam. Croke, &c. Qu. 1653. *Railing Rebuk'd: Or a Defence of the Miniſters of the Nation againſt the Calumnies of* Tho. Speed *of* Briſtol, *the* Quakers *Advocate*, Qu. 1656. *The* Proteſtants *Practiſe; or the compleat Chriſtian: Being a true and perfect Way to the Celeſtial* Canaan, *Tw.* 1656. *A Vindication of Scripture and Miniſtry, in a Rejoinder to* Tho. Speed *the* Quaker, Qu. 1657. *A Preſervative of Piety, in a quiet Reaſoning for thoſe Duties of Religion, that are the Means and Helps appointed of God for the preſerving and promoting of Godlineſs*, Qu. 1662. *An Expoſition on* Ruth *in Tw. The Countreys Senſe of* London's *Sufferings, in the late moſt lamentable Fire*, Oct. 1667. *Scriptures open'd, and ſundry Caſes of Conſcience Reſolv'd, in Plain and Practical Anſwers to ſeveral Queſtions, upon the* Proverbs *of* Solomon, Jerem. Lam. Ezek. *and* Daniel, Oct. 1675.

Bath: Mr. *Long*, and Mr. *William Green*. Combhay: Mr. *Thomas Creeſe*. Beckington: Mr. *John Arthur*. Clutton: Mr. *Alſton*. Stoke, or Weſt Camel: Mr. *Henry Albin*. Lullington: Mr. *Thompſon*. Stapleton:

pleton: Mr. *Parker.* Downhead: Mr. *Warren.* Milborne: Mr. *William Hopkins.* Wivelscomb: Mr. *George Day.* Who after his Ejection came to *London*, and was Paſtor of a Congregation at *Ratcliffe.* Aſhe: Mr. *Galpin.* Dulverton: Mr. *Henry Berry.* Angelſey: Mr. *Muſgrave.* Staplegrove: Mr. *John Gardiner.* Wilton: Mr. *George Bindon*, or *Brindon.* A good Critick and Mathematician. Trull: Mr. *Benjamin Bury.* Pytimſter: Mr. *Tho. Forward.* Creech or Ryſton: Mr. *Batt.* Weſt Mouckton: Mr. *Robert Drake.* A very conſiderable Man. Laurence Liddeard: Mr. *John Wakely.* Bicknaller: Mr. *Bartholomew Safford*; and Mr. *Thomas Safford.* Elworthy: Mr. *John Hill.* A good Critick. Porlock: Mr. *Robinſon.* Weſton: Mr. *Deveniſh.* Wemdon: Mr. *Adams.* Cryckett: Mr. *Langdale.* Chyſſelborough: Mr. *Hallet.* Comb. St. Nicolas: Mr. *Batchelour.* Winſham: Mr. *William Ball.* Upton Noble: Mr. *Eman. Harford.* Charfinch: Mr. *Francis Croſs.* Hill Biſhop: Mr. *Nath. Charlton.* North Curry: Mr. *Geo. Peirce.* Crokſcombe: Mr. *Whitebourn.* Glaſtonbury: Mr. *Samuel Winny.* Afterwards Miniſter of a Congregation in *Briſtol.* Ilmiſter: Mr. *William Alſop.* Crickett: Mr. *John Turner.* Briſtol: Mr. *Hancock*, Mr. *John Knowles.* Mr. *John Paul.* Mr. *John Evans.* Mr. *Hazard.* Mr. *Farmer.* Mr. *Thomas.* Doulting: Mr. *Gracious Franklyn.* Froom: Mr. *John Humphries.* Templecomb: Mr. *John Darby.* Martock: Mr. *James Stephenſon.* Langport: Mr. *Buſh.* Higham: Mr. *Kendal*, or *Randal.* Hethfield: Mr. *Thomas Willis.* Fifehead: Mr. *Fairſowle.* South Petherton: Mr. *Bennet.* Kingsbury: Mr. *Paine.* Puddimore: Mr. *Wyatt.* Evil: Mr. *Butler.* Dichiat: Mr. *Tidcomb.* Montecut: Mr. *Oliver.* Shepton Mallet: Mr. *Calderwood.* Camely: Mr. *Richard Batchelor.* Staple: Mr. *Boobier.* Trent: Mr. *Brounker.* Dauliſh: Mr. *Hunt.* Bradon: Mr. *Little John.* Northover: Mr. *Oak.* Brumfield: Mr. *Prince.* Whitſtanton: Mr. *Smith.* Buckland: Mr. *Stodden* *.

* *He hath Publiſh'd, The Paſtors Charge and the Peoples Duty; Preach'd for the moſt Part at the Aſſembly of Miniſters at* Exon, *June* 7. 1693. *in Tw.* Gemitus Sanctorum; *Or the Saints Groans for a perfect Deliverance from the Body of Sin and Death: Being the Subſtance of ſeveral Sermons, on* Rom. 7. 24, 25. *Oct.* 1702. *With ſome other Practical Treatiſes.*

Blackdon:

Blackdon: Mr. *Weſtolee*, or *Weſtobee*. Somewhere near Chard: Mr. *Wotton*. And Mr. *Dyer*, and Mr. *Booler*, whoſe Places are uncertain.

There Conform'd in this County after *Bartholomew* Day (as I am inform'd) theſe Perſons following. Mr. *Warr* of *Cheddon*. Mr. *Chadwick* of *Winford*: Of whom Mr. *Baxter* relates this Paſſage: *That for a long Time he had little but brown Rye Bread and Water, for Himſelf, his Wife, and many Children: And when his Wife was ready to Lie in, he was to be turn'd out of Door, for not paying his Houſe-rent.* A ſore Temptation! Mr. *James Strong* of *Ilmiſter*. Mr. *John More* of *Auler*. Mr. *John Chetwind* of *Wells*, or *Axminſter*. Mr. *Charles Darby* of *Mountecut*. Dr. *Martin* of *Evil*, or *Evilton*. Mr. *Tomkins* of *Crookhorn*. And Mr. *Glanvil* of *Taunton*.

In the County of WILTS.

Pewſey: *Humphrey Chambers* *, D. D. A Native of *Somerſetſh.* bred up in *Univerſity* Colledge *Oxon.* He was firſt Rector of *Claverton* in *Somerſet*, and then Member of the Aſſembly of Divines, after which the E. of *Pembroke*, gave him the rich Rectory of *Pewſey*, which he quitted when the Act of Uniformity took Place, and he Dy'd ſoon after; *viz. September* the 8th. 1662.

* *He hath Printed beſides Sermons before the Parliament, and upon ſome other Occaſions, a Funeral Sermon for Mr.* John Grayle, *Miniſter of* Tidworth *in* Wilts, *Qu.* 1655. *Motives to Peace and Love*, Qu. 1649. *Animadverſions on a Book of Mr.* W. Dell, *Entit.* The Crucify'd and quickned Chriſtian, *Qu.* 1653. *An Apology for the Miniſters of the County of* Wilts, *Qu.* 1654. *And an Anſwer to Mr.* Walter Buſhnel, *about the Proceedings of the Commiſſioners for Ejecting Scandalous Miniſters, Qu.* 1660.

Mildenhall: Mr. *Thomas Baylie* †, M. A. A Native of this County, and Fellow of *Magd.* Colledge, *Oxon.* He was one of the Aſſembly of Divines; and ſucceeded Dr. *Morley* at *Mildenhall*, when he was Ejected: He was caſt out at the return of the King, and retir'd afterwards to *Marlborough*, where he had

† *He hath Publiſh'd*, De Merito Mortis Chriſti, & modo Converſi-

onis Diatribæ duo, *Oxon.* 1663.

1626. *Qu.* Concio ad Clerum habita in Templo *B. Mariæ*, Oxon. *July* 5. 1622. *in* Jude *ver.* 11.

Brenkworth: John Harding, D. D. a Learned Man much courted to Conform, but refusing, he lost his Rectory.

* *He hath written a Treatise of Monarchy*, viz. *Concerning Monarchy in General, and the* English *Monarchy in Particular.* Qu. 1643. *Which Book was answer'd by Dr.* Fern, *and Sir* Robert Filmer.—*A Vindication of the Treatise of Monarchy.*—Ant a Wood *Asserts, That* forasmuch as 'tis said in this Mr. *Hunton's* Treatise of Monarchy, That the Sovereignty of *England* is in the Three Estates, *viz.* King, Lords, and Commons, That Proposition was Condemn'd by the Judgment and Decree of the University of *Oxon*, in their Convocation held, July 21. 1683, And the Book it self wherein it is, was publickly Burnt in the School Quadrangle.

Westbury: Mr. *Philip Hunton* *, M. A. A Native of *Hampshire*, and bred up in *Oxford*, at *Wadham* Colledge. He was successively Schoolmaster of *Aburie* in *Wilts*, Minister of *Devises*, afterwards of *Hasebury*, and lastly of *Westbury*. Ann. 1657, he was appointed first Provost of the New Colledge Erected at *Durham*, by *Oliver* the Protector, which with the Academy there being soon Dissolv'd, he retir'd to his Living, and continu'd in it till Ejected with his Brethren on *Bartholomew* Day. He afterwards Preach'd Privately as he had Opportunity, and Dy'd in *July* 1682. He was a Man of good Learning and Abilities.

New Sarum: Mr. *John Strickland*, B. D. Mr. *William Eyre*. Mr. *Thomas Rashley*. And Mr. *William Troughton*.

Mr. *Strickland* was of an Ancient Genteel Family in *Westmorland*, Educated in *Queens* Colledge *Oxon*. His first Preferment was to be Chaplain to the Bishop of *Hertford*. Ann. 1632. Sir *John Horner* presented him to the Rectory of *Pudimore Milton* in *Somerset*. He was one of the Assembly of Divines; and Preach'd often before the Long Parliament. *Wood* says, He *Pray'd several Times blasphemously*. He might as well

have ſaid he us'd to come into his Pulpit naked, and without a Rag of Clothes on. For one is not more ridiculous to thoſe that knew the Man, than the other. He was really a great Divine, and generally Eſteem'd. He was eminent for Expounding the Scriptures, and an excellent Caſuiſt. When he was turn'd out of St. *Edmunds* Pariſh in *Sarum*, on the Fatal *Bartholomew*, he continu'd among his People, and Preach'd to them as he had Opportunity, and ſuffer'd many ways for his Nonconformity. He Dy'd in *October*, 1670. I know not of any thing he hath Printed, beſides his Sermons before the Parliament.

Mr. *William Eyre*, M. A. of *Magdalen* Hall in *Oxon.* Who held Juſtification from Eternity, which occaſion'd the Conteſt, between him and Mr. *Woodbridge*, and Mr. *Warren*. He was Silenc'd in 62 for his Nonconformity, and retir'd afterwards to *Milkham* in this County, where he had an Eſtate. He Dy'd there, in *January* $16\frac{6}{7}\frac{3}{8}$.

Mr. *William Troughton*, Preach'd often in Private after he was Silenc'd, at *Salisbury*; and he did the like afterwards at *Briſtol*.

Odſtoke: Mr. *Joſeph Swaffield*. His Living was worth 120 *l. per Ann.* He had the Character from Dr. *Whitby* of a Learned Man. He was eminent for his Piety, and a good Preacher. He was one of the Miniſters of the Diſſenting Congregation in *Salisbury*.

Burbich: Mr. *Thomas Taylor*, a valuable Man. He was offer'd a Living of 400 *l.* a Year, by the Biſhop of *Salisbury*, if he would Conform, but he rather choſe to keep the Peace of his Conſcience, in much meaner Circumſtances.

Dunhed: Mr. *Peter Ince*. A Solid, Grave, Pious, able, Worthy Miniſter. Who after his being Silenc'd, Liv'd with Mr. *Grove* that Ornament of his Country for Learning, and Piety, and Publick Spiritedneſs. He was a great Sufferer for Nonconformity.

Sutton Mandevil: Mr. *Thomas Roſenell*. A Native of this County, and bred up in *Oxon.* Firſt Miniſter of *Rhode* in *Somerſet*, and then of *Sutton* in *Wilts*, after his being Silenc'd for his Nonconformity, he continu'd for ſometime Preaching privately in the

Country, and came to *London* in 1673. In 1674, he was choſen to ſucceed Mr. *James Janeway*, in his Congregation ot *Rotherith*. In 1684. He was Indicted for High Treaſon, and had very hard Meaſure, but came off with a great deal of Reputation. The Particulars may be ſeen in the Sequel of this Hiſtory. He Dy'd *Feb.* 14. 169½. *Ætat.* 62.

Chiſelton: Mr. *John Baker*. Ramsbury: Mr. *Henry Dent*. Calne: Mr. *Tho. Jones*. Collingborn Ducts: Mr. *Dan. Burgeſs*. Yatesbury: Mr. *Nath. Webb*. Melkeſham: Mr. *Harding*. Teſunt: Mr. *John Fipp*. Ogborn: Mr. *Barthol. Webb*. Malmsbury: Mr. *Simon Gawen*. Patney: Mr. *John Maſſey*. Chilton: Mr. *Hownſell*, or *Hownſley*. Mariborough: Mr. *William Hughes*. Newton Tony: Mr. *Watts*. Milton: Mr. *Thomas Rutty*. Woodborow: Mr. *Iſaac Chancey*. Alton: Mr. *Obadiah Wells*, or *Wills*. Poulſhot: Mr. *Spinedge*. Lavington: Mr. *Nath. White*. Biſhopſtrove: Mr. *Paſey*, or *Parry*. Box: Mr. *Pearſ* or *Stern*. Berwick St. Johns: Mr. *Compton South*. A very Popular uſeful Preacher. Winterburn Mounton: Mr. *Hubbard*. Cleeve Pepper: Mr. *Henry Blake*. Newton: Mr. *John Oldham*. Caſtle Combe: Mr. *Benj. Flower*. Eaſtongrey: Mr. *Benj. Jones*. Broughton: Mr. *Barcroft*, or *Barret*. E. Knahil: Mr. *Samuel Clifford*. Fifield: Mr. *Crapon*. Bremble: Mr. *James Crump*. Lurgeſhal: Mr. *Cuſſey*. Upton Lovel: Mr. *Curle*. Everley: Mr. *Eaſtman*. Birtford: Mr. *Edward Falconer*. Langford: Mr. *Giles*. Winterborn Stoks: Mr. *King*. Hill Martin: Mr. *Rowſwell*. Wotton Rivers: Mr. *Toomar*, or *Tombs*. Ham: Mr. *Wilmar*. Barford: Mr. *John Woodbridge*. Chittern or Chilternes: Mr. *Wyer*. And Mr. *Simms*, whoſe Place is uncertain.

There Conform'd afterwards in this County, Mr. *Maſters*, Mr. *Matthew Hind* of *Fittleton*: Mr. *Richard Franklin* of *Brumhall*. And Mr. *John Pinkney* of *Bemerton*.

In the County of BERKS.

Newbury: Mr. *Benjamin Woodbridge* *, M. A. A great Man every way. He had a worthy Miniſter for his Father; and for his Grandfather on the Mothers ſide, the famous Mr. *Robert Parker*; who wrote thoſe celebrated Books, *De ſigno Crucis*; *de deſcenſu Chriſti ad Inferos*; *& de Politeia Eccleſiaſticâ*. He was bred up in *Magdalen Hall* in *Oxon*. From thence he went into *New England*, and was the firſt Graduate of the Colledge there; the Laſting Glory, as well as the firſt Fruits of that Academy, as Biſhop *Uſher* was of that of *Dublin*. Returning thence, he ſucceeded Dr. *Twiſs* at *Newberry*, where he had a mighty Reputation, as a Scholar, a Preacher, a Caſuiſt, and a Chriſtian. By his excellent Inſtruction and wiſe Conduct he reduc'd the whole Town to a Sobriety of Opinion in Matters of Religion, and an Unity in Worſhip; whereas they had before been over-run with ſtrange Opinions, and divided into many Parties. He Preach'd Three Times every Week, and expounded an Hour every Morning, for ſeveral Years. After King *Charles*'s Return, he was made one of his Chaplains in Ordinary, and Preach'd once before him, while he bore that Character. He was one of the Commiſſioners at the *Savoy*, and very deſirous of an Accommodation, and much concern'd to find the Endeavours for it ſo fruitleſs. He was offer'd a Canonry of *Windſor*, if he would have Conform'd but refus'd it. He continu'd Preaching privately at *Newbery* after he was Silenc'd; and upon King *Charles*'s Indulgence in 1671, more Publickly. He ſuffer'd many ways for his Nonconformity, and yet was generally Reſpected by Men that had any Thing of Temper, or were Judges of true and real Worth. He Dy'd at *Ingleſield* in *Berks*, Nov. 1. 1684. After he had been Miniſter in that Town in Publick and Private, near Forty Years. He was an univerſally Accompliſh'd Perſon. One of clear and ſtrong Reaſon, and of an exact and Profound Judgment. His Learn-

* *He hath only Three Things Extant. A Sermon of* Juſtification. *A large* Defence *of that Sermon againſt Mr.* Eyres, *Qu.* 1656. *A Book that deſerves the Peruſal of all ſuch as would ſee the Point of Juſtification nervouſly and exactly handled. And,* Church Members ſett in Joint; *againſt Lay Preachers,* Qu. 1656.

ing was very considerable, and he was a charming Preacher, having a most commanding Voice and Air. His Temper was staid and chearful; and his Behaviour very Genteel and Obliging. He was a Man of great Generosity, and of exemplary Moderation: One addicted to no Faction, but of a Catholick Spirit. In short, so eminent was his Usefulness, as to cast no small Reflection on those who had a Hand in silencing and confining him.

* His Works are, Dæmonium Meridianum: *A Relation of the Proceedings of the Commissioners of* Berks, *against* John Pordage, *late Rector of* Bradfield *in* Berks, Qu. 1655. Dæmonium Meridianum: *The* 2d *Part. Against the Calumnies of the Adherents of the said* John Pordage, Qu. 1656. *Sober Answer to an Angry Epistle of* Tho. Smith *the* Quaker *of* Bristol, Qu. 1656. *He hath also several Sermons Extant. One in the Supplement to the Morning Exercise at* Cripplegate, *on* 2 Pet. 1. 8. *And another in the Morning Exercise against* Popery, *on* 1 Thess. 5. 27. *Proving that the Scriptures ought to be read by the Common People.*

Reading: Mr. *Christopher Fowler* *, M. A. bred up in *Oxford*, where he was for some Time a Preacher after his first Entrance into the Ministry. He mov'd thence to *Woodhey near Dunnington* Castle in *Berks*. Some time after, he was Minister of St. *Margaret Lothbury* in *London*: Whence he remov'd to *Reading*, where he was Vicar of St. *Maries*, and at length Fellow of *Eaton* Colledge near *Windsor*. Upon King *Charles*'s return he lost his Fellowship of *Eaton*, and in 62 was Ejected from *Reading*: And afterwards he retir'd to *London*, and continu'd the Exercise of his Ministry in Private. He Dy'd in *Southwark* in *January* 167$\frac{2}{3}$. His Funeral Sermon was Preach'd by Mr. *Cooper*, who gives him the Character, *of an able, holy, faithful, indefatigable Servant of Christ; who approv'd himself such by painful Studies, by patient Sufferings, by continual Prayer and Preaching. He was quick in Apprehension, solid in his Notions, clear in his Conceptions, sound in the Faith, strong and demonstrative in Arguing, mighty in Convincing, and zealous for the Truth against all Errours. He had a singular Gift in Chronology, not for curious Speculation or Ostentation, but as a Key and Measure to know the Signs of the Times, and the fulfilling of Prophesies relating to the Kingdom of Christ and Antichrist; the Exaltation of the one, and the Ruine of the other; wherein he was not rash or peremptory, but sober, A walking by Line and Rule,* &c.

Hendreth's

Hendreth: Mr. *James Baron* *, B. D. A Native of *Plymouth*, Educated at *Exceſter* Colledge in *Oxon.* A Man of Good Learning. He was Divinity Reader of *Magdalen* Colledge. After King *Charles*'s Reſtauration he retir'd to *London*, and Liv'd a Nonconformiſt, at *Bunhill*. He was one of the Publiſhers of the Works of Dr. *Gooodwin*: And Dy'd *Ann.* 1683.

* *He hath not Publiſh'd any Thing of his own beſides a little Thing, Entit.*

Quæſtiones Theologicæ in uſum Coll. *Magd.* Oxon. 1657.

Okingham: Mr. *Rowland Stedman* †, M. A. Born in *Shropſhire*, and Educated at *Oxon.* Firſt Miniſter of *Hanwell* in *Middleſex*, where he continu'd, till 1660 when he remov'd to *Okingham*, where Two Years after he was Ejected for Nonconformity. After he was Silenc'd, he was Chaplain to *Philip* Lord *Wharton*; with whom he Dy'd, *Sept.* 14. 1673.

† *He hath Publiſh'd, the Myſtical Union of Believers with Chriſt*, Oct 1668. *Sober Singularity: Or an Antidote againſt Infection by the Example of a Multitude*, Oct. 1668.

Eaſthamſted: Mr. *John Brice.* Shinfield: Mr. *John Bateman.* Purley: Mr. *Dan. Reyner.* Cholſey: Mr. *Richard Cummin.* Wallingford: Mr. *Pinkney*, and Mr. *Ireland.* Hungerford: Mr. *John Clark.* Bray: Mr. *Thomas Woodward.* Bradfield: Mr. *Smith.* Standford Dingby: Mr. *Fr. Pordage.* Little Witnham: Mr. *Weſt.* W. Ilſley: Mr. *John James*, who came afterwards to *London.* Inkpen: Mr. *Goff*, who Liv'd afterwards at the *Devizes*, and at *Marlborough.* Thatcham: Mr. *Tho. Voicey.* Boxford: Mr. *Hutchins.* Hamſted Marſhal: Mr. *Rawlins.* Great Shelford: Mr. *Barret.* Buckleburry: Mr. *Smallwood.* Chilton: Mr. *Hugh Baker.* Blubery: Mr. *Wyer.* Burweskett: Mr. *Twiſs.* To whom we may add Mr. *Tho. Cheeſeman*; the Place of whoſe Ejectment I know not. He was Blind from his Childhood; but a good Scholar, and a very uſeful Preacher.

Of thoſe who were at firſt Ejected in this County, I hear of no more that Conform'd afterwards than Four, *viz.* Mr. *Samuel Reyner* of *Sunning*; Mr. *William Hughes* of *Hinton*; Mr. *William Lee* of *Wantage*; and Mr. *John Francis* of *Eaſt-Ilſley.*

In the County of BUCKS.

* *He hath Primed the Door of Salvation open'd by the Key of Regeneration*, Oct. 1660. *The Christian Man's Calling; or a Treatise of making Religion one's Business.* Qu. 1661.

Great Kymbels: Mr. *George Swinnock* *, M. A. Born at *Maidstone* in *Kent*, and Educated in *Cambridge*. He remov'd thence to *Oxford*, where he was chosen Fellow of *Baliol* Colledge. After his Ordination, he was first Vicar of *Rickmansworth* in *Hertfordshire*, and afterwards of *Great Kymbel*, where he was Ejected for Nonconformity in 1662. Upon his Ejection, he became Chaplain to *Richard Hamden* of *Great Hamden*, Esq; but upon the coming forth of the Indulgence in 71, he remov'd to his Native Town of *Maidstone*, where he became Pastor to a considerable Congregation. He Dy'd, *Nov.* 10. 1673. He was a Man of good Abilities; A serious, warm, practical, Useful Preacher.

Heaven and Hell Epitomiz'd, &c. Qu. 1663. *The Beauty of Magistrates.* Qu. 1660. *A Treatise of the incomparableness of God in his Being, Attributes, Works, and Word*, Oct. 1672. *The Sinners last Sentence to Eternal Punishment*, Oct. *&c.*

Chalfont St. Giles: Mr. *Tho. Valentine*, B. D. One of the Assembly of Divines. He hath some Sermons Extant, Preach'd before the Long Parliament.

† *He hath Publish'd divers Tracts. The Conversion of a Sinner and the Day of Grace. Heaven or Hell upon Earth: Or a Discourse concerning Conscience. The Conversion of the Soul. The true Touchstone, shewing both Grace and Nature. A Covert from the Storm. Worthy Walking. Of Christian Love. The Spirit of Prayer. A Short Catechism. The good of Affliction. The Cure of Distractions in attending upon God. The Love of the World Cur'd. Funeral Sermons*

Langley Marsh: Mr. *Nathanael Vincent* †, M. A. The Son of a Pious Minister, Mr. *John Vincent*. He was of such pregnant Parts, as to be admitted in the University of *Oxford* at Eleven, and go out Master of Arts, about Eighteen Years of Age. He Preach'd publickly as a Lecturer at *Pulborow* in *Sussex* before Twenty, and at the Age of Twenty One was Ordain'd, and fix'd as Rector of *Langley Marsh*. After his Ejectment, and a few Years spent in a Private

Private Family, He came to the City of *London*, the Year after the Fire, and exercis'd his Ministry in a numerous Congregation in *Southwark*. He Dy'd, *An.* 1697. His Funeral Sermon was Preach'd by Mr. *Nath. Taylor*. He was a *serious, humble, godly Man, of sober Principles, and great Zeal and Diligence.*

for Mr. Cawton, *Mr.* James Janeway, *Mr.* Richard Lawrence, *Mr.* G. Baker, *and Mrs.* Martha Thompson. *And Three Sermons at the Morning Exercises. One in that against* Popery, *against Publick Prayer in an unknown Tongue. Another in the Continuation of the Practical Morning Exercise; of Growth in the Knowledge, Estimation, and making use of Christ. And a Third in the Fourth Volume of the Morning Exercise of the Imitation of Christ.*

Grendon: Mr. *Samuel Clark*, M. A. Son of Mr. *Samuel Clark* of *Bennet Fink*. He was Educated in *Cambridge*, and for some time Fellow of *Pembroke* College, but lost his Fellowship in *Oliver's* Time for refusing to take the *Engagement*. Afterwards, he and his whole Family were considerable Loosers by their Nonconformity: For the Loss of Mr. *Sam. Clark* of *Bennet Fink*, of his Son Mr. *Samuel Clark* of *Grendon*, and his other Son Mr. *John Clark*, upon their quitting their Livings, amounts together, to 600 *l. per Ann.* Some time after his Ejection he settled at *Wiccomb* in the same County of *Bucks*. There he serv'd God in Patience and great Self-Denial, with peaceable Prudence in an Evil Day, unweariedly seeking the furtherance of his Kingdom, when it was made by many very perilous to do it *. He Dy'd, *Feb.* 24. 170⅞. *Ætat.* 75. His Funeral Sermon was Preach'd by Mr. *Sam. Cox* of *Eling*.

* *His Works are Annotations on the Holy Bible, with Parallel Scriptures*, Fol. *A Survey of the Bible, or Analytical Account of it by Chapter and Verse*, Qu. *A Brief Concordance of the Holy Bible*, 12's. *An Abridgement of the Historical Part of Scripture.* 12's. *The Divine Authority of the Holy Scriptures Asserted.* Oct. *A Treatise of Scandal: Discussing these Three Questions*, First, *Whether Things indifferent become necessary, when commanded by Authority?* Secondly, *Whether Things scandalous being enjoined, may lawfully be done?* Thirdly, *How far forth we are bound in Conscience to obey Humane Laws*, &c. *An Ordination Sermon, on* Acts 13. 2, 3. *Qu. Scripture Justification Open'd and Explain'd.*

He

He was a Man of very considerable Learning; a good Critick, especially in the Scriptures; a great Textuary, an excellent Preacher; a great Enemy of Superstition and Bigottry; yet zealous for unaffected Piety, and extensive Charity: He was one of great Moderation, both in his Principles and Temper. He liv'd usefully, and in much Esteem. He Dy'd comfortably, and in his last Hours had great Peace and Serenity.

Beaconfield: Mr. *Butler*. Little Marlow: Mr. *Gregory*. Burnham: Mr. *Perkins*. Farnham-Royal: Mr. *Gardiner*. A great Divine, and general Scholar. Cheyneys: Mr. *Agas*, or *Aggus*. Waddosdon: Mr. *Bennet*. Drayton: Mr. *Fleetwood*. Aston-Clinton: Mr. *Gerrard*, and Mr. *Marriot*, or *Marriar*. St. Leonards: Mr. *Geo. Swinho*. Mentmore: Mr. *Stratford*. Newport: Mr. *John Gibbs*. Aylesbury: Mr. *John Luff*. Dunton: Mr. *Rolls*. Hamden: Mr. *John Sanders*. Dynton: Mr. *Shirly*, or *Shirby*. Great Marlow: The Lecture; Mr. *Dan. Sutton*. Hucket: Mr. *John Wilson*. Colebrock: Mr. *Hall*. Wiccomb: Mr. *Geo. Fownes*. Topley: Mr. *Edwards*. Hambleden: Mr. *H. Goodyear* or *Goodere*. Winchington: Mr. *Gilbert*. And Mr. *Reeves*, Mr. *Dyer*, and Mr. *Appleby*, whose Places are uncertain.

Eaton-Colledge: *Provost*: Mr. *Nicolas Lockyer* (of whom see *Page* 205.) Vice Provost: Mr. *John Batchelor*. Fellows: *Thomas Goodwin*, *D.* D. (of whom see *Page* 225.) Mr. *John Oxenbridge* *, M. A. Upon his being Ejected here, he retir'd to *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, where he held on his Ministry till Silenc'd at the Fatal *Bartholomew*. After which, he went to the *West Indies*, and settled first at *Syrenham*, and afterwards in *New England*, where he Dy'd at *Boston*, Ann. 1674.

Mr. *John Bunkley*, Mr. *Richard Penwarren*; and Mr. *Paul Hobson*, Chaplain of the Colledge. They were Ejected here, presently after King *Charles* his Return.

* *He hath written a double Watch-word: Or the Duty of Watching, and Watching to Duty; both Ecchoʼd from* Rev. 16. 5. *and* Jer. 50. 4, 5. 1661. Oct.

In

In the County of BEDFORD.

Houghton Conqueſt: Mr. *Sam. Fairclough:* Son of the excellent Mr. *Richard Fairclough* of *Ketton* in *Suffolk.* He was a good Scholar, an excellent Preacher, and one of an admirable Temper. He Dy'd *December* the 31. 1691. His Funeral Sermon was Preach'd by a Worthy conforming Clergy-man, Mr. *Parkhurſt* of *Yoxford* in *Suffolk.* Who gives him this Character; *He was a Man of no common Qualifications, eminent in Parts, in Learning, and in Piety; not of the* Laodicean *Temper, nor of the* Sardian *Complection, but ſtrictly Holy, and having a Zeal for God and Religion. Great in Wiſdom, of much Moderation, abounding in Charity, a Lover of God and Men, full of Faith, and of the Holy Ghoſt. One that had a clear Head, and a warm Heart; who underſtood and liv'd the Goſpel; a Pattern of Goodneſs, a Bleſſing to his Acquaintance, and an Ornament to his Family. And in his Sickneſs, he was exemplary in Patience, and fill'd with Peace. He was a Preacher of Righteouſneſs; a clear, judicious, fervent Preacher. And in this Province he ſhin'd very openly, while Laws permitted him: And when that Protection fail'd, this Light was unhappily obſcur'd from Publick View,* Very *unhappily, for* (ſays he) *it had been alone worth an Act of Comprehenſion, to have included this one ſo valuable a Man.* Let them look to it then, who have had an Hand, either in caſting or keeping out of the National Eſtabliſhment, Men of ſuch a Stamp and Character.

Deane: Mr. *Robert Perrot.* Who after his being Silenc'd came to the City, and Preach'd often Occaſionally in and near it; but at length ſettled at *Maidſtone* in *Kent,* where he is yet Living.

Woborn: Mr. *William Blagrave.* Cranfield: Mr. *Wheeler.* Pertenhull: Mr. *Donn.* Arleſey: Mr. *Aſhhurſt.* Milton: Mr. *Hind.* Rokkeſdon: Mr. *Mabiſon,* or *Mabuſon.* And Mr. *Millington,* Mr. *Milburne,* and Mr. *Willowes,* whoſe Places are Uncertain. Dr. *Fowler* of *Norhill,* afterwards Conform'd.

I omit Mr. *Dell* of *Yeldon*, becauſe mention'd before, in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*.

In the County of HUNTINGDON.

The City of *Peterborough*: Mr. *Willſon*, A Man of excellent Miniſterial Skill and Ability: Of ſignal Piety, and Diligence in his Work, and extraordinary Succeſs, doing Good to Multitudes.

Botulph Bridge: Mr. *Simeon King*. An able Scholar, a Man of a ſolid Judgment, an honeſt Heart and Life, and addicted to no Extreams.

Bluntſham: Mr. *James Bedford*, B. D. Some time Fellow of *Queens* Colledge in *Oxon*.

Hemingford: Mr. *Houth*. Huntington: Mr. *Sam. Brooks*. Overton Longvill: Mr. *Edm. Spincks*. Hilton: Mr. *Cooper*. And Mr. *Scott*, Mr. *Gibſon*, and Mr. *Negus*, at uncertain Places.

Mr. *Richard Kidder* of *Stranground*, afterwards Conform'd.

In the County of NORTHAMPTON.

* *His Works, are, the Tragedy of Mr.* Chriſt. Love *at* Tower-Hill. Iter Boreale *upon* Monck's *March from* Scotland *to London. A Poem upon the Impriſonment of Mr.* Edmund Calamy, *in* Newgate. *They came out ſeparately, and are Publiſh'd together with other Poems, in* Oct. 1668. *A Letter to Mr.* J. J. *upon his Majeſties Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience,* Qu. 1672. *He hath alſo ſome Sermons Extant: The Arraignment of a Sinner, on* Rom. 11. 32. Qu. 1656. *&c.*

Aino, or *Anyho*, al. *Ainer*: *Robert Wild* *, D. D. A witty Man, and celebrated for his Poetry. Mr. *Wood* ſays, he was a fat, jolly, and Boon *Presbyterian*. I have heard him commended by thoſe that knew him, not only for his facetiouſneſs, but alſo his ſtrict Temperance and Sobriety; the contrary to which ſeems to be inſinuated by that Reflection. He Dy'd at *Oundle*, Ann. 1679.

Wilbee:

Wilbee: Mr. *V. Alſop* *. Some time after his Ejectment, he was invited to *Weſtminſter*, where he is yet Living, Paſtor of a conſiderable Congregation. Mr. *Wood* Summons in all the ill Nature he was Maſter of (in which few could Vye with him) to help him in paſſing a Cenſure, on the *Wit* of Mr. *Alſop*. After he had examin'd and ſifted him with all imaginable exactneſs, He paſſes Sentence very magiſterially; He excludes him the Colledge: Declaring, *Him no way qualify'd for any Performance wherein any Thing of Wit was requiſite, either by the natural bent of his own Genius, or by any acquir'd Improvements.* Certainly Mr. *Alſop* could not well have taken a faſſer ſtep than to be on the Oppoſite ſide to Mr. *Wood*; who with a daſh of his Pen, had he but reliſh'd his Principles, could have convey'd his Name to Poſterity with this Encomium, that he was one of the beſt Maſters of Wit, the Age afforded.

* *He hath written the following Things.* Antiſozzo, *in Vindication of ſome great Truths oppos'd by Mr.* William Sherlock, *Oct.* 1675. *Melius Inquirendum: In Anſwer to Dr.* Goodman's *Compaſſionate Enquiry*, Oct: 1679. *The Miſchief of Impoſitions, in Dr.* Stillingfleets *Miſchief of Separation*, 1680. *Duty and Intereſt United in Prayer and Praiſe for Kings*, &c. *A Thankſgiving Anſwer to Sermon, on* Sept. 8. 1695. *Practical Godlineſs the Ornament of Religion*, Oct. 1696. *A Sermon to the Societies for Reformation. A Faithful Rebuke to a falſe Report; with Reference to the Differences among the United Miniſters in* London, *Oct. He hath alſo a Sermon in the Continuation of Morning Exerciſe*, Qu. *On the Diſtance we ought to keep in following the ſtrange Faſhions in Apparel, which come up in the Days wherein we Live. And another in the Fourth Volume of the Morning Exerciſe, Upon the Fulneſs of God, which every true Chriſtian ought to Pray and Strive to be filled with*, &c.

Wellingborow: Mr. *Thomas Andrews.* Woollaſton: Mr. *Edmund Matthews.* Aſhby Oneers: Mr. *Richard Coleſton.* Kettering: Mr. *John Maidwell.* Thorp: Dr. *John Cortman.* Desborow: Mr. *Thomas Browning.* Oundle: Mr. *Richard Resberry.* Great Ocley: Mr. *Thomas Dandy.* Crick: Mr. *Stephen Fowler.* Tanſover, or Cotteſtock: Mr. *Malkinſon.* Killesby: Mr. *Worth.* Hiſham: Mr. *Hodges.* Norton: Mr. *Allen.* Oldwincle: Mr. *Whiting.* Fotheringhay: Mr. *Oliver.* Loddington: Mr. *Henry Wills.* Davintry: Mr. *Timothy Dod.* Thrapſton: Mr. *Th. Terry.* Barby: Mr. *Thorpe.*

Great

Great Billing: Mr. *Daniel Cawdrey* * A very Conſiderable Man; bred in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, and one of the Aſſembly of Divines.

* *He in conjunction with Mr.* Herbert Palmer, *Wrote an excellent Book Entit.* Sabbatum Redivivum, *or the Chriſtian Sabbath Vindicated: taking in the whole of that Controverſie, which in the latter end of King* James *the* 1ſt. *Reign, and for a great part of King* Charles *the* 1ſt. *time, was ſo hotly agitated. 'Tis in two Volumes in Qu. the* 1ſt. *Printed in* 1645. *The* 2d. *in* 1652. *He hath alſo Publiſhed,* Triplex Diatribe, *concerning Superſtition, Will Worſhip, and the* Chriſtmas *Feſtival. Dr.* Hammond *wrote an Anſwer to it: To whoſe Anſwer, Mr.* Cawdrey *reply'd; in a Book Entit. The Account Audited and Diſcounted.* 1658, &c.

Buton Latmer: Mr. *John Baynard.* Weedon Mr. *George Martyn.* Great or Little Houghton: Mr. *Tho. Martyn.* Caſtle Aſhby: Mr. *Auſtin.* Lilford: Mr. *Talents.* Woodford: Mr. *Floyde*, commonly call'd Doctor, becauſe of his Practiſing Phyſick: But I know not whether he ever took his Degree. He was a very good Scholar, and an uſeful Preacher. He liv'd ſome time after his Ejection for a while at *Ipſwich*, in *Suffolk*, where he hath left a good Name behind him.

Ringſted: Mr. *Raymond.* Caſtor: Mr. *Spinks.* Cranford: Mr. *Searl.* Broughton: Mr. *Bazely* or *Beeſly.* Morton Pynchney: Mr. *Warr*, or *Wear.* Faxton: Mr. *Wills.* Creton: Mr. *Richard Hook.* Kellemarſh: Mr. *Sam. Ainſworth.* * Wilford: Mr. *Barton*, Gryndon: Mr. *Sam. Bayes.* Cottesbrook: Mr. *Tho. Burroughs.* Haſſeboch: Mr. *Butler.* Potterſpury: Mr. *Cooper.* Pantlers Purie: Mr. *Nevil.* Horton: Mr. *Howlett.* Northampton: Mr. *Lewis.* Irlingborough: Mr. *Humph. Lucas.* Twywell: Mr. *John Seaton*, Broughton: Mr. *Prott*, or *Trott.* Warmington: Mr. *Gaſcoyn.* Barton: Mr. *Kenrick.* Little Addington: Mr. *Sanderſon.* † At uncertain Places, Mr. *Fuller*, Mr. *Marſhal*, Mr. *Rogers*, Mr. *Winſton*, and Mr. *Vintreſſe.*

* *He hath a Sermon Extant, which he Preach'd at the Funeral of* Mr. Andrew Pern, *Miniſter of Wilby, who was one of the Aſſembly of Divines.* Qu. 1655.

† *I forbear bringing in* Mr. Robert Ekins *of* Archeſter, *for one of the number; becauſe he was mention'd before as Fellow of* Trinity *Colledge in* Cambridge.

There

There Conform'd afterwards in this County; Mr. *Dickenſon* of *Paſton*, Mr. *Lionel Goodrick* of *Overton*, Mr. *John Stanley* of *Corbey*. Mr. *Elborough*: of *Geddington*, and Mr. *Southwood* of *Pytchley*.

In the County of OXON.

Souldern or Souldren: Mr. *Thomas Hodges*. * B. D. Born at *Oundle* in *Northamptonſhire*, and bred at *Cambridge*, Firſt of *Emanuel*, and afterwards of St. *John's* Colledge. He died at *Okingham* in *Berks*. 1688.

* *He hath publiſhed a Diſcourſe concerning Prayer, the times;*

Jn. 1656. *A Scripture Catechiſm, Confuting the Errors of* *Oct.* 1658. *And ſome Sermons Preach'd upon particular Occaſions.*

Henley on *Thames*: Mr. *William Brice*. Chipping-Norton: Mr. *Clark*, and Mr. *Stephen Ford*: † The Latter was afterwards Miniſter of a Congregational Church in *London*.

† *He hath ſeveral Tracts extant as;*

the bleſſedneſs of being Bountiful. Oct. 1674. *A Dialogue concerning the uſe of Infant Baptiſm. Oct.* 1654. *Singing of* Pſalms, *a Chriſtian Duty. Oct.* 1653. *Chriſtians Acquieſcence in all the Products of Providence.* 1665.

Banbury: Mr. *Samuel Wells*. Upper Heyfort: Mr. *John Dod*. Stodham or Stadham: Mr. *John Hartcliffe*. Bampton: Mr. *Birch*, and Mr. *John Osborn* * M. A. After he was Ejected, he continu'd Preaching about in the County as he had Opportunity, and was at length Impriſon'd for ſeveral Weeks in *Oxford* Caſtle. When he got his Liberty, he retir'd to, and liv'd in and about *London*.

* *He hath publiſhed the Myſtery of the Reſurrection on* Acts 24. 15. *near* Burford, *concerning the Reſurrection of the Body.*

Qu. 1651. *And a Conference with* Rich. Coppin *of* Weſtwell

Deddington: Mr. *Wyar*. Glimpton: Mr. *Nath. Staniford*. Swerford: Mr. *Smith*. Weſtcott Barton: Mr. *Bowen*. Sommerton: Mr. *Fennick*. Bloxom: Mr. *Newel*. Woodſtock, the Lecture: Mr. *Sam. Bloar*. Who after his being Silenc'd, was Miniſter of a Congregation

gregation at *Northampton*, whence he remov'd to *Abington* in *Berks*, where he dy'd a few Months since. Witney, the Lecture: Mr. *William Gilbert*. Enston: Mr. *Sam. Burnet*. Newinton: Mr. *Edward Archer*. Ambesden: Mr. *Edward Baggshaw* * Whose Treatment was very Severe and Rough, in King *Charles*'s time; for he had a tedious Imprisonment in *Southsea* Castle near *Portsmouth*.

* *He hath published*, Dissertationes duæ Antisocinianæ &c. qu. 1657. De Monarchiâ absolutâ Dissertatio Politica. *Oxon.* 1659. Qu. Exercitationes duæ. altera Theologica de Presbyteris & Episcopis; altera Academica. de Philosophiâ Veteri, ejusque Usu, una cum duabus Rationibus ejusdem. Argumenti: Qu. 1661. *And many other things in* English.

Burcester or Bicester: Mr. *Basnet*. Broughton: Mr. *Coney*. Lillingston Lovel: Mr. *Hathway*. Hasely: Mr. *Anthony Stephens*. Garsington: Dr. *Ward*.

Mr. *Francis Wells* of *Adderbury*, Conform'd afterwards.

N. B. More should have been set down as ejected in this County, but that they have been mentioned before, under the University of *Oxford*.

In the County of GLOUCESTER.

Burton on the Water: Mr. *Antony Palmer*, * M. A. A Native of *Worcestershire*, Educated in *Oxon*, and Fellow for some time of *Baliol* Colledge there. He was cast out by force, by some of the Neighbouring Gentry, before the Act for *Uniformity* was fram'd. He put in a Curate, who also was disturb'd for want of the Common Prayer. He dy'd in or near *London* in *January*, 167⅝.

* *He hath published a Scripture Rule to the Lord's Table; against Mr.* Jo. Humphrey's *Treatise of Free Admission.* Oct. 1654. *The Gospel New Creature.* Oct. 1658. &c.

Shipton Moigne: Mr. *Dan. Capel*, M. A. Son of the Eminent Mr. *Richard Capel*; sometime Fellow of *Magd* Colledge in *Oxon*. After which he was successively Minister of *Morton*, *Alderley* and *Shipton* in

in his own Native County of *Glouceſter*. Parting with his Living in 62, for his *Nonconformity*, he Practis'd Phyſick in the Town of *Strowd*, in the ſame County, as long as he liv'd.

Glouceſter: Mr. *Increaſe Mather*, M. A. He was Born in *New England*, and when Nonconformity was like to be Troubleſome, he return'd again to his Native Country, where he is yet Living, Preſident of *Harwarden* Colledge in *Cambridge* *.

* *He hath publiſh'd, a Diſcourſe concerning the Myſtery of* Iſrael's *Salvation.* Oct. 1669. *The* 1ſt *Principles of* New England, *concerning the Subject of Baptiſm and Communion of Churches.* Qu. 75. *A Brief Hiſtory of the War with the* Indians, *in* New England, *from* June 24. 1675. *to* Aug. 12. 76. *Some Important Truths about Converſion.* Oct. 74. *The Divine Right of Infant Baptiſm.* Qu. 1680. *Practical Truths, tending to promote Godlineſs in the Power of it.* 82. Diatribe de ſigno Filii Hominis, & de ſecundo Meſſiæ adventu. Oct. 1682. *An Eſſay for the recording illuſtrious Providences.* Oct. 84. *A Diſcourſe concerning the Perſon, Office, and Glory of Chriſt.* Oct. 86. De ſucceſſu Evangelii apud Indos in Nova Anglia. *Epiſt.* ad Cl. Virum, D Joh. Leuſdenum. 88. *The Wonders of Free Grace.* &c.

Mr. *James Forbes*, who is yet living, Paſtor of a Congregation at *Glouceſter*.

Winchcomb: Mr. *Helme*, or *Helmes*. Willerſey: Mr. *Flavel*; Father of Mr. *Flavel* of *Dartmouth*. Wotton underedge: Mr. *Bodin*. Oddington: Mr. *William Tray*. Stow on the Wowld: Mr. *William Beal*. Tewkesbury: Mr. *John Wells*. Weſton: Mr. *Cooper*. Longborough: Mr. *William Smith*. Slaughter: Mr. *John Keck*. Notgrave: Mr. *William Daviſon*. Haſelton: Mr. *John Dunce*. Compton: Mr. *William Beckett*. Lemington: Mr. *Edward Finch*. Yeonworth: Mr. *Fiſher*. Aſhton Somervil: Mr. *Wood*. Cirenceſter: Mr. *Alexander Gregory*. Dunsborn: Mr. *Edward Fletcher*. Brimsfeild: Mr. *Tho. Jennings*. Beckford Mr. *Edes*. Hempſted. Mr. *Jonathan Smith Jun.* Slimbridge: Mr. *Peter Guilliam*. Witcomb: Mr. *Gretorix*. Longhope: Mr. *Thomas Smith*. Weſterleygh: Mr. *Fowler*. Elberton: Mr. *Hilton*. Thornbury: Mr. *Haines*. Dirhurſt: Mr. *Francis Harris*.

Durſley: Mr. *Henry Stubbs*, a Grave Divine, wholly given up to the Service of God: Who after his being ſilenc'd, went about Preaching from

place to place, with unwearied Labour and great Success; being a plain, moving, fervent Preacher, for the work of Converting impenitent Sinners to God. And yet being settled in Peaceable Principles, he every where repress'd the Spirit of Censoriousness, and unjust Separation, and Preach'd up the Ancient Zeal and Sincerity, with a Spirit suitable thereunto. After he had Preach'd a while Privately in *London*, he was allow'd the Exercise of his Ministry, in the Parish Church of *Horsely* in *Glocestershire*, where there had for several Years been no Minister, because of the smallness of the Maintenance, which was but 8 *l. per Annum.* He was a Minister of Christ about 50 Years, and dy'd at *London*, *An. Ætat.* 73. Mr. *Baxter* Preach'd his Funeral Sermon, in which his Character may be seen at Large.

Pocklechurch: Mr. *J. Fox.* Rudford: Mr. *Tho. Sayer.* Olveston: Mr. *H. Heane.* Marshfeild: Mr. *Bramhal.* Frampton: Mr. *Barnsdale.* Kings-Charlton: Mr. *Tho. Harrison.* Cheltonham: Mr. *John Cowper.* Naunton: Mr. *Hods.* Clapton: Mr. *Tho. Paxford.* Great Rissington: Mr. *Drie.* Westcot: Mr. *Edw. Rogers.* Stowel: Mr. *Tho. Jordan.* Morton: Mr. *Anth. Collier.* Minsterden: Mr. *Will. Murrel*, or *Murret.* Whitmyster: Mr. *Collier.* Leonard Stanley: *Sam. Winney.* Saperton: Mr. *Appleby.* Stroud: Mr. *Butt.* Kempley: Mr. *Paul Frewen*, Barnsley: Mr. *John Lee.* Tormerton: Mr. *Stevenson.* And Mr. *Joshua Head*, Mr. *Joseph Woodward*, and Mr. *Bakewel* or *Blackway*, whose places are uncertain.

There conform'd afterwards in this County, these Persons following: Mr. *Aylway*, Mr. *Fido*, of *Cold Aston*: Mr. *Hall* of *Beaverston.* Mr. *Hall* of *Avening.* Mr. *Hern* of *Hampton.* Mr. *Will. Hodges* of *Kings Stanley.* Mr. *Shene* of *Old Sodbury*, and M. *Charles Sumner* of *Alveston.*

In the County of WORCESTER.

Kings-Norton: Mr. *Tho. Hall*,* B.D.† He was Born in the City of *Worceſter*, *An.* 1610. And bred up in *Oxon*, under Dr. *Luſhington*. When he was fixt at *Kings Norton* (his Brother Mr. *John Hall*, who was there before him, ſetling wholy at *Bromſgrove*) he apply'd himſelf in Earneſt to do good to Souls. His Salary was ſmall, (the great Tythes being impropriate) ſo that had he not kept the Free-School, and continu'd ſingle, he could ſcarce have ſubſiſted: And yet God owning his Labours in the Place, he would not be perſwaded to leave it, tho' Solicited with a Promiſe of far greater Preferment. In the time of the Civil War, he was often Accus'd, Curſed, Threatned with Death, many times Plunder'd, and five times Impriſon'd. He conſtantly Preach'd twice on the Lord's Day, and kept Lectures abroad, beſides his Expoſition of Scripture, and Catechizing, and private Admonition, *&c.* He was a very hard Student, a conſiderable Scholar, a well furniſh'd Divine: A Man of a Publick Spirit, intent upon ſpreading Knowledge. He gave many valuable Books to the Library at *Burmingham*, and perſwaded his Brethren to the like: And when he had prevail'd with his Pariſh to build

* *See an Account of his Life and Death, written by Mr.* Rich. Moor, *annext to a Tract of his, Entit.* A Pearl in an Oyſter-ſhell: *Oct.* 1675.

† *He publiſhed ſeveral valuable Books.* Apologia pro Miniſterio Anglicano: Francof. 1658. *The Pulpit Guarded*, 4to. *The Font Guarded*, 4to. *The Schools Guarded; or a Defenſe of* H. L. *The Beauty of Holineſs*, Oct. 1653. *A Treatiſe againſt Long Hair: Wiſdom's Conqueſt; a Tranſlation of the* 13*th Book of* Ovid's Metamorphoſis. 8*vo*. Phaeton's *Folly: a Tranſlation of the* 2*d. Book of* Ovid's Metamorphoſis. 8*vo*. Hometius Enervatus: *or a Treatiſe againſt the* Millenary's. Sal Terræ: *or a Guard to the Miniſters, and their Maintenance. An Expoſition by way of Supplement on the* 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. *Chapt. of* Amos. Samaria's *Downfall. A Comment, on the* 5 *laſt Verſes of* Hoſea 13. *The Beauty of Magiſtracy: An Expoſition on* Pſal. 82. *A Practical and Polemical Commentary on the* 3*d. and* 4*th Chapter of the* 2*d. Epiſtle to* Timothy. *Fol.* 1658. *A Treatiſe againſt May Poles. A Scriptural Diſcourſe of the Apoſtacy of* Antichriſt. Qu. 1653.

a Publick Library, he gave his own Study to it in his Life time. He was of a Free and Liberal Heart: And when outward Comforts fail'd, he liv'd by Faith. In his laſt ſickneſs, his Stock was reduc'd to 6 Pence but he was eaſie, and ſaid it was enough; and it prov'd ſo, with Providential Additions: For before 'twas gone, ſeveral ſeal'd Papers of Mony were ſent him by unknown Friends to ſupply his Occaſions. He was of an Holy and Unblameable Life: Very Humble and Eaſie of Acceſs. His Doors and Ears were open to the Pooreſt; and the meaneſt Inhabitant of his Pariſh ſhould as ſoon have his Requeſt granted, if in his Power, as the greateſt. He was a great lover of Peace; but would in no Caſe part with Purity to Purchaſe it. He was a plain, but Fervent and Profitable Preacher: And he Taught by his Life, as well as by his Doctrine. He was a Man of a very Lively and Active Spirit, never caſt down with Diſcouragements: And tho' he was often Menac'd and Impriſon'd by Soldiers, and peſterd with Sectarys of all ſorts, and at laſt Ejected and ſilenc'd, yet he was ſtill the ſame: As ready for his Duty as ever, when Opportunity offer'd. In a Word, he was profitable in his Life, and Peaceable in his Death. When he was near his end, he thus expreſs'd himſelf. *I am now going where I ſhall have reſt from Sin and Satan, from all Fear, Wearineſs, and watching; and from all the Evils and Errours of a wicked World: Even ſo Come Lord Jeſus, for I long for thy coming.* And when the Pangs of Death were upon him, he ſpake thus: *All the Joys of this Life are nothing, nothing to the Joys I have in Jeſus Chriſt.* He dy'd April, 13. 1665.

* *ſee the Account of him prefix'd to his Poſthumous Piece, Entit.* A Proſpect of Heavenly Glory.

Mouſley: Mr. *Joſeph Cooper* *, †. His Father Mr. *Hugh Cooper*, was a worthy Miniſter, at *Preſton* in

† *He hath but two Pieces extant,* viz. Domus Moſaicæ Clavis; ſive Legis Sepimentum. *Oct. Lond.* 1673. *A Book that ſhews the Author to have been a Man of much reading in various Languages, upon various Subjects; a Book that Aſſerts the Antiquity and Neceſſity of the Hebrew Points, and was never yet anſwered: A Book that gain'd the Author Reputation amongſt Judicious Linguiſts, whether of his mind or not. And there was a Poſthumous Piece of his lately Printed, Entit.* Μισθοσκοπία: *Or a* Proſpect of Heavenly Glory, for the Comfort of Sion's Mourners: *Oct.* 1700. *Shropſhire.*

Shropſhire. His Childhood and Youth were Vanity. At the Twentieth Year of his Age, he began to live the Life of a Man, and of a Chriſtian. He fell to his Studies with unwearied Diligence, and in Ten or Twelve Years Time made himſelf Maſter of much uſeful Learning. By Familiar Converſe with the beſt *Roman* Authors, he acquir'd a good *Latin* Style. He became very well skill'd in the *Greek* Tongue alſo: But his chief Excellency lay in the *Hebrew* Tongue, in which he was moſt Exact. He took great Pains to compare Oriental Verſions, and the Tranſlation of the 70 with the *Hebrew* Text; and he read the *Maſorah*, and other *Jewiſh* and *Rabbinical* Commentaries, as if they had been in *Latin*. He was a ſolid convincing Preacher. *Moſely* was a poor Place affording but Twenty Nobles a Year in a dry Rent: But the Inhabitants made it up to him 50 *l. per Annum*. Of which he was depriv'd at the Fatal *Bartholomew*. He was no ſtranger to natural Philoſophy, nor the Mathematicks, nor yet to Medicine, in which by his Study and Converſation he had profited much. All his Learning and Uſefulneſs, his Modeſty, Humility, and Forbearance to meddle with Things not concerning him, could not keep him out of Priſon. Once he lay in *Worceſter* Goal for the great Crime of Preaching: And yet had the Courage to Preach the ſame Day the Law releas'd him. He was inſtant in his Work, in Seaſon and out of Seaſon, and uſeful to many Souls. He Dy'd, *Ann.* 1699. *Ætat.* 41. A Worthy Conforming Miniſter Preaching at his Funeral, gave him this Character. *His Life was a curious Delineation of Religion and Learning; ſo vertuous and ſpotleſs, that Malice it ſelf might be Angry, but had no Cauſe to be ſo with him. His Reputation was invulnerable as the Air, and his unexampled Goodneſs might juſtly ſtile him a Match for Antiquity, in its greateſt Purity and Severity.* And a ſpecial Intimate of his gives this Account of him, that he had, *a ſolid Judgment, a faithful Memory, a quick and happy Fancy, and an unaffected Gravity. His Preſence ſtruck a reverential Awe into the Perſons he convers'd with, and his Deportment was ſo Graceful and Majeſtick, that* here comes Mr. Cooper, *hath often charm'd a rude Society into Civil Or-*

der, and compos'd Lewd Persons into an handsome Decorum. His Affability was Candid and Generous, his Language Free and Eloquent, his Charity open-handed, and his Contempt of the World very Conspicuous. In short, he was a general accomplish'd Scholar, no common Linguist, a smart Disputant, a Judicious Philosopher, and an experienc'd Godly Divine. Of his Piety there is a Specimen Publish'd in the Printed Account of him, in a Paper drawn up for his own Use, which is recommended to the Perusal of those, who desire to see spiritual Matters manag'd Seriously and Judiciously.

In the City of *Worcester* were Silenc'd, Mr. *Joseph Baker*. A Learned Man, of a blameless Life, Preaching constantly, Catechizing the People, and conferring with the several Families (especially before he first admitted them to the Lords Supper) personally. One of extraordinary Prudence, Calmness, Patience, Gravity, and Soundness of Judgment. Neither for Prelacy, Presbytery, nor Independency, as form'd into Parties, but for that which was sound in all Parties, and for Concord upon Catholick Terms. The Parish of St. *Andrews* where he was Minister, had but about 6 *l.* a Year Maintenance, of which he took none, but gave it to a Woman to teach Poor Children to read, Living upon his own, and some small Augmentation granted by the Parliament. Mr. *Simon Moor*. Mr. *Juice*: A sober, grave, serious, peaceable, blameless, able Minister: Yet Living Pastor of a Congregation at *Redding* in *Berks*. Mr. *Fincher*, a zealous, able Preacher of a good Life. Who was afterwards Pastor of a Congregation in the City of *London*.

Kemsey: Mr. *Thomas Broomwich*. An Ancient, Reverend, Able Minister, of an upright Life. When Bishop *Morley* came to the Town, and Mr. *Collier* of *Bleckley* had Conform'd, he was over perswaded to take the Declaration: But before he came to profess his Assent and Consent openly, and fully to Conform, he was cast into great Distress of Conscience, and went no farther. But yet by Preaching, he us'd that Liberty, that he had so procur'd.

Upon

Upton upon *Severn*: Mr. *Benjamin Baxter* *. Son to Mr. *George Baxter*, Miniſter at little *Wenlock* in *Shropſhire*. He was a Preacher of extraordinary Skill, eſpecially in Matter and Method, in which few excell'd him. He Liv'd uprightly to near 57 Years of Age, and ſuffer'd much by the lowneſs of his Eſtate by his Ejection, who before had Liv'd plentifully.

* *He hath ſome Tracts Extant:* viz. *Poſing Queſtions put by the Wiſe Man,* Oct. 1664. *Nonconformity without Controverſie,* Oct. 1670.

Hardington, or *Harrington*: Mr. *Stephen Baxter*: Brother to the former. One of a Solid Underſtanding, and a calm, peaceable Spirit. After he was Silenc'd, he practis'd Phyſick.

Eveſham: Mr. *George Hopkins* †, M. A. Son to Mr. *William Hopkins* a Member of the Long Parliament. He was an uſeful Preacher while he continu'd in his Living, and after his Ejectment, he retir'd to *Dumbleton* in *Gloceſterſhire*, where he Dy'd, *March* 25. 1666. When the *Oxford* Oath came out, he was over perſwaded to take it in his own Sence, that he might not be forc'd Five Miles from the People: But he Dy'd juſt at the Time when he ſhould have had the Benefit of it. He was a very judicious, godly, moderate, peaceable, and upright Man. Even Mr. *Ant.* a *Wood* thinks fit to own, That *beſides his Knowledge in Divinity, he was a very good Mathematician, and an Example of great Candour and Moderation.*

† *He hath one Tract Extant, Entit.* Salvation from Sin by Jeſus Chriſt; *or the Doctrine of Sanctification founded upon Chriſt, who is both the meritorious and efficient Cauſe of ſanctifying Grace,* Oct. 1655.

Martly: Mr. *Ambroſe Sparry*, who before he fix'd in this Place was Schoolmaſter of *Stourbridge*. A ſober, peaceable, moderate, humble, godly, judicious Man. His great Prudence, Moderation and Learning, and the chief of *Stourbridge* being his Friends, caus'd the Chancellor to connive at his keeping School there again, after his Ejectment: Tho' he was a while maliciouſly laid in Goal.

Beawdley: Mr. *Henry Oaſland*. As lively, fervent and moving a Preacher as any in the County: Who Rode about from Place to Place, Preaching fervently, and winning many Souls to God, beſides his very great Labours among his own People, publickly, and from Houſe to Houſe. After he was caſt out, he ſtill continu'd Preaching up and down privately, where he could have Opportunity, with Zeal and

Diligence: No Sufferings that he met with, being able to drive him out of his Orthodox and ſound Principles.

Stourbridge, or *Oldwinford*: Mr. *Jarvis Bryan*: Brother to Dr. *Bryan* of *Coventry*. A moſt humble, upright, faithful Miniſter, of a blameleſs Life, and ſound Doctrine.

Stone: Mr. *Richard Serjeant*. A Man of extraordinary Prudence, Humility, Sincerity, Self-Denial, Patience, and Blameleſsneſs of Life.

Bromſgrove: Mr. *John Spilsbury*. A Man of extraordinary Worth, for Moderation, Peaceableneſs, Ability, Miniſterial Diligence, and an upright Life.

Churchill: Mr. *Edward Boucher*. A Young Man Born in *Kederminſter* Pariſh, of great Humility, Sincerity, Peaceableneſs, and good Miniſterial Parts.

Chadſley: Mr. *Thomas Baldwin*, Sen. A good Scholar, a ſober, calm, grave, moderate, peaceable Man, and an extraordinary Preacher: Who upon Mr. *Baxter*'s deſire continu'd exerciſing his Miniſtry in Private among the People of *Kederminſter*, after that he was ſeparated from them.

All-Church: Mr. *Richard Moor* *, after his Ejectment, he Preach'd privately at, *Wetherockhill* in the ſame County. Witley: Mr. *Joſeph Read*. Salwarp: Mr. *Giles Woolly*. Stoke: Mr. *Richard Dowley*. Cropthorn: Mr. *William Weſtmercoat*. Whitlady Aſton: Mr. *Robert Brown*. Eckington: Mr. *Tim. Jordan*. Rydmerley: Mr. *Kimberley*. Hampton-lovet: Mr. *Freeſtone*, Doderhill: Mr. *Tho. Francis*. Brodwey: Mr. *Wall*. Pepoleton: Mr. *Woodward*. Harrington, or Hardington; Mr. *Ward*. Breedon: Mr. *Buſton*, or *Beeſton*. Tredington: Mr. *Durham*. Naunton: Mr. *Frank*, or *Franks*. And Mr. *Joſeph Treble*, whoſe Place is uncertain.

There Conformd afterwards in this County, theſe Perſons following: Mr. *Thomas Wright* of *Hartlebury*; Mr. *Simon Potter* of *Wolvley*; Mr. *Hyatt*, of *Graſton*; and Mr. *Th. Soley* of *Mitton*.

* *He hath Publiſh'd a Tract ſtil'd* A Pearl in an Oyſter Shell; *precious Treaſure in periſhing Veſſels, in ſome Sermons: With an Account of the Holy Life and Death of* Mr. Thomas Hall.

In

In the County of HEREFORD.

Hereford: Mr. *William Voyle*, Mr. *William Low*, Mr. *George Primroſe*, and Mr. *Samuel Smith*, Sen. Who were all joint Paſtors, adminiſtred the Lords Supper by turns, and Liv'd in great Peace among themſelves, and with great Unanimity carry'd on the Work of the Goſpel in that City.

Morton upon Lugge: Mr. *Anth. Collier.* Selleck: Mr. *Taylor.* Whitchurch, or Caſtle Richards: Mr. *William Woodward.* A great Man. Roſs: Mr. *Jonathan Smith.*

Lembſter: Mr. *John Tombes* *, B. D. Whom all the World muſt own to have been a very conſiderable Man, and an excellent Scholar, how diſenclin'd Animadverſiones in Librum Georgii Bulli, cui Titulum fecit, Harmonia Apoſtolica, *Oct.* 1676. Væ Scandalizantium: *A Treatiſe of Scandalizing*, Oct. 1641. Jehovah Jireh: *Gods Providence in delivering the Godly, in Two Thankſgiving Sermons*, Qu. 1643. Fermentum Phariſæorum: *The Leaven of Phariſaical Will-worſhip*, Qu. 1643. Anthropolatria, *The Sin of glorying in Men*, Qu. 43. *True Old Light exalted above pretended New Light, againſt* Quakers *and* Arminians, &c. Qu. 1660. Romaniſm *Diſcuſs'd, or an Anſwer to the Nine firſt Articles of H.T. His Manual of Controverſies*, Qu. 1661. *A Serious Conſideration of the Oath of the Kings Supremacy*, Qu. 1660. Sepher Sheba: *Or the Oath Book*, &c. *in Twenty Catechetical Lectures*, Qu. 1662. *Saints no Smiters: Againſt the Fifth Monarchy Men*, Qu. 1664, Theodulia, *or a Defence of hearing the Sermons, and other Teaching of the Preſent Miniſters of* England, *Oct.* 1667. Emanuel *or God-man*, Oct. 1669. *Chriſt's Commination againſt Scandalizers. Two Treatiſes, and an Appendix to them, concerning Infant-Baptiſm. Containing an Exercitation preſented to the Chairman of the Committee of the Aſſembly of Divines; and Reflections on Mr.* Marſhals *Sermon*, Qu. 1646. *An Apology, or Plea for the Book foregoing*, 4to. 46. *Reflections on a Paſſage in the Epiſtle Dedicatory, to Mr.* Baxter's *Saints Everlaſting Reſt*, 4to. 1650. *An Addition to the Apology for the Two Treatiſes of Infant-Baptiſm*, 4to. 52. *The Firſt Part of the Full Review*, 4to. 52. Refutatio Poſitionis, ejuſque Confirmationis, Pædobaptiſmum eſſe Licitum affirmantis, ab *H. Savage* S. S. Th. D. &c. 4to. 1653. *The Second Part of the Full Review*, 4to. 1654. *A Plea for* Antipædo-baptiſts *in Anſwer to a Book Entit. The* Anabaptiſts *Anatomiz'd, and Silenc'd*, 4to, *The Third Part of the Review*, 4to. 57.

* *He hath Publiſh'd many Books*

ſoever

Felo de se. 20 *Arguments against Infant Baptism*, 4to. 1659. &c.

soever they may be to his Particular Opinions. He Dy'd at *Salisbury*, *May* 25. 1676.

Weſton: Mr. *John Skinner*. Aſhton: Mr. *J. Barnſton*. Wormbridge: Mr. *Broſter*. Aſton: Mr. *Farrington*. Little Hereford: Mr. *Garnons*. Lentwardine: Mr. *Hawes*. Allmely: Mr. *Hudſon*. Bramyard: Mr. *Johnſon*. Brieſtow: Mr. *Summers*. Marden: Mr. *Tringham*, or *Trincham*. Llanrothal: Mr. *Williams*. Webley: Mr. *Billingſly*. Sappie: Mr. *Malden* *. And Mr. *Boyle*, and Mr. *Wotton*, whoſe Places are uncertain.

In *Monmouthſhire*: Monmouth: Mr. *Nicolas Cary*. Magor: Mr. *Robert Baynes*. Abergavenney: Mr. *Abbot*. Newport: Mr. *Henry Walter*. Treleck: Mr. *Simms*. Tyntarne: Mr. *Milmaye*. Caierwent: Mr. *Rogers*. Caerlion: Mr. *Robinſon*. Llanafering: Mr. *Owen Morgan*. Llangattock: Mr. *Robins*. Llanvapley: Mr. *Williams*. Tredonock: Mr. *Walter Proſſer*.

In *Glamorganſhire*: Roſylly: Mr. *Dan. Higgs*. Llangenyth: Mr. *Sam. Jones*. Coytchurch: Mr. *Henry Nicecolls*. Cardiff: Mr. *Benj. Flower*. St. Fagans: Mr. *Edm. Ellis*. Wenvor: Mr. *John French*. St. Androwes: Mr. *Joſh. Miller*. St. Lithams: Mr. *John Powel*. Illſton: Mr. *John Miles*. Cheryton: Mr. *Tho. Proude*. S. Mary Church: Mr. *William Thomas*. Llanmadock: Mr. *Morgan Jones*. Llangynor: Mr. *Tho. Joſeph*. Glyncorruge: Mr. *Howel Thomas*. Llantriſſent: Mr. *Henry Williams*.

There Conform'd afterwards, Mr. *Evan Griffyths* of *Oxwiche*: Mr. *Pye* of *Biſhopſton*: Mr. *Rees Davis* of St. *Maries Hill*, and Mr. *Hilliard* of *Newton Nottage*.

In *Carmarthenſhire*: Mydrym: Mr. *Stephen Hughes*. Merthyr: Mr. *James Davis*. Llandeſſillio: Mr. *David Jones*. Llannun: Mr. *Merideth Davis*. Llangvnderum: Mr. *John Powel*. Llangellbithen: Mr. *William Jones*. Mr. *Rice Pruthero*, Mr. *Philip Lewis*, Mr. *Morrice Merideth*, Itinerant Candidates.

In *Pembrookſhire*: Narberth: Mr. *Tho. Warren*. Llangone: Mr *Peregrine Philips*. Llanpeter: Mr. *Chriſto-*

* *I omit Mr.* Thomas Cole *of* Brompton Brian, *and Mr.* Smith *of* Bodenham, *becauſe the former was mention'd before, under the* University *of* Oxford, *and the latter under the City of* London.

Chriſtopher Jackſon. Llanſtadwel: Mr. *John Lantley.* S. Iſmaels: Mr. *Adam Hawkins.* Tynby: Mr. *John Carver.* Pembrook: Mr. *John Bywater.* And Mr. *Thomas Hughes*; whoſe Place is uncertain.

There Conform'd afterwards, Mr. *Stephen Young*, and Mr. *David Williams* of *Llanvihangel Penpedo.*

In *Cardiganſhire:* Cardigan: Mr. *Charles Price.* Penbryne: Mr. *Richard Davis.* Llangynllo: Mr. *Lewis Price.* Bangor: Mr. *John Evans.* Llandevroigge: Mr. *Evan Hughes.* Llanllohayrne: Mr. *Roderick Davis.* Tregaron: Mr. *John Harris.* Llanbadarn Vawire: Mr. *David Jones.* Iſcard: Mr. *Tho. Evans.* And Mr. *Morgan Howell*, a Candidate.

Mr. *Rice Powel* of *Llanheder*, Conform'd afterwards.

In *Brecknockſhire:* Patriſho: Mr. *Elias Harvy*, or *Harry.* Ketheden: Mr. *Jon. Edwards.* And Mr. *David William Probert* at an uncertain Place.

In *Radnorſhire:* Mr. *Swaine.*

In *Montgomeryſhire.* Llandyſſill: Mr. *Martin Grundman:* Who being at *London* at the Time of the Plague, was ſo Poor that he was not able to remove his Family, and was carry'd off by it. He was a very Holy, Humble, Able Miniſter.

Bettus: Mr. *Gabriel Jones.* Aberhafais: Mr. *Maurice Lloyd.* Welſh-Pool: Mr. *Nathanael Ravens.* Newtown: Mr. *Hugh Rogers.* Mr. *Henry* deſcribes him as *a Man of excellent Converſe, and whoſe peculiar Felicity lay in pleaſant and edifying Diſcourſe.* He Dy'd in *March* $16\frac{79}{80}$.

In *Denbyſhire:* Ruthin: Mr. *Ellis Rowlands.* Denbigh: Mr. *William Jones.* Wrexham: Mr. *Ambroſe Moſton*, or *Moſtyn.* Holt: Mr. *Richard Taylor.* Llanvaier: Mr. *Jonathan Roberts*, M. A. He was one of thoſe who in the Year 1681. Aſſiſted in the Conference concerning Nonconformity *, in the Town-Hall at *Oſweſtry* in *Shropſhire*, before Dr. *William Lloyd*, then Biſhop of St. *Aſaph*, with Mr. *Philip Henry*, and Mr. *James Owen.* He Dy'd *Sept.* 26. 1684. Mr. *Henry* deſcribes him, as a true *Nathanael*, an *Iſraelite* indeed for Plainneſs and Integrity; a ſilent Sufferer for his Nonconformity, for which he quitted a good Living. He was a Learned Man. He Dy'd

* *See Mr.* Henry's *Life, Page* 155, &c.

Dy'd with Comfort in his Nonconformity, and with Confidence of a return of Mercy in God's due Time. The Summer before he Died, he had been at *Oxford*, *Cambridge*, and *London*, where he heard and saw that which much Confirm'd him in his Diſſent.

In the County of SALOP.

Shrewsbury: St. Chadds: Mr. *Bryan.* Julian's: Mr. *Heath.* St. Mary: Mr. *Tallants.*

Mr. *Heath* was an Ancient, Grave Miniſter, Moderate, Sedate, Quiet, and Religious. He was of *Chriſt*'s Colledge in *Cambridge*, where he was much valu'd for his great Learning, eſpecially in the Oriental Tongues, in which he was one of the greateſt Maſters of his Age. He was employ'd to Correct the *Syriack*, and *Arabick* of the *Polyglot* Bible, which was ſent down to him in Sheets for that Purpoſe, for which Biſhop *Walton* gave him a Copy. He read the Liturgy till *Auguſt* 24. 1662. And then was Silenc'd, becauſe he could not come up to the impoſed Terms of Conformity. When the Five Mile Act commenc'd, *March* 25. 1666. He remov'd to *Wellington*, and there Dy'd on *May* the 28th following. When he lay upon his Death-bed, Mr. *Lawrence* ask'd him what Reflections he had upon his Nonconformity. *Truly* (ſaid he) *I would not but have done as I did for a Thouſand Worlds.* He had great Confidence, that God would provide for his Widow and Children, according to Promiſe.

Mr. *Francis Tallents:* An Ancient Fellow of *Magdalen* Colledge in *Cambridge*, and a good Scholar: A godly, blameleſs Divine, moſt eminent for extraordinary Prudence and Moderation, and Peaceableneſs towards all. In the Time of the Civil Wars, he Liv'd at *Saumur* in *France*; and after his being Ejected he Travell'd again. His Chronological Tables, which coſt him ſo many Years Labour, are the exacteſt of the Kind; one of the greateſt Performances of the Age in that ſort of Learning, and will make his Name famous to Poſterity.

Mr.

Mr. *Brian*, Son to Dr. *Brian*: was a Godly able Preacher, of a Quick and Active Temper, but very Humble.

Wemm: Mr. *Andrew Parſons*. He was Born in *Devonſhire*, and was Miniſter there ſome Years before the Civil War. Being driven thence to *London*, he became well known to Mr. *Pym*, who ſent him down to *Wemm*, when that Town was Garriſon'd for the Parliament. There he continu'd in the Exerciſe of his Miniſtry till the Year 1660. At the latter end of which he was bro't into Trouble, on the Account of Seditious Words, which were Sworn againſt him, which were theſe. *That the Devil was like a King that courted the Soul, and ſpoke fair till he was gotten into the Throne, and then play'd Pranks.* The Witneſs depos'd contrary to the Cohærence of his Diſcourſe, that he ſaid, *the King was like the Devil.* He was try'd at *Shrewsbury*, before my Lord *Newport*, Mr. Serjeant *Turner*, and others, *May* 28. and 29. 1661. It was alſo charg'd upon him that he ſaid, *There was more ſin committed now in* England *in a Month, than was heretofore in Seven Years: And that there had been more and better Preaching in* England *for Twenty Years paſt, than was ever ſince the Apoſtles days.* He had Council Aſſign'd him, who pleaded that the time limited by the Statute on which he was Indicted was Expir'd: The Court yielded it was ſo, allowing 28 days to a Month, but they would underſtand it of 30 days to a Month. So he was found Guilty, and Fin'd 200 *l.* and order'd to be Impriſon'd till it ſhould be paid. This Trial * made a great noiſe at that time. He continued near 3 Months in Priſon, till the Lord *Newport*, without his Knowledge procur'd the King's Pardon for his Fine. His Living was preſently Sequeſtred by the Chancellour of *Litchfield*. Perhaps the greatneſs of his Parſonage, made him the more Obnoxious. For he told them in open Court, that his Benefice was condemn'd long before, and that 400 *l.* was bidden for it by a great Man in the County, *&c.* One of the Jury when he had conſider'd what was done, came afterwards much dejected to Mr. *P.* and told him the Foreman went againſt the ſenſe of the Major Part. He went alſo to the Judge, and told him ſo; &c.

* *See the Account of* Mr. Par*ſons his Sufferings on this Occaſion, with ſuitable Reflections, in* Conf. 4. Plea. *pag.* 32.

who

who reply'd he need not trouble himself about that, *&c.* Mr. *Parsons* retir'd afterwards to *London*, where he dy'd, *October* 1. 1684.

Edgmond: Mr. *Thomas Gilbert*, * B. D. of St. *Edmund's* Hall in *Oxford*. An Ancient Divine: an excellent Scholar; of extraordinary Accuteness, and conciseness of Stile, and a most Scholastical Head. He spent the latter part of his time in a private Life in *Oxon*, where to the last he met with much respect, from Dr. *Hall* Bishop of *Bristol*, Dr. *Bathurst*, Dr. *Jane*, and others, who were fit Judges of his real Worth.

* *I know not that he hath any thing in Print, besides a small* Latin *Tract, about the Possibility of Pardon without Satisfaction, in Answer to Dr.* Owen's Diatribe de Divinâ Justitia, &c. *And a Brief English Discourse, on the Guilt and Pardon of Sin, and Prayer for that Pardon.* Oct. 1695.

Baschurch: Mr. *Edward Lawrence* *. Who when he was turn'd out, had Eleven strong Arguments against exposing himself to Hardships, and sufferings for Nonconformity, *viz.* A Wife and Ten Children, but he answered them by his Faith and firm Trust in God. Being ask'd how he meant to maintain them all, he chearfully reply'd, they must all live upon the 6th of Matthew; *Take no thought for your Life*, &c. And he often sung with his Family, *Psal.* 37. 16. And they were provided for beyond Expectation. He was driven from *Whitchurch* by the violent Prosecution of the Conventicle Act in 1670, When he remov'd to *London*, where he spent the rest of his Days. He dy'd in *November* 1695. His Funeral Sermon was Preach'd by Mr. *Nath. Vincent*, where his Character may be met with at Large. He was a Solid, Calm, Peaceable, Godly Man, and a good Preacher. Mr. *Baxter* Relates this of him, that he had his Goods taken away for Preaching in a private House, where but Four Neighbours were present, on pretence that a little Daughter of the House, that came newly from School, and another Child made the Supernumeraries, which put him to a tedious Suit. Mr. *Powis*, an able Lawyer of that Country, who had before carry'd it Soberly and Moderately, being entertain'd against him, was free in his Invectives, call'd him seditious Fellow

* *He hath Printed several things: As Parents Groans over their wicked Children*, Oct. *Christ's Power over bodily Diseases.* Oct. 2. *&c. And he hath also a Sermon in the Morning Exercise against Popery against Transubstantiation.*

Fellow at the Bar, and discover'd much bitterness, and about a Week or Fortnight after, dy'd almost Suddenly.

Great Bolas: Mr. *Edward Bury* †, Born in *Worcester-shire. An.* 1616. At Five Years Old he was Adopted by an Uncle to a fair Estate: But such was the Profaneness of the Family, that when God had touch'd his Heart, he desir'd to be remov'd, professing he could live no longer, where he could have no more Advantages for his Soul. Hereupon both his Father and Uncle were so disgusted, that he utterly lost their Favour, and all Expectations from them. *Thus* (saith he of himself) *in the Morning of my Age, I began my Suffering: Choosing rather to suffer Affliction with the People of God, than enjoy the Profits or Pleasures of the World, which are but for a Season.*

He was afterwards kindly receiv'd by another Uncle, in whose Family Religion Flourish'd. He was earnest in pursuit of Learning; spent some Years at *Oxford*; Remov'd thence into a private Family, where he was Chaplain, following his Studies with unwearied Diligence; he was afterwards assistant in a Publick Charge, whence after some time he remov'd to the Rectory of *Great Bolas*, where he continu'd his useful Labours for many Years, and was also in much Peace with all his Neighbours, till once being suspected of desiring the King's Return, his House was search'd, his Goods plunder'd, and his Life threatned and much endanger'd. When the King return'd, and the Act for Uniformity pass'd, he carefully study'd his Duty, and hath thus recorded the Result of his Tho'ts. *I solemnly Profess, in the Presence of the Great God, before whom I must shortly give an Account of my Words and Actions, that in my most impartial Judgement, after all the light that I can get by Reading, Praying, Thinking and Discoursing with above Twenty Judicious and Solid Divines of both Perswasions; I look upon it my Duty, not to Conform: and whatever becomes either of my Self or Family, as I cannot force my*

† *He hath Printed, the Soul's Looking-glass, or a Spiritual Touch-stone, whereby true Grace may be discover'd from Counterfeit.* 1660. *A short Catechism containing the Fundamental Points of Religion.* 1660. *An help to Holy Walking or a guide to Glory.* 1675. *A small Book of Relative Duty. The Husbandman's Companion, containing an* 100 *Occasional Meditations, Reflections, &c.* 1677. England's *Bane, or the deadly danger of Drunkenness.* 1677. *A Sovereign Antidote against the Fear of Death.* 1681. *Death improv'd, and immoderate Sorrow for deceased Friends, and Relatives reprov'd.* 1675.

Judg-

Judgment, ſo I will not dare to force my Conſcience. And many Years after that, he profeſſes, *That he never read, or heard, or ſuffer'd any thing that caus'd in him any one repenting tho't of his Nonconformity.* And again, ſays he, *I did and do Believe, as I ſhall anſwer before the ſearcher of all Hearts, that if I had Conform'd upon the Terms injoin'd, I had ſinn'd againſt God: and I do ſolemnly profeſs, if ever I can be convinc'd of the contrary, I will Conform ſtill.*

Tho' he was forc'd from his Pulpit, he was loath to leave his beloved People: and being devoted to the Miniſtry he durſt not quit it. He built himſelf an Houſe in the Pariſh, with a deſign of continuing his Endeavours to do good to their Souls; and how apparent ſoever the danger was, he never neglected any one Opportunity of Service that offer'd. The *Oxford* Act afterwards drove him from his Houſe, and put him to his Shifts: For tho' he had a Father and Mother, and Ten Brothers and Brothers in Law that had Families, yet he could not reſide with any of them, becauſe their Habitations came all within the compaſs of that Act. But when the times were more quiet, and the King gave Liberty to his Diſſenting Subjects, he ſoon procur'd a Licenſe for himſelf, and another for his Houſe, and with great Zeal and Fervency, began to Preach again. He attended with his Family on the Publick Miniſtry in the Morning, and Preach'd to his Family and Neighbours in the Afternoon, without having the leaſt Salary or Proſpect of Emolument from any of his Hearers. He would often ſay I'le heartily rejoice if it will pleaſe God to give me my Liberty to Preach for nothing to my dying Day. He look'd upon his Work to be God's: and the leſs reward he had from Men, the more he hop'd for at laſt from the Lord his Maſter.

June, 14. 1691. Being earneſtly deſir'd to aſſiſt at a private Faſt, in a time of exceeding Drought, he comply'd: Another was to Preach, and he was to Pray: But the Meeting being broke up by ſome Neighbouring Juſtices of the Peace, it was poſitively Sworn againſt him that he Preach'd, and he was Fin'd 20 *l.* But refuſing to pay it, they Deſtrain'd upon him, and took away his Houſhold-Goods, and Books,

Books, and the Bed he lay upon, and the Sale of them was Proclaim'd in the Parish-Church, and in Three Market Towns about: But not one Person coming in to make any Purchase, they were return'd, upon this Promise given, that they should be forth coming when requir'd by Lawful Authority. He was afterwards extreamly harras'd, and suffer'd great loss in his Estate, by the troubles continually given him by some peevish Men, at Sessions, Assizes, and in the Crown-Office. At last he was again forc'd from his Family upon the *Oxford* Act, and passed from House to House, and from County to County: But in the midst of all his Troubles and Losses, was perswaded that God would return him with Interest, what of this World he had lost for the sake of Christ and his Conscience; which at last he acknowledg'd he had fully done; partly by the Death of some of his Relations, and partly by enabling him Comfortably to dispose of his Children. Some Years before he dy'd it pleas'd God to deprive him of his Bodily Sight; which tho' in it self, a very bitter Affliction, and especially to one who took such Pleasure in Reading, yet he was never heat'd to speak one repining word against God; but would be often Praising him that so great a Mercy had been continu'd so long. His last Affliction was a Mortification in one Foot, which he bore with invincible Patience, saying in the midst of his utmost Torment; *I am not yet afraid to die.* After many wearisom Nights and Days, he at last Breath'd out his Soul to God, *May*, 5. 1700. *Ætat.* 84.

W. Felton: Mr. *Samuel Hildersham:* B. D. The only Son of the Famous Mr. *Arthur Hildersham* of *Ashby*, some time Fellow of *Emanuel* Colledge in *Cambridge*. Settled Rector of *West-Felton*, An. 1628. And continu'd there till silenc'd by the Act of Uniformity. He was one of the Assembly of Divines: A Father to the Sons of the Prophets in and about *Shropshire*. A Conformist in the Old Times, but resolv'd ever against the New Conformity. He dy'd in *April* 1674. He was (says Mr. *Baxter*) a Grave, Peaceable, Pious, Learned Divine: (Mr. *Henry* adds)

Loving and Charitable; an excellent Preacher, an eminent Expositor, and very much a Gentleman.

Oswestrey: Mr. *Rowland Nevet*, M. A. of *Edmund* Hall in *Oxon*, His Labours at *Oswestery* were abundant while they were allow'd; and even after he was silenc'd for Nonconformity, he continu'd among his People there to his dying Day, doing what he could, when he might not do what he would. He would say that he tho't the most of his Converting Work was done there, in the first Seven Years of his being in the place. When the Plague was among them, he continu'd with his People, and Preached to them; and it was an Opportunity of doing much good. His Conversation from his Youth, was not only blameless, but Holy and Pious. He was exemplary for Family Religion, and great Care and Industry in the Education of his Children. He dy'd, *December* 8. 1675.

Whitchurch: Mr. *Thomas Porter*, an Ancient Grave Divine, of great Integrity, blamelessness and Diligence, and so excellent a Preacher in Mr. *Baxter's* Judgment, that he declares he tho't few arriv'd to his Degree, that ever he had heard. He was Born in *Northamptonshire*, and bred in *Cambridge*. He was settled Minister of *Hanmer* in *Flintshire*, long before the Wars, by the means of Sir *John Hanmer* a Pious Gentleman, and great Promoter of Religion in the Parish. Mr. *Porter's* Ministry, was bless'd here with wonderful Acceptance and Success, both in that and the Neigbouring Parishes; and a great Harvest of Souls was gather'd in to Christ. After the War was over, (in the Heat of which he was forc'd to withdraw) he procur'd Mr. *Steel* for *Hanmer*, and remov'd to *Whitchurch*, where he continu'd an Instrument of much good, till the King came in, and then he gave way to Dr. *Bernard*, a worthy moderate Man. He spent the rest of his days in Silence and Affliction; and dy'd at *Salop*, in a good Old Age, *June* 19. 1667.

Ludlow: Mr. *Richard Sadler*. He was Born in Worcester, went when young with his Father into *New England*. After the Wars he return'd into *England*, was ordain'd at *Whixal* Chapel, *May* 16. 1648. And remov'd thence to *Ludlow*. Being turn'd out

out there upon the King's coming in, he ſpent the reſt of his days in Privacy at *Wrexal*, where he dy'd, *Anno* 1675. He was a Man of great Piety and Moderation.

Clun: Mr. *Froyſell.* An Ancient Divine, of extraordinary worth, for Judgment, Moderation, Godlineſs, blameleſs Living, and excellent Preaching: who with many others, in Poverty, and Sickneſs, and great ſuffering, continu'd to preſerve the Peace of his Conſcience.

Newport: Mr. *John Malden.* A Man of great Learning, an excellent Hebrician; one of exemplary Piety, and a ſolid Preacher. As he liv'd, ſo he dy'd, very low in his own Eyes; eſteeming himſelf good for nothing, tho' really good for every thing: which was manifeſtly a prejudice both to his Comfort and his Uſefulneſs. He declar'd he was far from Repenting his being a ſufferer againſt Conformity. He dy'd *May* 23 1681.

Middle: Mr. *Joſhua Richardſon.* He was a Holy, Loving, Serious Man; and his Life was clos'd with a happy Death, *September* 1. 1671. Dr. *Fowler* Preach'd his Funeral Sermon at *Whitchurch* on *Dan.* 12. 3. highly praiſing him for Wiſdom, Piety, and Peaceableneſs.

Edſaſton Chappel, near Wem: Mr. *Samuel Taylor.* Tho' in very low Circumſtances, yet he quitted his Living in 1662; chooſing rather to beg his Bread, than to wrong his Conſcience. He continued in *Wem* after his being ſilenc'd, and Preach'd there as his ſtrength and Liberty would permit. He had his Houſe burnt down in the dreadful Fire in that Town, *Anno* 1676. He was a Man of a very tender Spirit, Humble and Low in his own Eyes, of approv'd integrity, and finiſh'd his Courſe well, *June* 26. 1695.

Tilſtock: Ma. *Zechariah Thomas.* He was ordain'd after the King came in, and Curate to Dr. *Bernard*, but could not continue long with him, becauſe of his Nonconformity. He dy'd *September* 14. 1670. Mr. *Kirkes*, Vicar of *Acton*, Preach'd at his Funeral, and gave him a worthy Character (as he well deſerved) for uprightneſs, Humility, Moderation,

Prayer, faithfulness in reproving, and Patience under Affliction, *&c.*

Bridgnorth: Mr. *Andrew Tristram*, A Man of more than ordinary Ability in Preaching and Prayer; of an upright Life. He afterwards turn'd Physician.

Kynersly: Mr. *Thomas Wright*. A Man of extraordinary Learning, Ability, Moderation, and Peaceableness.

Hales Owen: Mr. *Paston*. A Sober, Moderate, Peaceable Minister, of a Godly upright Life.

Avely: Mr. *Lovel*; a retir'd and private, but very prudent and worthy Man.

Morton Chappel: Mr. *Timothy Thomas*. Aston Chappel: Mr. *Titus Thomas*. Cocks-hott Chappel: Mr. *Francis Keeling*. Stanton: Mr. *H. Cruchlow*, Rocadine: Mr. *Josh. Barnett*. Stottesdon: Mr. *Reginald Findlow*. Oswestrey. Mr. *Quarrel*. Hodnet: Mr. *Samuel Campion*. Stoke: Mr. *Adams*. Roddington: Mr. *Andrew Barnet*. Byrrington: Mr. *Bore*, or *Boe*. Gressedge: Mr. *Sam. Smith*. Chetton: Mr. *William Bayly*. Stretton: Mr. *Morris*. North-Clebury: Mr. *Charles Humfreys*. High Ateall: Mr. *Rich. Hopkins*. Stanwerdine: Mr. *Hall*. Dawly: Mr. *Rowly*. And Mr. *Philips*, Mr. *Warthington*, Mr. *Porter*, Jun. Mr. *Bruce*, Mr. *Rusbich*, and Mr. *Stone*, at uncertain Places.

There Conform'd afterwards in this County, Mr. *Lea* of *Shrewsbury*; Mr. *Haughton*; Mr. *Barkly* of *Westbury*; Mr. *Warter* of *Pousbery*: Mr. *Milward* of *Ponderbach*: and Mr. *Roberts* of *Morton Chappel*.

In the County of STAFFORD.

Tipton: Mr. *Richard Hincks*. A Godly Preacher; a Moderate Independent.

Wolver-hampton: Mr. *John Reynolds*. A Man of more than ordinary Ability for Learning and Preaching: who afterwards turn'd Physician.

Clent: Mr. *Tho. Baldwin*, Jun. A Godly, Calm, sober Preacher, of a blameless Life.

Weford: Mr. *Richard Chantry* *. He was forc'd by the *Oxford* Act, to remove with his Wife and Four Children into another Country, to take a Farm upon a Rack

* *See Conformists 4th Plea for the Nonconf. Pag.* 49.

Rack Rent: His Family encreas'd, and he met with ſeveral Difficulties, and yet ſubſiſted chearfully.

Wedsbury: Mr. *Will. Fincher*, a Godly Man, and a good Preacher.

Shenſton: Mr. *Grace*. An Aged worthy Miniſter. Upon his Ejectment from his Living on which he liv'd Comfortably, he with his Wife and Eleven Children was reduc'd to Straits. Hoping to get ſome ſupplies of Maintenance, he took a Farm of about 30 *l. per Annum*. But Preaching in his own Houſe, was a Crime not to be paſs'd by. He was in a ſhort time apprehended by Two Juſtices, and with many of his Hearers bound over, which was very Chargeable. * Not long after, he was ſent for by a Party of Horſe, call'd out of his Bed, and carried Priſoner to *Stafford*: for what he knew not; nor was he ever told. Being unable to bear the Charge of his Impriſonment, he made his Application to the Deputy Lieutenant, and was forc'd to give in Bonds of 100 *l.* to appear when called. He was diſmiſs'd after many hard Speeches, but no Charge laid againſt him. After all which, he was by the Five Mile Act, Neceſſitated to remove ſo far from the Corporation, to a place where he liv'd at great Coſts and Charges, ſeparated from his Dear Relations, and his Farm left to the management of Servants, to his unſpeakable Loſs: Yet this Perſon was a near Relation, of *A. B. Sh.* of *Cant.*

* *See Conform.* 4. Pl. *for Nonconf.* pag. 62.

Kinver: Mr. *Richard Moreton*. A Man of great Gravity, Calmneſs, ſound Principles, of no Faction, an excellent Preacher, of an upright Life. Afterwards an eminent Practitioner of Phyſick in the City of *London*.

Rowley: Mr. *Joſeph Rock*. A very Calm, Humble, Sober, Peaceable, Godly and Blameleſs Miniſter, and of very good Abilities.

Swinerton: Mr. *Sound*. An Ancient Divine, of great Learning, Moderation, Judgment, and Calmneſs of Spirit, and of a Godly upright Life.

Walſall: Mr. *Burdall*. A very Learned, Able and Godly Divine, of more than ordinary Parts.

Womborn: Mr. *Wilsby:* An Ancient Judicious, Peaceable, Moderate Divine, He liv'd privately after he was silenc'd at *Bremicham*, but was much Troubled by Sir *Robert Holt*.

* *See Conf. 4th Pl. for the Non-conf. pag.* 49. Draiton-Basset: Mr. *Fox.* * After *Aug.* 24. was put upon a New way to maintain his Wife, and Five small Children, and upon the Advice of Friends, he was encourag'd to settle in a Corporation near to him, where by his Pen, and help of Relations, he had a comfortable Livelihood until the *Oxford* Act, which forc'd him to Remove and rent a Farm in *Derbyshire*.

Litchfield St. Marys: Mr. *Butler*. St. Chads: Mr. *Miles*. Who suffer'd much by his Nonconformity. †

† *Ibid. pag.* 60.

Burton upon Trent: Mr. *Tho. Bakewell.* Who Preaching about Privately in Fields and Lanes, when he was not allow'd to do it in fitter Places, was follow'd by the Huntsmen with their Dogs, and was many ways a sufferer. *

* *Ibid. pag.* 56.

Kings-Bromley: Mr. *John Mott.* Who was terribly Harrass'd for his Nonconformity, and could not have common Justice done him. †

† *Ibid. pag.* 55.

Sheriff hales: Mr. *John Nott.* Afterwards Pastour of a Congregation at *Tame* in *Oxfordshire*.

West-Bromewich: Mr. *Hilton.* Tettenhall: Mr. *Tho. Buxton.* Rowley: Mr. *Will. Turton.* Sedgeley: Mr. *Will. Eccleshall.* Wilenhall: Mr. *Tho. Badland*, afterwards Minister of a Congregation in *Worcester.* Shenston: Mr. *Gamaliel Tunstall.* Colwich: Mr. *John Greensmith.* Stafford: Mr. *Noah Brian.* Hill Ridware: Mr. *Rich. Swinfin.* Armitage: Mr. *Nath. Mansfield.* Alderwas: Mr. *Tho. Bladon.* Barlaston: Mr. *Sam. Hall.* Mair: Mr. *Ralph Hall.* Materfeild: Mr. *Rock.* Clyston: Mr. *George Gross.* Rushall: Mr. *Rich. York.* New-Castle under Line: Dr. *Long.* Stow: Mr *Ashley.* Seigford: Mr. *Clayton.* Talke: Mr. *Pool.* Weston under Lisiard: Mr *Sampson Newton.* Handbury: Mr. *Bee.* Hintes: Mr. *Brooks.* Barton: Mr. *Byatt*, Eccleshall: Mr. *Cope.* Elford: Mr. *Donly.* Whitmore: Mr. *Grace-court.* Areley: Mr. *Tho. Orford.* Baswich: Mr. *Southwell.* Bloxwich: Mr. *Toogood.* Broom: Mr. *Humphrey Waldron*, for

for a Time Aſſiſtant to Mr. *Baxter* at *Kederminſter*. A Man of good Learning and Utterance. Peſſalle: Mr. *Wilſon*. Chebſton: Mr. *Woolrich*. Ruſhton: Mr. *Moxom*. New Chapel: Mr. *Davenport*. And Mr. *Bendy*, Mr. *Thomas Bold*, Mr. *Boyer*, Mr. *Dowly*, Jun. Mr. *Hancock*, Mr. *Nevil*, and Mr. *Redwater*, at uncertain Places.

There Conform'd afterwards in this County, Mr. *Becket* of *Harlaſton*. Mr. *Dunſtal*, Mr. *Jones* of *Lapley*. And Mr. *Matt. Mott* of *Abbots Bromly*.

In the County of WARWICK.

In the City of *Coventry*, *John Bryan*, D. D. *Obadiah Grew*, D. D. and Mr. *Baſſnet*. Dr. *Bryan* was an Ancient Learned Divine, of a Quick and Active Temper, very humble, faithful, and of a godly upright Life: Who had ſo great a fitneſs to teach and educate Youth, that there went out of his Houſe more Worthy Miniſters into the Church of God, than out of many Colledges in the Univerſity in that Time. He had Three Sons that were Miniſters, who were all Silenc'd.

Dr. *Grew* *, a Man of a very different natural Temper from Dr. *Bryan*, and yet they had no Difference in the Work of God: A Calm, Grave, Sober, Sedate Divine, more retir'd and of leſs Activity, but Godly, Able, and Faithful in his Miniſtry. He was invited to ſucceed the famous Mr. *Richard Vines*, by the Mayor, Aldermen, and Principal Citizens in the Great Pariſh of St. *Michael*, in which Place, the Soundneſs of his Doctrine, the Sanctity and Prudence of his Converſation, and the Vigilancy and Tenderneſs of his Care, were of that conſtant Tenour, that he ſeem'd to do all that, which St. *Gregory* wrote a whole Book (*De Cura Paſtorali*) to tell us ſhould be done. By which Means he ever obtain'd the Love and Reſpects of the City of *Coventry*,

* *He hath written and publiſh'd*, A Sinners Juſtification by Chriſt, *or the Lord Jeſus Chriſt our Righteouſneſs*, Oct. 1670. *And Meditations upon our Saviours Parable of the Prodigal Son, being ſeveral Sermons on* Luke 18. Qu. 1678.

and his Ends for their Good among the Citizens. Two Instances of his Integrity and Courage were very Remarkable. The first was his free Remonstrating to Lieutenant General *Cromwell*, in Person, when he was at *Coventry*, against the Design for taking off King *Charles*, which was then visibly on Foot. And obtaining his Promise to endeavour to prevent it, he put him in Mind of it, by a Letter which he sent up to *London* after him, which he took Care should be convey'd by an Honest Gentleman into his own Hands. The other related to the Rising in *Cheshire*. He was at that Time requir'd to read in the Church on the Lords Day the Proclamation against Sir *G. Booth*, and threatned by *Lamberts* Soldiers then in *Coventry*, with the Loss of his Place if he refus'd: Yet he would not do it.

He was one of great Generosity, of which he gave this Instance among many others: When Mr. *Panton* a Minister of the *Cavalier* Party was necessitated to Sell his Library, the Dr. bought some of his Books, and they being afterwards desir'd again, with a Proffer of the Money that was paid for them, the Dr. return'd the Books, but refus'd the Money, knowing Mr. *Panton* had more need of it than himself.

After he had for many Years possess'd the Love and Esteem of all Parties, whom he frequently entertain'd with mutual Respects at his House and Table, he Exchang'd this for a better Life; on *Octob.* 22, 1689.

* *He hath many Writings Extant. As, Spiritual Refinings, or a Treatise of Grace and Assurance*, Fol. 1652. *An Exposition on the 17th Chapter of St.* John, *Fol.* 1656. *The Doctrine of Original Sin Asserted and Vindicated against its Adversaries*, Fol. 1659. *A Practical Commentary on the First and Second of* Corinthians, 2 *Vol. Fol.* 1659. *The True Doctrine of Justification Asserted, Qu.* 1648. Vindiciæ Legis: *Or a Vindication of the Law and Covenants from the Errors of Papists, Socinians, and Antinomians, Qu. &c. And several Sermons before the Long Parliament, and upon other Publick Occasions.*

Sutton Coldfield: Mr. *Anthony Burgess* *. Some time Fellow of *Emanuel* Colledge in *Cambridge*. One of the Assembly of Divines, and generally respected among them. A Man of eminent Learning and Piety. He left a Living of near 300 *l. per Annum*. He was conformable before the Wars, and yet was so

far from the New Conformity, as it was ſettled upon the Return of King *Charles*, that upon his Death-bed he profeſs'd great Satisfaction in his Mind, that he had not Conform'd.

Withybrook: Mr. *Swain*. He was Apprentice to a Trade in *Coventry*, and afterwards ſet up for himſelf. Was in *Coventry* in the Time of the Civil Wars, when ſo many Worthy Miniſters took ſhelter there, and very Converſant with them. Among the reſt with Mr. *Vines*, Mr. *Baxter*, Mr. *Stephens*, and Mr. *Cradock*. They finding him a Man of more than ordinary Knowledge and Piety, perſwaded him, laying all other Cares apart, to apply himſelf to the Miniſtry, in which they apprehended in a ſuitable Place he might be very uſeful. He liſten'd to them, was in Time fix'd in *Withybrook*, a Place of about Fifty Families, Six Miles from *Coventry*. He was try'd and approv'd by the *Presbytery* at *Killingworth*, and Ordain'd by Dr. *Grew*, and Dr. *Bryan*, and others in the Pariſh Church of *Withybrook*. At the Time of his Ordination, he not only made the uſual Confeſſion of Faith, but gave ſuch an Account of the Manner and Degrees, in which God wrought a Work of Grace in his Heart, as affected many, and Particularly was influential to the Converſion of a very wicked Woman, who was afterwards a very ſerious, humble Chriſtian. The Place had been diſus'd to Preaching, the People were generally very ignorant and looſe, but it pleas'd God to bleſs his Miniſtry to the Converſion of many Souls, both in his own Town, and the Neighbourhood, and he had in Six or Seven Years Time, a ſet of as Judicious, Godly, and Peaceable Chriſtians about him, as could eaſily be met with. After he was Silenc'd in 62, he ſeldom Preach'd publickly, unleſs in the Time of King *Charles*'s Licenſes once a Day, but went to Church conſtantly in the Afternoon. He continu'd to Live in that Neighbourhood, till about 1690. At which Time he Dy'd; excepting that he remov'd for ſome time at the coming out of the *Oxford* Act. He oft Preach'd on Lord's Day Mornings, to a few of his People at a Time, and none knew but ſuch as were ſent too. He ſpent much of his Time in viſiting them at their Houſes;

and

and was very useful to the Last. He was a very Modest and Humble Man: Did not despise but highly value other Mens Excellencies and Attainments. He was sensible of his own Defects in not having been bred up to Learning, and therefore would not be perswaded to Preach at *Coventry*: And yet God honour'd him with Success, in an extraordinary Measure, and he was Respected by all that knew him, and among the rest, by several Persons of good Quality, as much as if he had been the most Accomplish'd Scholar.

Birmingham, or *Bremicham*: Mr. *Wills*. A sedate, retir'd, peaceable, able Divine. He was turn'd out in 1660. upon the Claim of the former incumbent.

Stratford upon Avon: Mr. *Bean*. Sutton under Brailes: Mr. *Thomas Whately*. Elinedon: Mr. *Eaton*. Tachbroke: Mr. *Ballard*. Exall: Mr. *Basset*. Pollesworth: Mr. *Bell*. Fillongley: Mr. *Brooks*. Alesley: value 100 *l. per Ann.* Mr. *Sam. Brian*. Warwick: Mr. *Butler*. Lower Whetacre: Mr. *Collier*. Fokeshill: Mr. *Tristram Diamond*, Ejected after he had been Minister there Fifty Years. Hatton: Mr. *Fownes*. Hunnyley: Mr. *Hawes*. Cawcott: Mr. *Evance*. A worthy Person, but very Melancholy, at the Time of King *Charles* his Restauration. Amongst many of his Fears, this was one, that the World would impute his Distemper to *Bartholomew* Day, and Charge his Disorder upon the loss of his Living. But it pleas'd God before that Day came, he was strangely restor'd: So that both he and his Wife (whose discontent he also much feared) left the Place very chearfully; which was the more remarkable, because they had a numerous Family. Sometime after his Ejectment, he was Imprison'd in *Warwick* Goal; and thereupon told a Particular Friend of his, that he was never more chearful in all his Life than in Prison. So easie is it for God to exceed both the Hopes and the Fears of his Servants.

Riton: Mr. *Herring*. Shuttington: Mr. *Hill*. Kenelworth: Mr. *Maddox*. Burton Dasset: worth 130 *l. per Ann.* Mr. *Mansell*. Roxall: Mr. *Luke Milbourn*. Hampton: Mr. *Packwood*. Bedworth: 100 *l. per Ann.* Mr. *Rider*. Willincote: Mr. *Southwell*.

well. Aulceſter: Mr. *Titner*, or *Tickner*. Witton: Mr. *Wright*. Brincklow: Mr. *Gilpin*. Lemington Haſtings: worth 200 *l. per Ann.* Mr. *Gilbert Waldron*. Who was outed by the Claim of the Sequeſtred Incumbent. Boreton: 120 *l. per Ann.* Mr. *John Worth*. Stoneley: Mr. *John Cooper*. Monks Kerby: Mr. *Richard Martyn*. And Mr. *Smith*, and Mr. *Willſon*, and Mr. *Samuel Fownes*. Who were ſtated Preachers, but not abſolutely fix'd.

To theſe we may Add, Mr. *Shilton*, and Mr. *Jonathan Grew*.

Mr. *Shilton* was not fix'd at that Time, when the *Bartholomew* Act took Place, but was deſign'd for the Parſonage of *Sutton Cofield*, by his Father the Patron, for which he would not Conform. He Liv'd afterwards at *Tamworth*.

Mr. *Jonathan Grew*, was Born at *Atherſton* in this County in 1626. And being the Eldeſt Son of the Family, might have had a good Eſtate, but that his Grand-Father and Father (tho' no Miniſters) were over-much cruſh'd by the *High Commiſſion Court*, and *Star-Chamber* for Nonconformity. He was of *Pembroke* Hall in *Cambridge*, and for ſome Years join'd with Dr. *Sampſon* in ſupplying the Living of *Framlingham* in *Suffolk*, which is in the Gift of that Colledge. But having an Invitation to be Tutor to Sir *John Hales* of *Coventry* Barronet. and his Brother, he clos'd with it. From that City, the Lady *Hales* remov'd at length with her Family to her Siſters, at *Caucut* Hall, which is about Seven Miles diſtant. There he was when the Act for Uniformity took Place; and very inſtrumental in the Refreſhment, Comfort, and Eſtabliſhment, of Worthy Mr. *Evans* Miniſter of the Place, whoſe Melancholy had almoſt over-ſet him. *Caucut* was a Living (tho' there are ſcarce above 15 or 16 Houſes in the Pariſh) worth 120 *l. per Ann.* A very pleaſant Seat. This with another Living hard by of 80 *l. per Ann.* That were in the Gift of the Two Ladies, being Vacant at *Bartholomew* 62, were offer'd to Mr. *Grew*: And to this Biſhop *Hacket*, the Biſhop of the Dioceſs added the offer of a Prebend of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*; which were no Temptations at all to him, to ha-

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zard the Peace of his Conſcience. When his Tutorſhip was diſpatch'd, he left the Family, and came to *London*, altogether to ſeek for a Poſt of Service, nay for Subſiſtence. He at length fix'd for ſome time in a School at *Newington Green*: But remembring his Obligation to the Miniſtry, he upon an Invitation to St. *Albans*, fix'd there as Paſtor of a Congregation: Where he is yet Living.

There Conform'd afterwards in this County, Mr. *Langley* of *Tamworth*. Mr. *Perkins* of *Maxſtock*. Mr. *Wilkinſon* of *Anſty*. And if there were any others, I ſhould be glad to be inform'd.

In the County of LEICESTER.

Fenny Drayton: Mr. *Nath. Stevens* *, M. A. His Father was Miniſter of *Staunton Barnwood* in *Wilts*. He was bred in *Oxford*, was a good Scholar, and an uſeful Preacher. Being Ejected for his Nonconformity in 1662, he continu'd in the Town for ſome time Preaching privately, but was afterwards ſo moleſted, that he was forc'd to remove ſeven Times for his Peace. At laſt he fix'd at *Stoke Golding*, where he continu'd the Exerciſe of his Miniſtry, as he had Opportunity till he Dy'd, which was in *Febr.* 167⅞.

* *He hath Printed, A Precept for the Baptiſm of Infants out of the New Teſtament, &c. Qu.* 1651. *A Plain and Eaſie Calculation of the Name, Mark, and Number of the Name of the Beaſt,* Qu. 1656. *A Threefold Defence of the Doctrine of Original Sin,* Qu. 1658.

Whitwick: Mr. *Bennet*. Who ſuffer'd much after the Kings Return, before and after his Ejectment: Once he was deſign'd to be drawn into a Plot; but he ſo manag'd himſelf as that he eſcap'd; but was Impriſon'd, and dealt with as a Suſpicious Perſon, without any Reaſon ever alledg'd †.

† *See Conf.* 4. *Plea for Nonc.* Page 39, 40.

Laugh-

Loughborow or Longborough: Mr. *Broomskill*, and Mr. *Goss*. Narborow: Mr. *Matthew Clark*: who is yet living, and Eminent for his Skill in the Oriental Languages; for the promoting the Study of which, he hath taken much Pains, and drawn up several Writings, which would (I understand) be Printed for the common Good, were due Encouragement given by Gentlemen and Scholars.

Ibstoke: Mr. *Will*, *Sheffield*, M. A. Bred up in Trinity Colledge in *Cambridge*. In the time of the Civil War, he Preach'd several Years at *Great-Bowden*, in this County. He was offer'd by the Committee of *Leicester*, his choice out of Three Rich Parsonages in the County then Vacant, *viz. Lanclon*, *Kibworth*, and *Longborough*. But he chose neither of them, but rather accepted *Ibstoke*, upon the Invitation of the Principal Inhabitants, after the Sequestration of Dr. *Luston*. He prefer'd this before either of the others, tho' it was near 50 *l. per Annum*, worse than any of them. During his Ministry there, he was greatly respected and belov'd, not only by his own Parishioners, but by the generality of Ministers and Religious People in the Adjacent Party; of which among many others, there was this observeable Instance, *viz.* that when Dr. *Luston*, the former incumbent was dead, Mr. *Job Grey*, Brother to the Earl of *Kent*, obtain'd the Presentation of *Ibstock* Parsonage from the Lord Keeper: Whereupon several Gentlemen, Ministers, and other Principal Inhabitants in the Neighbourhood, sent up a Petition to Court, Sign'd by above 1000 Hands, begging Mr. *Sheffield* might be continu'd; and accordingly he was Confirm'd in *Ibstock* by a Broad-Seal: Which yet became quickly after useless, when the Act for Uniformity took place, at which time he Resign'd.

One piece of Publick Service he did, which ought not to be forgotten. Mr. *Oates:* An Anabaptist coming into the County, disturb'd several Congregations, and dispers'd publick Challenges, to Dispute with any Minister or Ministers, upon the Point of Baptism. Several Justices of the Peace sent to Mr. *Sheffield*, desiring him to accept the Challenge, and Dispute the Point with him, in *Leicester* Castle. He yielded

to

to their Desire, and by Agreement. Sir *Tho. Beamount* was Moderator. At the entrance of the Dispute, Mr. *Sheffield* openly Protested that it was Truth and not Victory he was aiming at and Pursuing; and that therefore if he could not Answer the Arguments that should be bro't against him, or maintain the Points he pretended to defend, against the Opposition that should be made against them, he would frankly acknowledge it before them. He desir'd the same of Mr. *Oates*, who also agreed. The Dispute continu'd Three Hours, and was manag'd with great Fairness, and Temper. At length Mr. *Oates* was Gravel'd with an Argument, and yet loudly call'd on by the People present, either to Answer, or according to his Promise, to confess he could not. Whereupon he frankly confess'd, that he could not at present Answer it. The Justices at the breaking up of the Meeting, oblig'd Mr. *Oates*, to give his Promise, that he would no more disturb the Congregations in that County.

After his being Silenc'd, he went to *Kibworth*, where he had a small Estate; having also in his Eye, the Benefit of the Free-School there, for his Children. He liv'd there Privately till his Death, *An.* 1673. His constant Practice on the Lord's Day in this time of his retirement, was this: He went in the Morning with his Family to the Parish Church; and Preach'd in his own House in the Afternoon, for the Instruction of his Family, and such others as were willing to hear him.

Wanlip: Mr. *John Smith*. Leicester: Mr. *Simms*. Gumley: Mr. *Kestion* or *Kestin*. Kibworth: Mr. *John Yoxley*. Long-Whalton, and Cotes: Mr. *Sam. Shaw*.† Packinton: Mr. *Will. Smith*. Cold Overton: Mr. *Oldershaw*. Raunston, and Hoose: Mr. *Shuttlewood*. Who in 1668, was taken with many others Singing a *Psalm*, by M. B. and Thirty or Forty Horsemen, with Swords drawn, and Pistols cock'd. He was examin'd, Distrain'd upon, Imprison'd, and Treated most rudely. *Gibbons*, who was his great Enemy,

† *He hath published several things. As* Immanuel. *A Welcome to the Plague. A Treatise of the Love and Lovers of the World. The Vanity of Man. Of the different manners of Men, nd Interlude. And a Funeral Sermon for Mr.* Richard Chantrye.

and

and furious Profecutour, who made it his Buſineſs to give him and others in thoſe Parts Diſturbance, was at laſt overtaken by Divine Vengeance in a remarkable way: For being Drunk at *Lutterworth*, when it was late at Night, he was diſſwaded from going home to *Kimcot*, two Miles off; but he Swore he would go home, in ſpite of all the Devils in Hell. Making an Attempt, he was found dead the next Morning in a ſhallow run of Water, which did not cover his Body, beewixt *Lutterworth* and *Miſterton*. *

*See Conf. 4. Pl. for Nonconf. pag. 81. 82.

Congerſton or Cunſton: Mr. *Wright*. A Man of great Piety, and a very uſeful awakening Preacher: He had a more than common Gift in Prayer, and was favour'd by God with ſome Anſwers of his Prayers, which were not uſual and common. He had a great Felicity in Diſcourſing warmly of Spiritual things, by which God made uſe of him as an Inſtrument of good to many.

Witherley: Mr. *Cheſter*, ſometime after his Ejectment he came to *London*, where he continued all the time of the Plague in 55. And was at that time Inſtrumental for the good of many Souls. Mr. *Baxter* gives him the Character, of a Man of a very Sober, Calm, Peaceable Spirit, ſound in Doctrine and Life; and a Grave and Fruitful Preacher. Swebſton: Mr. *Watts*, and Mr. *Hudſon*, his Aſſiſtant. Orton on the Hill: Mr. *Tho. Hill*. Sibſton: Mr. *Sam. Doughty*. Hinckley: Mr. *Ledbeater*. Lutterworth: Mr. St. *Nicholas*; * who to the laſt, (and he liv'd to a good Old Age) was us'd to Stile himſelf a Student in St. *Paul's* Epiſtles. Cathorp and Cosby: Mr. *Joſeph Lee*. Harborough: Mr. *Tho. Lawry*. Blaby: Mr. *Boſs*. Shankton: Mr. *Drayton*. Foxton: Mr. *Willſon*. Lubenham: Mr. *Hornby*. Theddingworth: Mr. *Green*. Caſtle Dunnington: Mr. *Smith*. Over-ſeale: Mr. *Ford*. Edmond-thorp: Mr. *John Wright*. Houghton: Mr. St. *John Boroughs*. A Man of great Eminence and Worth. Humberſtone: Mr. *Adams*. Rearsby: Mr. *Grace*. Great-Bowden: Mr. *The. Langdale*. Hungerton: Mr. *Muſton*. Leite: Mr. *Farmer*. Woodhouſe: Mr. *Cheſhire*. Cleybrook: Mr. *Peirce*. Hallaton: Mr. *Boheme*. Kimcote: Mr. *Southwood*. Lubenham: Mr. *Weſton*. Thurmaſton: Mr. *Paget*.

* *He wrote the Hiſtory of Baptiſm. Oct. 1671. The Widows Mite; Qu. and ſome other things.*

There

There Conform'd afterwards in this County: Mr. *Doughty* of *Medburn*. Mr. *Blackerby* of *Lanclon*. Mr. *Jenkin* of *North-Kilworth*: And Mr. *Black* of *Saddington*. If there be any more, I should be glad to be inform'd.

In the County of RUTLAND.

Okeham: Mr. *Benjamin King*. Burley: Mr. *Tho. Perkins*. Langham: Mr. *Will. Draper*. Caldecote: Mr. *Ban* or *Bawne*. Glaiston: Mr. *Tho. Philips*. Preston: Mr. *Gabriel Major*. Barroughdon: Mr. *John Wells*.

Mr. *Richard Levet* of *Ashwel*, afterwards Conform'd.

And this is the place in which I think it propereſt to make mention of Dr. *Samuel Winter*, who being Ejected from his Provoſt-ſhip of *Trinity Colledge*, by *Dublin* in *Ireland*, came afterwards over into *England*, where he liv'd and dy'd a Nonconformiſt; paſſing away his time in Privacy and Retirement among his Friends, (not omitting the frequent Exerciſe of his Miniſtry) in or about *Weſt-Cheſter*, at *Coventry*, in *Hertfordſhire*, and in this County of *Rutland*, where he pay'd his laſt Debt to Nature, *An.* 1666. *

* *See the Account of his Life, Printed in* 68.

He was born in *Warwickſhire*, *An.* 1603. And from Twelve Years of Age, was diſcernibly under more than ordinary Religious Impreſſions, and much inclin'd to the Miniſtry. He was bred up in *Queen's* Colledge in *Cambridge*, under the famous Dr. *Preſton*. And when he left that Univerſity, he went to *Boſton* in *Lincolnſhire*, where he liv'd for ſome time under the Miniſtry of Mr. *John Cotton*. From thence he after ſometime remov'd to a ſmall Living call'd *Woodborow*, near *Nottingham*, where his Miniſtry was Eminently Succeſsful. He had not been there long, before he was call'd to the City of *York*, where he was for ſometime a Lecturer, and had great Opportunity for Service, and great Succeſs. The breaking out of the Civil War, forc'd him to remove from thence; and he was quickly invited to *Cottingham* a great

great Town within Three miles of *Hull*, then Deſtitute of a Miniſter. Here he continu'd for about Eight Years, exceeding Induſtrious and Active for God. He Preach'd twice every Lord's Day in Publick, Expounded the Chapters which he Read, and Catechiz'd the Younger Perſons. In the Evening he repeated his Sermons in his own Family, to which many of the Neighbours Reſorted. The Week Days he went from Houſe to Houſe, Inſtructing the Ignorant, and endeavouring to build up his Pariſhioners in their moſt Holy Faith; and Multitudes had cauſe to bleſs God for his Painful Labours.

Anno 1650. The Parliament reſolv'd to ſend Four Commiſſioners into *Ireland*, to ſettle that Diſtracted Kingdom, and ordred Mr. *Winter* to attend them thither. Weighing the matter, and being ſatisfy'd in the clearneſs of his Call, he reſign'd up his Living, which was worth 400 *l. per Annum*, and prepar'd for his Journey and Voyage, caſting himſelf upon Strangers, neither knowing nor capitulating with them what his Salary ſhould be, for the maintenance of himſelf and Family. In *Ireland* he was a moſt laborious Preacher, and exceedingly follow'd. His allowance from the Commiſſioners, was at 1*ſt*. but 100 *l. per Annum*. But after ſome time, they made him Provoſt of *Trinity* Colledge, which was almoſt deſolate and forſaken; but under his Care and Conduct it Flouriſh'd Again, and became as valuable a Seminary of Learning and Piety, as any in *Chriſtendom*. Here he Commenc'd Dr. in Divinity, having with ſingular Applauſe and Approbation, perform'd all needful and uſual Acts and Exerciſes. His being at laſt forc'd to leave the Univerſity and Kingdom, was much to his Damage, the Colledge being indebted to him in a conſiderable Sum of Mony, which he had disburſted for the common Benefit: Part of which it muſt be own'd, was after his Death repai'd to his Son.

He had a good Eſtate, and was a Man univerſally Reſpected, and yet was remarkably Humble; Converſing freely with the meaneſt for their good, and giving them Mony to make his Advice Regarded. He could bear Contradictions from others, and their

Disadvantageous Reflections without Resentment. His Diligence and Industry was very Exemplary. He was a hard Student to the last; very careful to redeem and improve his time. He was a Man of great Zeal, and fervent Affections. He was a strict Sanctifier of the Lord's Day. Rich in Good Works, and one that devis'd Liberal things. His Candour was great, and his Courteous Deportment Remarkable. His Faith and Patience was very signal both in his Life and Death: And his Power and Prevalence in Prayer, was Peculiar, and more than ordinary. Several strange Answers to his Prayers, are mention'd in the Account of his Life, which deserve Observation: But with this Caution; That peculiar Favours are not to be the matter of common Expectation.

In the County of NOTTINGHAM.

Nottingham: St. *Mary's*, Mr. *Jo. Whitlock*; M.A. Mr. *Will. Reynolds*; M.A And St. *Peters*. Mr. *J. Barret*, M.A.

As to Mr. *Whitlock* and Mr. *Reynolds*: Tho' the one be living and the other dead. yet were they so link'd together by an unexampled Friendship, of above Fifty Years Continuance, that a separate account of them can scarce be given, after once they became Acquainted. Mr. *Will. Reynolds*,* was Born in *Essex*, *Octob.* 28. 1625. He went to *Cambridge* in 1641, and was admitted of *Emanuel* Colledge, under the Tuition of Dr. *Whitchcot*. Mr. *Whitlock*, was also of the same Colledge, and had Dr. *Cudworth* for his Tutour. They were Chamber Fellows in the Colledge, and both design'd for the Ministry. Mr. *Reynolds*, for sometime with Regret diverted from those tho'ts, in compliance with his Father, who sent him into *Russia*, to manage his Business in that Country. He left *England* in 1644; and in 1646, upon his Father's Death, return'd again. He expected to find a good Estate, but was Disappointed and Discourag'd; and had thereupon tho'ts of pursuing Merchandize, and was going to Sea, but stop'd by a false Arrest; which was a happy Providence, for the Ship he had agreed to go in,

* *See the short Account of his Life, Publish'd by Mr.* Whitlock, *Oct.* 1678.

in, was never heard of more, nor any of the Paſſengers; and withal, upon further Conſideration, he reaſſum'd his Studys and tho'ts of the Miniſtry, to the great Benefit of the Church of God, who otherwiſe had loſt an uſeful Inſtrument. At the latter end of the Year, Mr. *Whitlock* ſettling at *Leighton* in *Bedfordſhire*, perſwaded Mr. *Reynolds* to come and live with him, and prevail'd: After which Conjunction, they liv'd perpetually together, till Death made a Separation; being ſtill under the ſame Roof, (tho' keeping diſtinct Houſes while both were Married) Studying in the ſame Room, and writing at the ſame Table. They had not been long together, before *Okingham* in *Berkſhire* being Vacant, they two undertook to ſupply both *Leiton* and that place by Turns. When *Okingham* was ſupply'd at the end of half a Year, they afterwards did the ſame, between *Leighton* and *Ailesbury*. *An.* 1649, they jointly refus'd to take the *Engagement*; altho' they thereby loſt the Augmentation at *Leighton*, which was the only Maintenance there; and expos'd themſelves to the Diſpleaſure of thoſe thro' whoſe Hands the Allowance was to paſs that came out of the Impropriation at *Ailesbury*. At length the Providence of God unexpectedly, remov'd them both to *Nottingham*, by a means untho't off. The *Nottingham* Carrier: Mr. *Adrian Cook*, was us'd to go in his way to *London* thro' *Fenny Stratford*, but the way being bad in *Feb.* 1650, he left that Road to go by *Leiton*, where he Lodg'd, which he never did either before or after. Hearing in the Town, that two Miniſters liv'd there, who were under Diſcouragement; becauſe they had refus'd the ingagement he Viſited them, and Diſcours'd with them; told them that St. *Mary's* in *Nottingham* wanted a fix'd Miniſter, and preſs'd them to come and Preach there occaſionally; which they told him they ſome time or other in the ap proaching Summer, might probably do. When Mr. *Cook* came home to *Nottingham*, he gave an Account of what had paſs'd, and all in general that were told of it were very deſirous to hear the two Miniſters Preach: And thereupon drew up an Invitation to them, to come and ſpend ſome time in their Town, in order to mutual Tryal and Acquaintance. It was Sign'd by

Francis Pierpoint Esq; Member of Parliament for the Town, and by several Aldermen and Principal Inhabitants; and carried to *Leighton* by Mr. *Spencer*, one of the Church-Wardens of St. *Mary's*. Going to *Nottingham* upon this Invitation, they were unanimously approv'd, and fix'd. *An.* 1651. They went up to *London*, and were ordain'd by the Classis in *Andrew Undershaft* Church, Dr. *Manton* being Moderator. Going down again, they settled a regular Church Order among them at *Nottingham*, and it continu'd till 1662. they enjoying much Peace and Comfort between themselves, with their People, and the Neighbour Ministers, and there wanted not Encouraging success to their Labours. In the latter end of 1660, they were disturb'd by Indictments for not reading the Common Prayer, and from the Spiritual Court, and Mr. *Reynolds* was Excommunicated, and put to a vast Expence in Journeys to *York* and *London* upon that occasion. At last he procur'd a Prohibition; the Proceedings against him being directly against the Act of Indemnity. *

* *See Conform. 41b Plea for Non. pag.* 36, 37.

In *October* 62. After their being silenc'd, they remov'd with their Family from *Nottingham*, to *Colwich Hall*, about a Mile off, there they were seiz'd at their Meeting in *Sept.* 1663. * They were again seiz'd in *August* 65. and Imprison'd for about Three Months at the Marshals without any cause assign'd. When the Five Mile Act took place, they remov'd together to *Therbrook* in *Derbyshire*, where they liv'd two Years, but frequently visited their Friends at *Nottingham*. In 1668, they remov'd to *Mansfield*, where they continu'd 19 Years; in which time they were often at *Nottingham*, by turns Officiating among their People. In *March* 1684, going as Freeholders to *Newark* to an Election of Parliament Men for the County, they were seiz'd, and sent Prisoners to *Nottingham* by Eight Justices upon the Five Mile Act: There they continu'd till *July* 1685, when upon the Duke of *Monmouth's* Landing, they with many others, were sent Prisoners to *Hull*. Upon the Liberty given in 1687, they return'd with their Families to *Nottingham* in Peace, much to the Comfort of their People. There they continu'd Labouring together

* *Id. Ibid. pag* 42, 44.

ther very Comfortably in their Miniſtrial Work, till it pleas'd God by a Fevour to remove Mr. *Reynolds*, * on *February* 26. $169\frac{7}{8}$. *Ætat.* 73. Mr. *Barret* Preach'd his Funeral Sermon; in which he gave this ſhort, but full Account of him. *He was a ſound, lively, practical Preacher; an Holy, Liver, an Exemplary Walker: one that could not live without daily ſecret Converſe with God in the Word and Prayer; and God was with him.*

* *I don't know that he hath Printed any thing, beſides a Funeral Sermon, for the Honourable* Francis Pierepont Eſq; *Preach'd at St.* Mary's *in* Nottingham. *Qu.* 1658.

Mr. *Whitlock*, * is yet living, Paſtour of the Congregation at *Nottingham*.

* *He hath Printed the Upright Man and his Happy End: A Funeral Sermon for the Honourable* Francis Pierepont Eſq; *Preach'd at* Holm Pierepont, *in* Nottinghamſhire. *Qu.* 1658. *The Great Duty and Comfortable Evidence,* Keeping our ſelves from our Iniquity: *Being ſome Sermons on* Pſal. 18. 23. *Oct.* 1698. *An Account of the Life of Mr.* William Reynolds. *Oct.* 1698.

Mr. *Barrett* † was invited to St. *Peters* in *Nottingham*, upon the Death of Mr. *Rich. Whitchurch*, *An.* 1656. He met with much Oppoſition, but was Marvelouſly ſcreen'd by a ſpecial Providence. * He is yet living Joint Paſtour with Mr. *Whitlock*, of the Congregation at *Nottingham*.

† *He hath Printed and Publiſh'd a Treatiſe on the Covenant of Grace, Oct. The Chriſtian Temper, or a Diſcourſe on the ſeveral Graces that make a compleat Chriſtian. Oct. Two Controverſial Treatiſes againſt Dr.* Stillingfleet, *in Defence of the Nonconformiſts, Qu.* 50 *Querys about Infant Baptiſm, Collected out of Mr.* Baxter's *Books, Oct.*

* *See Conform. 4th Plea. for Noncon. pag.* 77.

Flintham, and *Sutton:* Mr. *John James.* He was Formerly Lecturer at *Newark*; ſometime after his being Silenc'd, he came to *London*, and was Paſtour of a Congregation in *Wapping*.

Grieſley: Mr. *Robert Smalley.* In whom there was the unuſual Conjunction, of a very ſound Judgment, and lively Affections. He dy'd at *Manſfield*, *September* 7. 1670.

Bleasbie: Mr. *John Jackſon.* Saunby: Mr. *Joſiah Rick.* Kneſill: Mr. *Boſworth.* Claworth: Mr. *John Cromwel.* In 1674, He remov'd to *Norwich*, but afterwards return'd and dy'd in *Nottinghamſhire*, about *April* 1684.

Crumwell: Mr. *Joſeph Truman*, B. D. A Native of *Nottinghamſhire*, and bred up in *Cambridge*. A Man of great Parts, and cloſe Study; of a Profound Judgment and a tenacious Memory. Very ſwift in reading Books, and happy in retaining what he Read. For by meer Strength of Memory when he had read a Book once over, he would pertinently and faithfully recite what his Author ſaid. He was a Man of a free and chearful Temper in Converſation: Very Communicative of what he knew; never inſulting over any becauſe of the meanneſs of their Parts or Learning, even when he diſputed with them; unleſs he found them intolerably Confident and Conceited: And when in Diſcourſe he had puzzled a Perſon, thro' the Pregnancy of his Wit he had ſomething or other ready, wherewith to divert the Company, from diſcerning or pauſing on the Weakneſs of the Perſon he diſcours'd with. He ſpent his Pains at *Cromwel* to very good Purpoſe, till he was Ejected in 62. He Liv'd afterward at *Manſfield*: and that very much for the Benefit and Pleaſure of Mr. *Porter*'s Converſation. He was well known to, and much valu'd by Dr. *Tillotſon*, and Dr. *Stillingfleet* the Late Worthy Biſhops of *Canterbury* and *Worceſter*. During his Receſs from his Publick Miniſtry, he commonly atttended the Worſhip in Publick; for his Latitude was Great, and his Temper Candid. He was generally Reſpected, for he was an excellent Scholar, and a wonderful clear-headed Man. Biſhop *Gunning* lighting on his Book ſtil'd. *The Great Propitiation*, was ſo pleas'd with it, that he Charg'd the Bookſeller to bring him into the Authors Acquaintance, whenever he came to Town. He was well Skill'd in the Statute and Common-Law; and no Stranger to the Civil-Law neither, he was a good Critick in the Learned Tongues; and particularly in the *Greek*, where his Head would ſupply the Place of a *Lexicon*. For I have been told, that he was able upon a hint given in Company, to give an Account of

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the ſeveral Senſes of any *Greek* Word, that ſhould be mention'd; together with ſome Authorities out of Sacred or Prophane Authors, or both; where the Word had any Thing of more than common Moment depending upon its Signification. He was of a moſt admirable Temper, and great Moderation; and yet was often Indicted, and once Sued to an Out-lawry, which was very chargeable to him. Coming to *London*, he after ſome ſhort ſtay, in his return Home, call'd on Mr. *Baxter* at his Houſe at *Totteridge*. In a variety of Diſcourſe among other Particularities, Mr. *Baxter* engag'd him to Write upon *The Covenant of Grace*, which he undertook to do when he came Home *. He ſtay'd but one Night, and was Ill. He went the next Day to *Sutton* in *Bedfordſhire*, where he Dy'd ſuddenly in his Chair. This was as I am Inform'd, in 1671. He Liv'd and Dy'd a Batchelor.

* *He hath but 3 Treatiſes extant. The great Propitiation, or Chriſt's Satisfaction, and mans Juſtification by it. Oct.* 1669. *An endeavour to Rectifie ſome prevailing Opinions, Contrary to the Doctrine of the Church of* England. *Oct.* 1671. *A Diſcourſe of Natural and Moral Impotency. Oct.* 1657.

Codgrave: Mr. *John Clark*. South Collingham: Mr. *Pindar*. Roulſton: Mr. *Thomas Ogle*. Sutton in Aſhfield: Mr. *Took*. Sibthorpe and Flintham: Mr. *George Cook*. Alkering: Mr. *Mat. Thompſon*.

Weſt Bridgford: Mr. *Samuel Coates*. He was born at *Rawden* in *Guiſeley* Pariſh, in *Yorkſhire*, and bro't up under his Uncle Mr. *Coates* of *Nottingham*, maintain'd at *Cambridge* till he took the Degree of M. A. and then he came to *Nottingham*, and was fix'd in the living of *Bridgeford*, which is not far from it. Being Ejected in 62, he remov'd to *Wathe* near *Rotheram* in *Yorkſhire*, and thence to a Houſe of his own at *Rawden*. He had a good Eſtate, and Preach'd at *Wath*, at *Rawden*, and at *Ille* Gratis; and us'd often to ſay that he had not the worth of a pair of Gloves for his Pains: nay inſtead of gain, he was at a great Charge in Entertaining his Hearers. He was a profound Scholar, a Solid Judicious Divine, and Preach'd Subſtantial Divinity; but had an unacceptable kind of Stammering in his Delivery. He was a Pious Man, and full of tender Compaſſion to a Melancholy

Wife. His Name is Precious in all the Neighbourhood for his Pains, Piety, and Charity. Visiting some Relations in *Derbyshire*, he dy'd suddenly. He went into his Chamber, to prepare for Preaching, fell down in a Palsey Fit, and was found lying along on the Floor, with his Notes and Spectacles in his Hands. He never spake afterward, but dy'd the next day, *An.* 1683. *Ætat.* 69.

Beston: Mr. *Will. Cross.* Southwell: Mr. *James Mowbray.* Calverton: Mr. *John Allot.* Mattersey: Mr. *Will. Aspinwall.* Arnold: Mr. *John Crompton.* Thorpe: Mr. *Henry Featly.* Kirton: Mr. *Heeborn.* Linby: Mr. *John Leighton.* Thurmpton: Mr. *Ferdinando Pool.* Blodworth: Mr. *Thomas Rose* or *Ross.* Winthorpe: Mr. *Salter.* Hawton: Mr. *Turner.* Ratcliff: Mr. *Pen.* Selston: Mr. *Charles Jackson.* And Mr. *Rose*, and Mr. *Shaw*, whose Places are uncertain.

There Conform'd afterwards in this County, those Persons following. Mr. *Daniel Chadwick* of *Tollaston*: Who Conform'd in 1666, when the Five Mile Act took place. Mr. *Flower* of *Staunton.* Mr. *Horn* of *Nutthall.* Mr. *Boole* of *Clifton*: Mr. *Kendal* of *Widmerepoole.* Mr. *Ormston* of *Keyworth.* Mr. *Forth* or *Firth*, of *Fledborough*; and Mr. *Fisher* of *Blith.*

In the County of DARBY.

Bredsall: Mr. *John Hieron.* * His Father was Minister at *Stapenhil* near *Burton* upon *Trent*; there was he Born in *August*, 1608. He had many Providential Deliverances when he was a Child: He was tost by a Cow; he fell out of a Chamber, he fell into *Trent*, and yet received no harm; he was carry'd down the River in the *Trent-Boat* alone, when the Wind was high, and had in all Probability been drown'd in a whirle-Pit, if one that saw him, had not taken the private Boat and stop'd him. These things he thankfully Recorded when he grew up. He laid a good Foundation in School Learning under Mr. *Whitehead*, at *Repton.* He went to *Cambridge*, and

* *See Mr.* Porters *Account of his Life*; Qu. 1691.

and was admitted into *Chriſt*'s Colledge, *May* 2. 1625. Under the Tuition of Mr. *Will. Chappel*, afterwards Biſhop of *Cork* and *Roſs* in *Ireland*; whom he ever acknowledg'd to have been, a Learned, Painful, Careful, Faithful Tutor. He continu'd in the Colledge till 1628. And then went into *Yorkſhire* to Mr. *Thurcroſſe*, an Acquaintance of his Tutors, and Prebendary of *York*, with whom he liv'd for ſome time at *Kirkly-Moor-ſide*, Reading Prayers for him, and teaching School in the Town. Being bent upon the Miniſtry, he Addreſs'd himſelf to the Learned Biſhop *Morton* of Coventry, and *Litchfield*, who examin'd and approv'd him, and on *Trinity* Sunday 1630, Ordain'd him both Deacon and Presbyter. After ſtaying with Mr. *Thurcroſſe* a Year and Half, he remov'd to *Eggington*, where he was Houſhold Chaplain to Sir *H. Leigh*, and Preach'd at *Newtonſulney*. In 1632, with his Patrons Encouragement and Aſſiſtance, he took the Degree of *Maſter* in *Arts*. While he continu'd in this Family, he alſo Preach'd a Week-day Lecture at *Bratby*, at the Requeſt of *Catharine* Counteſs of *Cheſterfield*, a Religious Lady. In 1633, he remov'd from hence to *Aſhborne*, where he Succeeded Mr. *Taylor*, in his place of Lecturer. Here he was put into the High Commiſſion Court, and Summon'd by a Purſevant to appear at *Lambeth*, much to his Trouble and Charge: And upon the whole, they were but very trifling Matters that were bro't againſt him. He was forc'd to remove from thence to *Derby* in the time of the Civil War, and was no ſooner gone from home, than his Houſe was Plunder'd. From *Derby* he remov'd with his Family in 44. to *Bredſall*, where he continu'd till his Ejectment in 1662.

He was a Learned Man, and always Studious, Well ſeen in Hiſtory. Had a ſharp Judgment, was a great Maſter of Method, and had throughly digeſted his Tutors Method of Preaching. He was very ready in Scripture Chronology: And ſo Converſant with his Bible, that the ſenſe of its Difficulties, and the Reference of one Scripture to another, were become Familiar to him. He was an excellent Expoſitor; very Compaſſionate in dealing with Troubled Souls, zealous

zealous for God, and Earneſt in every Part of his Work. Beſides Preaching Twice every Lords Day, he Expounded the Scripture, and Catechiz'd. He Taught publickly, and from Houſe to Houſe. He aſſiſted in moſt Lectures in thoſe Parts, and himſelf ſet up a Monthly one at *Dale Abby*. He back'd his Doctrine, with an Exemplary Life, and was a Pattern to all round about him.

When he was Silenc'd he deſir'd Biſhop *Hacket* to allow him to Preach *Gratis* at *Dale Abby*. The Biſhop refus'd, unleſs he Conform'd; and yet there was no Care taken to ſupply the Place with any other. Upon his Ejectment, he remov'd to *Little Eaton*, a Town not far from *Breadſall* that he might be near his beloved People. But was driven thence by the *Oxford* Act, which put him upon moving from Place to Place, till at laſt he fix'd in *Loſco*. His Sufferings did not exaſperate him; he kept his Moderation; and would frequently join in worſhipping God in the Publick Churches; and yet was ſatisfy'd fully in his Nonconformity. Once one ask'd him, *Do you not Repent? What do you Mean*, ſays he, *the leaving of my Place? No, I am far from that; for I have done nothing therein, but what I have taught you to be your Duty. Rather looſe all than Sin againſt God. And if* Breadſall *Parſonage was the beſt Biſhoprick in* England, *I muſt do again what I have done.* When the Conventicle Act came out, in 1670, which Confin'd the Number of Auditors in Private Meetings to Four, he Preach'd Twice a Day in the biggeſt Families, with Four Perſons only beſides; but as many under Sixteen Years of Age, as would come, and then repeated at home at Night. During the Indulgence in 1671, he had full Meetings: But when the Declaration was recall'd, he was more Cautious; and tho' he neither deſiſted, nor gave out, yet he expos'd not his Hearers. In this his Retirement he was of uſe to many, who with great Thankfulneſs adore that Providence which bro't him into thoſe Quarters. He Dy'd there, *July* 6. 1682. *Ætat.* 73. At which Time he had been an Ordain'd Miniſter Fifty Years; Preach'd at Sixty Six Churches and Chapels in *Derbyſhire*, and Thirty out of *Derbyſhire* *.

* *He hath Publiſh'd ſome Sermons on Heads of Divinity And a Diſcourſe of Spiritual Joy, for the Relief of Melancholy Chriſtians. Some of his Letters are added at the End of his Life, in* 4to.

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In the Time of his Health and Strength, he ſtudy'd hard, and made many Collections out of the Books he read. Among other Things, he abridg'd Mr. *Pool*'s *Synopſis* of the Criticks, and added his own Collections. Mr. *Porter* ſays, That he left under his Hand Two Volumes upon the whole Scripture, in which there are Practical Remarks as well as Critical, Spiritual Gloſſes, and moſt pertinent Inferences, in which he is well known to have had a peculiar Excellency. And he that will read thoſe Private Notes which he hath Publiſh'd in the Account of his Life, will have before him a Specimen of ſuch Piety as is not Common.

Darby: All Saints: Mr. *Joſeph Swetnam.* St. Peters: Mr. *Luke Cranwell.* St. Werburgh's: Mr. *Samuel Beresford.*

Mr. *Joſeph Swetnam.* He was not *formally* put out by the Act of Uniformity, and yet *really* he was. For foreſeeing the Commencement of that Act at *Bartholomew* Day, he tho't good to make a mixtly voluntary Seceſſion ſometime before its taking Place, and ſo was not, and yet was expell'd by it. He was a Man very well qualify'd to fill ſo Auguſt a Place as *Alhallows* in *Derby.* A very able Preacher; and great Maſter of Language.

Mr. *Luke Cranwell.* Born at *Loughborough* in the County of *Leiceſter*, and Educated in *Chriſt's* College in *Cambridge.* A knowing, couragious, zealous, and upright Man. He was not very ready in Elocution; but very Scriptural, Solid and Subſtantial in all his Diſcourſes. His Sermons when look'd over by Writers, or tho't over by Underſtanding Hearers, were found to be full of Divinity. He had ſome competent Skill in Phyſick before he was Silenc'd. When he was no longer ſuffer'd to exerciſe his Miniſtry publickly, he reſolv'd to try what he could do in the other Faculty. He betook himſelf to ſerve Bodies, and he grew very judicious and skilful, famous and ſucceſsful. Hereby he maintain'd Himſelf, and his Family very comfortably, kept good Hoſpitality; and he did as readily help his Brethren, and the Poor among his Neighbours, without any Deſire or Expectation of Fees, as he did the Rich

Rich and Greateſt. He had a working Head. He underſtood well what he read, and found out ſome Magiſtrals of his own, ſome happy and effectual Medicines. He was a chearful Man, and to appearance very Strong, but when he began to decline, he ran down ſpeedily. That he might be out of the reach of the *Oxford* Act, he went to *Kegworth* in *Leiceſterſhire* where he Dy'd, *Nov.* 11. 1683. on the Lord's Day.

Matlock: Mr. *Thomas Shelmerdine.* Born in *Lancaſhire*, and bred in *Chriſt's* Colledge in *Cambridge.* He was a diligent Preacher at *Criche* divers Years; where he was encompaſs'd with many good old Puritans, that Liv'd in that Pariſh and about it, who ſtrengthen'd his Hands much in his Work. He was a Man very chearful in Converſe. A kind Husband to an Holy, but very Melancholy Wife. From *Crich* he remov'd to *Matlock*, where he did the Work of his Place, liv'd peaceably with his Neighbours, and found more Benefit by his Peace, than his Succeſſor did with his Contention. He remov'd thence when he was Silenc'd to a dwelling at *Wickſworth*, where he did not long ſurvive. In his Sickneſs he would tell his Friends, *he was going to his Preferment.* And Mr. *Porter* relates this Paſſage; that he thus expreſs'd himſelf one Day to one that ſtood by him; *That next to my Hopes of Heaven, I rejoice that I turn'd out of* Matlock.

Barrow: Mr. *Daniel Shelmerdine.* Son of the former. A valuable Man alſo, and uſeful Preacher.

Little-Over: Mr. *Samuel Charles.* After his being Silenc'd, he was invited by a Private Congregation to *Hull*, where he was faithful and induſtrious in his Work; till the Time of his Death; which (as I am inform'd) was in 1687. He was abundantly ſatisfy'd in his Nonconformity to the Laſt.

Duffield: Mr. *Roger Morrice.* Who was ſometime Chaplain to my Lord *Hollis*, and afterwards to Sir *John Maynard.* He Dy'd lately at *Hoxton* in *Middleſex*, Jan. 17. 170⅞. He hath left behind him a valuable Collection of Manuſcripts.

Henor: Mr. *Samuel Wright.* A good Man, and a very able Preacher. He liv'd in much Weakneſs for divers

divers Years after his being Ejected. He could not Preach, as the reſt of his more healthful Brethren: But when he did, he Preach'd to very good Purpoſe.

Langley: Mr. *Robert Seddon*, M. A. Born in *Outwood* in *Preſtwich* Pariſh in *Lancaſhire*, brought up in *Ringley* School under Mr. *Cole*, and admitted in *Chriſt's* Colledge in *Cambridge*, Ann. 1647. He continu'd there ſeveral Years, and then return'd home. After which he had the Advantage of Living in Mr. *Angier's* Family, and the Benefit of his grave Example, pious Inſtructions, and uſeful Converſe. From his Houſe he was call'd to the Exerciſe of the Miniſtry in *Goiton* Chapel. From thence he remov'd to *Langley*, where he was Silenc'd in 62. He afterwards Preach'd in *Derby*, and up and down the Countrey. Travelling to *London*, he was taken there Preaching in Mr. *Baxter's* Pulpit, and was Impriſon'd; but ſoon delivered. He had Acquaintance with and Intereſt in, many Perſons of good Quality: And was generally acceptable where-ever he came. At laſt he fix'd at *Bolton* in his Native Country, where he was a ſolid and uſeful Preacher, and with great Zeal and Affection laid out himſelf in his Maſters work. Buying an Houſe there, He gave the People Liberty to build a Chapel on the back-ſide of it, and a little after Dy'd of a Palſie at his Brothers, Captain *Peter Seddon*, in *March* 169⅔. *Ætat.* 77.

Marſton: Mr. *John Bingham*. A Man of much Integrity, Zeal, and Faith; Hearty for God; and in the worſt of Times and Things kept up his Heart, waiting for, and firmly expecting the Salvation of God.

Hogmaſton: Mr. *Jonathan* { *Staniforth.* } Two Brothers, Sons
Alleſtree: Mr. *Timothy* { *Staniforth.* } of an Ancient Godly Miniſter. Both good Men, who gave much Attendance to reading, and had a good Library. After their Ejection, and the taking Place of the *Oxford* Act, they were driven from Pillar to Poſt, yet in all Places at Work as they had Opportunity, and that with Succeſs. Many Perſons about *Heage*, had Cauſe to bleſs God for their Night Labours. They Liv'd ſome Years together, and Dy'd very

very near one to another. They made their last remove to an honest but an obscure Family; and from thence took their flight one after another, from an obscure Corner, to a light-some and large Place. They both of them Dy'd with much inward Satisfaction, that they were going to that Heaven which they had chosen, and long labour'd for. They had lively Hopes in their dying Moments.

Sherly: Mr. *Samuel Hieron*, Brother to Mr. *John Hieron* mention'd before. He made no great Figure in the World, but was an honest Man, and an useful Preacher. He was much belov'd by those amongst whom he labour'd. Few Mens outward Circumstances more press'd their Conformity than his did; yet he follow'd his Conscience, and left a pretty Living, at *Bartholomew* Day 62, and threw himself and all his, into the Hands of Gods Providence And tho' he remov'd from Place to Place, and every where met with hard Penny-worths, yet he found God pitiful and of tender Compassion, and had eno' to carry him to his Journeys End, which he arriv'd at *March* 24. 1687.

* *He wrote something against the* Quakers, *and Printed a Sermon with it, which gives the World a Taste of his Abilities.*

Chesterfield: Mr. *John Billingsley* *. A *Kentish* Man, Born at *Chatham*, Educated in both Universities. An ingenious Man, strict to his Principles, which he understood well. An accurate, savoury Preacher; an exemplary Walker; a Man elegant in every thing; a diligent Reader, and Observer of what he read, and very ready with his Pen. He hath left behind him excellent Collections, which are happily fallen into his Sons Hands. His outward bodily Appearance was mean, but he had a great Soul, Rich in Grace and Gifts. He left his People at *Chesterfield*, because he could not keep his Place and his Peace, but he kept his Affection to them and Care over them, and hazarded his Health and Liberty to serve them. The Pin of the *Uniformity* Act, driven by Hands that were fit Tools for such mischievous Work, push'd him out of his Pulpit and House; and the Hurricane of the *Oxford* Act drove him from his hired House to *Mansfield*; where he pass'd the Residue of his Sojourning-time in Fear, wrought for the Salvation of others, and wrought out his own, being ever

ever very Serious and Laborious. But towards his latter End, his Motion was very quick; he made actual Preparation for Death; desir'd his Poor outed Brethren cast into *Mansfield* as he was, to come together a little before his Departure, to put him into the Hands of God by Prayer: At which Time, he made a short Confession of his Faith in, and Declaration of his Dependance on the Righteousness of Christ alone, and not long after went with a full Sail into the Kingdom of God, *May* 30. 1683.

Carsington: Mr. *John Oldfield.* Born near *Chesterfield*, and bro't up at *Dronfield* School, at that Time famous. He was a general Scholar. A great Master in the Tongues, and *Mathematicks.* He had a Mechanical Head and Hand, capable of any Thing, he had Opportunity to get insight into. What some might reckon a Reflection upon him, was in the Judgment of wise Men his great Honour, *viz.* That he was a Man of considerable Learning and Worth, and yet beholden to no University: His Living was Worth but about 70 *l. per Ann.* He had the offer of *Tamworth*, and was press'd to have remov'd thither, where he would have had a much better Living, but was stopp'd by the Importunity of his People. All that knew him acknowledge him to have been a judicious Divine, a good Casuist, an excellent Preacher, one that was Pertinent and Methodical, Clear in opening his Text, and that spake very close to Conscience from it. He was well acquainted with the inside of Religion. He was of few Words and reserv'd, not at all Talkative: But let any one give him Occasion, by starting useful Discourse, putting him upon his Knees, or upon Writing or Preaching Work, and they would soon find he wanted neither Words nor Sense. He was a Man of Prayer. One of a very quiet Spirit. The People among whom he labour'd were very Tickliſh and Capricious, very hard to be pleased in Ministers, and yet they Center'd in him, and his Name is precious amongst them. This good Man had many Removes after he was Ejected, but God told his Wandrings, and he had Songs in the Houses of his Pilgrimage. He was one of great Moderation; which he tho't himself oblig'd

lig'd to teſtifie, by going ſometimes to Church: As to which ſome Perſons of his Acquaintance being of another Mind, he would often freely and amicably Diſcourſe it with them. And yet he was many ways a Sufferer for his Nonconformity. He for ſometime Preach'd once a Fortnight at *Rodenuke*, where a Meeting being diſcover'd by Two Informers, they Swore againſt him upon Preſumption, that he was the Preacher, tho' as it fell out, it was not his Day: However he was Proſecuted with much eagerneſs. Whereupon Eſquire *Spademan* (a worthy Gentleman who was owner of the Houſe where the Meeting was) and Mr. *Oldfield* made their Appeal, and gave ſo clear Proof of his being Ten Miles diſtant at the Time that was Sworn to, that he was Clear'd: And the Informers being afterwards Proſecuted, were found Perjur'd. Upon which one of them ran away, and the other ſtood in the Pillory at *Darby*, with this Inſcription affix'd, *A Baſe, Perjur'd Informer.*

He ſpent the latter Part of his Life at *Alfreton*, from whence he took many weary Steps to ſerve his Maſter, and was very uſeful in that Neighbourhood but at laſt was forc'd by his Infirmities to ceaſe from his Labours, and departed to his Everlaſting Reſt, * *He hath built himſelf a laſting Monument, in a ſmall Piece Emitt.* The Firſt Laſt, and the Laſt Firſt, *againſt Hypocriſie. The Subſtance of ſome Lectures at* Wickſworth. *And in his larger Piece about Prayer, which by many judicious Perſons both* Conformiſts *and* Nonconformiſts, *is eſteem'd as valuable a Diſcourſe, as any Extant upon the Subject.* *June* 5. 1682. *Ætat.* 55 *.

After the Act of *Uniformity* paſs'd in the beginning of 62, before it took Place in the *Auguſt* following, He with all poſſible Care ſtudy'd his Duty, as to the requir'd Compliance; weigh'd Matters fairly in the Ballance; and the Determination which he fix'd on as to his own Practiſe, was the reſult of his moſt mature and deliberate Tho'ts. I the rather Mention this in his Caſe, becauſe I have had the very Paper which he drew up upon this Occaſion, communicated to me in his own Hand Writing. 'Tis

'Tis in the Form of a *Soliloquy*, to which that of the wiſe Man is prefix'd, *Eccleſ.* 7. 14. *In the Day of Adverſity conſider.* 'Tis too long to be here inſerted: But I ſhall Tranſcribe thence a few Paſſages, that will manifeſt the ſeriouſneſs and ſolemnity of his Spirit upon that Occaſion, the impartiality of his Tho'ts, his Fear of doing any Thing in that Critical Juncture which he could not Juſtifie, and his Concern for Superior Guidance and Conduct, *&c.*

Conſideration (ſays he) *is the way to Reſolution; and well-grounded Reſolution will bulwark and fortifie the Soul, againſt the impetuous Violence of Man, and make it as the Rock to repel the daſhing Waves. To this O my Soul, I now invite thee,* &c. *Raſh Engagements often end in ſhameful Retreats, and baſe Tergiverſation.* Thou O Fountain of Wiſdom, who giveſt it Liberally and upbraideſt not, to him that asketh, ſhine in upon my dark Underſtanding, let thy Spirit of Truth lead me into all Truth, and ſo direct me in my Conſideration, that it may End in Pious Reſolution; and what thro' Grace I Purpoſe, let me by Grace be enabled to perform.

It is not O my Soul a light Matter thou art now imploy'd in: Its not thy Food, Cloathing, Maintenance, Family, Wife and Children, that are the main Things conſiderable in this Enquiry. Forget theſe, till thou art come up to a Reſolution in the main Buſineſs. Strip thy ſelf of all theſe in thy Diſquiſitions. Imagine thy Self neither to have a Body to be fed and Cloth'd, nor a Family to be provided for. Theſe muſt be abſtracted from, and be as the ſmall Duſt of the Ballance, not at all poizing the Scale, this way or the contrary.

It is O my Soul the Glory of God, the Credit and Advantage of Religion, the good of that poor Flock committed to thy keeping by the Holy Ghoſt, thy Miniſtry, thy Conſcience, thy Salvation and the Salvation of others, that muſt caſt the Scale, and determine thy Reſolutions. And where all cannot be at once promoted (or do at leaſt ſeem to Croſs one another) it is fit the leſs and more ſubordinate, ſhould give Place to the greater. Thy Miniſtry, thy People, muſt be ſingularly dear and precious to Thee; incomparably above Body, Food, Raiment, Wife, Children, and Life it ſelf: But where theſe ſeem inconſiſtent with thoſe higher Things; Gods Glory, Religions Credit and

Advancement, the keeping of a good Conſcience, the ſaving of thy ſelf and others, it is fit the latter ſhould take Place. For the other being but Means to theſe, it is fit they ſhould give Place to their End, which ever is or ought to be more noble than the Means. Nay, my Soul, let it ſeem no Paradox to Thee, that when the Divine Providence hath ſo ordered it, that there is an inconſiſtency between theſe, the very laying aſide the Means ſhall promote the End. When thou canſt no longer continue in thy Work without Diſhonour to God, diſcredit to Religion, foregoing thy Integrity, wounding Conſcience, ſpoiling thy Peace, and hazarding the Loſs of thy Salvation; in a Word, when the Conditions upon which thou muſt continue (if thou wilt continue) in thy Employment are ſinful, and unwarranted by the Word of God; thou mayſt, yea thou muſt believe, that God will turn thy very Silence, Suſpenſion, Deprivation, and laying aſide, to his Glory and the Advancement of the Goſpel's Intereſt. When God will not uſe Thee in one kind, yet he will in another. A Soul that Deſires to ſerve and honour God, ſhall never want Opportunity to do it: Nor muſt thou ſo limit the Holy One of Iſrael, *as to think he hath but one Way in which he can glorifie himſelf by Thee. He can do it by thy Silence, as well as by thy Preaching, thy laying aſide, as well as continuance in thy Work. Oh put on that Holy indifference (as to the Means, ſo the End be but attained) which the bleſſed Apoſtle expreſſes,* Phil. 1. 20. That Chriſt might be magnify'd in his Body, whether by Life or by Death. *Nor ſhould it ſeem incredible unto Thee, O my Soul, that he who could make Figs Effectual to Cure a Plague-ſore, and Clay and Spittle to open the Eyes of the Blind, ſhould alſo be able to turn thy Suſpenſion from thy Work, to the Advantage of the Ends of thy Work. Canſt thou think God would, or his Church ſhould have loſt one Sermon of thoſe his precious ſilent Ambaſſadors,* Dod, Cleaver, *&c. (whoſe Labours in the Work of the Miniſtry were far more profitable than thine) if he could not have glorify'd himſelf, and advantaged his Church, as much or more by their Suſpenſion from, than Continuance in their Employment. Let God have the diſpoſal of thee, and doubt not but he will uſe thee for his own Glory, and his Churches Good, his Reſpect to which is Infinitely greater than thine can be.*

But

But there is O my Soul, a Scylla *and* Charybdis *in this Voyage thou art making; a Rock, both on one side and the other; and therefore beware, least thou make it a light Matter to be laid aside from thy Work. Examine; Hast thou so faithfully discharg'd thy Duty, as that thou maist take Comfort in the Review of it, when suspended from it? Do not abundance of Failings, Follies, Neglects, Mispent-time, Sinister-ends, base Self-seeking, Unprayerfulness, Idleness, Hypocrisie, &c. present themselves to Thee, when thou beginnest to Review the Course thou hast run? Think how little Service thou hast done for God or his House. How heavy will thy Account be, if to thy Removal from thy Work be added, the stinging Remembrance of Unfaithfulness in it? Hast thou not by thy Miscarriages justly provok'd God to spit in thy Face, and lay Thee aside as a broken Vessel? Is not this Dispensation the Fruit of thy own Sin, as well as (yea more than) of others Malice? Learn O my Soul to put every Cause in its right Order. God is the Just Disposer of this Providence: Men tho' acting maliciously and unjustly yet are the Instruments of his Justice; thy Sin justly provoking God, to suffer Men unjustly to lay Thee aside. Neither will the Righteousness of the Cause wherein thou sufferest, excuse thy Unrighteousness, which is the procuring Cause of thy Sufferings. Learn then O my Soul, to justifie God, to be silent towards Men, and to Condemn thy Self. But there's another Rock, against which thou art in danger of Splitting. Take heed O my Soul, least that be Charg'd on Gods Providence or Mens Injustice, which is Caus'd by thy own Wilfulness and Obstinacy. If that which thou callest Conscience and Duty, be found Refractoriness and Sin, thou not only looosest thy Reward, but incurrest the Guilt of thy own Suffering, and thinking to charge others, wilt be found Accessary thy self, to thy own Murder as a Minister. Here then lies the stress of the Consideration thou art upon; whether the Grounds upon which thou art to suffer will bear thee out? Whether thou shalt suffer as a Christian for Righteousness Sake? Whether the Cause of Suffering be as weighty, as the Suffering it self is like to be? That if thou findest it otherwise, thou maist* (Dum res in integro est) *make a timely Retreat. I charge thee O my Soul to lay aside all Prejudices, Prepossessions, and Respects to, or Sini-*

ſter Conceptions of, Men of the one or the other Party. Away with carnal Wiſdom, leaning upon thy own Underſtanding. Let the Word of God Umpire, &c. And becauſe (O Bleſſed Father) the way of Man (to know as well as go it) is not in himſelf; nor is it in Man that walks to direct his Steps, I again and again implore directing Grace: Lead me O Lord by thy Counſel; make thy Way plain before me; lead me in a plain Path; and into the Land of Uprightneſs. Let not former Errors be puniſh'd, in thy leaving me to err in this Thing. Lord ſhew me thy Way, and thro' Grace I will ſay it ſhall be my Way. What can a poor weak Creature ſay more! Thou knoweſt Lord the Heart of thy Servant; O diſpel Clouds of Ignorance, Prejudice, Paſſion; take off all præponderating Weights and Propenſions; caſt the Scales which way may be moſt for thy Glory, thy Churches and my Peoples Good, the Peace of my own Conſcience, and the Salvation both of my own and others Souls.

And canſt thou (O my Soul) think of laying down, or being laid aſide from thy Miniſtry upon a light Occaſion? Muſt Matters of Indifferency give thee a Superſedeas? Oh take heed, leaſt if like Jonah *thou overrunneſt thy Embaſſie, through Diſcontent, thou be fetch'd back with a Storm. Poize the Burden, that is to be laid upon Thee; that if thou canſt bear it (tho' with ſome Trouble and Reluctancy) thou maiſt yet abide in the Vineyard. What if Men be* Pharaohs *Task-maſters, impoſe ſuch Burdens as thou maiſt even Groan under; if they be only Burdens and not Sins, they muſt be born and not ſhaken off. Nothing but a Neceſſity of ſinning in the doing, can abſolve thee from that Neceſſity, which is laid upon thee of Preaching the Goſpel, and ſhelter thee from the Influence of that Wo, which is denounc'd againſt thee, for not Preaching it. The Plain Queſtion then, which lies before thee O my Soul (and in the right Reſolution whereof conſiſts the Comfort of Suffering, or the Duty of continuing at thy Work) is, whether the Conditions that are impos'd (without performing which, thou muſt leave thy Place and Employment) be ſinful or not? Sinful, I ſay, not only in the Impoſition of them, but in Subſcription to them?* Whether thou canſt without ſinning againſt God, his Church, thy People, thy Conſcience,

ſcience, and Soul; (all or any of theſe) ſubmit to the preſent Conditions of continuing in thy Place and Employment? *Here's no Room for comparing Sin with Sin:* viz. *Whether it be a greater Sin to leave thy Miniſtry, or perform ſuch a ſinful Condition? There is no ſuch perplex'd Caſe, unleſs it be made ſuch, wherein thou art neceſſitated to Sin, or do the leaſt Evil, tho' the greateſt Good might come of it. Nor is it thy Sin to deſiſt, when thou canſt not without Sin go on, but their's who thruſt thee out, by impoſing a Neceſſity of ſinning on thee, upon Suppoſition of thy Continuance in the Miniſtry. Nor is there any Room to compare Sin with Duty. 'Tis not pretenſe of doing God the greateſt Service, or performing the weightieſt Duty, that will excuſe the leaſt Sin, tho' that Sin capacitated or gave us the Opportunity for the doing that Duty. Thou wilt have little Thanks (O my Soul) if when thou art charg'd with corrupting Gods Worſhip, falſifying thy Vows,* &c. *Thou pretendeſt a Neceſſity of it in Order to thy Continuance in the Miniſtry,* &c.

Afterwards he proceeds to the particular Mention, and Conſideration of the Conditions of the continu'd Exerciſe of his Miniſtry, ſaving that as to the Book of Common-Prayer with its Amendments, it not being then Extant, he was forc'd to ſuſpend his Tho'ts concerning it. And upon the whole he concludes, that to hold on in the Publick Exerciſe of his Miniſtry, to him would be Sin.

I have not taken the Pains to tranſcribe theſe Hints, which ſo plainly diſcover the Impartiality of Mr. *Oldfield* in his Conſideration of the Caſe of Conformity, as if he were the only Perſon that could be inſtanc'd in; (for there were many others of whom 'tis evident, that they acted in this Affair with equal Care and Seriouſneſs:) But becauſe this is the moſt ſolemn and expreſs Debate of that Nature, drawn up in Writing, which hath as yet fallen into my Hands. And methinks he that obſerves that openneſs to Divine Light, that concern for ſpecial Conduct, that readineſs to yield to it without reſerve, and that unbyaſs'd Temper of Spirit that breaths in theſe Strains, ſhould hardly be able to ſuppoſe that ſuch an one, could be ſo far left of God, in a Matter ſo momentous, as to take a Courſe in which he could not be

able to approve himſelf to him, whoſe Aid he ſo earneſtly deſir'd, and was ſo ready to yield to. Withal, I cannot but apprehend that the ſober Conſideration of this ſingle Inſtance, may convince ſome on both ſides of no ſmall Miſtake, in their Determination as to their own Conduct in this weighty Affair; in which ſuch as proceed haſtily, do often upon ſecond Tho'ts find Cauſe to charge themſelves with Raſhneſs; which is not to be avoided, unleſs ſome ſuch Method as this be taken. For where Self-Intereſt is deeply concern'd, and Affections are probably pre-engag'd, 'tis not fit to run immediately into Argument and Reaſoning, but highly neceſſary that the Mind be prepar'd to weigh what may be alledg'd on both ſides with Impartiality: And particularly, that it be wrought into ſuch a Submiſſiveneſs and Self-denial, as ſhall make it capable of entertaining the Evidence on that ſide, which is like to be moſt diſadvantageous. And they may greatly deceive themſelves, who preſume they are fit Judges upon meer Reaſoning, of ſuch a Matter, till they have firſt bro't their Minds to ſuch a Temper. 'Tis as if a Man going to uſe a pair of Scales, ſhould be mightily concern'd about the weights he puts in it, without any Care of the Ballance, whether it be even or deceitful. But whoever takes ſuch a Method as this in poizing his Spirit, (with an Eye caſt ſeriouſly upward to the Fountain of all Wiſdom) before he proceeds to weigh the Merits of the Cauſe in debate, ſhall have unſpeakable Satisfaction upon reflecting afterwards; and on which ſide ſoever his Determination falls, he may be eaſie and undiſturb'd, under all the Iſſues and Conſequences of that Determination.

Sandeacre: Mr. *Joſeph Moore*. Born at *Nottingham*, and Educated in St. *Johns* Colledge in *Cambridge*, when Holy Dr. *Tuckney* was Preſident. He was ſober-minded from his Youth. He entred Young into the Miniſtry; but his Youth was not deſpicable, being Grave, Serious, and Savoury. After his Ejectment, he ſpent the reſt of his Time in divers private Families, in Praying, Preaching, and Catechiſing. He was a hard Student, a ſearching Man, a per-

a pertinent profitable Preacher. He Liv'd well, and Dy'd happily, *Nov*, 27. 1684.

Norton: Mr. *Jeremy Scoales.* He was Born in *Salford* near *Mancheſter* in *Lancaſhire.* When he was Ejected from his Living, he remov'd to his Native Place, and Liv'd on his Eſtate. He was very Induſtrious in his Maſters Work, and Preach'd as he had Opportunity. He was wont to take much Delight in Days of Prayer and Humiliation, in which he was often charg'd by his Brethren with holding out too long; tho' he was uſually pertinent and acceptable. He was an upright hearted Man. He Dy'd, *April* 27. 1685. *Ætat.* 56.

Eyam in the *Peak:* Mr. *Stanley,* M. A. He was Born at *Duckmonton* Three Miles from *Cheſterfield.* His firſt Publick Employment was under Mr. *Cart* at *Hanſworth.* For Three Years he was Preacher at *Dore* Chapel, in the Pariſh of *Dronfield*; and Eight Years after, at the Parochial Chapel of *Aſhford* in the Pariſh of *Bakewel*; whence by thoſe then in Power, he was in 44 Tranſlated to the Rectory of *Eyam,* where he continu'd his Labours till *Bartholomew* Day 62. He was an eminent Preacher; and a very viſible and audible Confuter, of thoſe who Adventure to decry free conceived Prayer; ſaying, there is no ſuch Gift, whereby Perſons can ſuit their Prayers to Divine Providence, and their own and others Particular Caſes. When he could not ſerve his People Publickly, he was helpful to them in Private; eſpecially, when the Peſtilence prevail'd in that Town. He officiated amongſt them with great Tenderneſs and Affection, during that Sore and very Mortal Viſitation, which in that little Place cut off 259 grown Perſons, and 58 Children. And yet even at that very Time did ſome who might have been better employ'd, make a Motion to the Lord Lieutenant of the County, the Noble Earl (now Duke) of *Devonſhire,* to remove him out of Town. Who like himſelf, made ſome ſuch Reply as this; *That it was more reaſonable, that the whole Countrey ſhould in more than Words teſtifie their Thankfulneſs to him, who together with his Care of the Town had taken ſuch Care, as none elſe did, to prevent the Infection of the Towns adja-*

cent. He Dy'd in 1670. ſatisfy'd to the laſt in the Cauſe of Nonconformity, and rejoicing in his Sufferings on that Account.

Markworth: Mr. *Samuel Ogden.* A Man of conſiderable Learning. A ſolid ſubſtantial Practical Preacher: One of an exemplary Converſation, and a very tender Conſcience. He was far from being rigid in his Separation; and yet not being able to Conform fully, he ſuffer'd much many ways as a Nonconformiſt: But ſo inoffenſive was his Carriage under all, that he was at laſt made Maſter of a Publick School, for which he was ſingularly well qualify'd.

Gloſſoppe: Mr. *William Baggſhaw.* The Apoſtle of the *Peak*, where he is yet Living, having a good Eſtate, and a large Heart, which when join'd together are great Bleſſings.

Rawſton: Mr. *William Smith* Lecturer. A Man of great Worth.

Penttidge: Mr. *Robert Porter* *. Born in *Nottinghamſhire*, and bred in *Cambridge*. His Parts were great and quick, his Fancy very Rich and Pregnant, and his Wit rendred him the Deſire and Pleaſure of Gentlemen in Converſation. And after God had touch'd his Heart, which was quickly after his coming from *Cambridge*, he betook himſelf to ſevere Studies and a ſtrict Converſation. His Proficiency was conſiderable. Few Men better underſtood their Bible than he. His Judgment was ſolid, and his Eloquence natural, and greatly Scriptural. The People he ſettled amongſt were Poor, but his Labours were great, and very proſperous among them. His ſtated Income was not above 15 *l. per Ann.* But being greatly belov'd by the Neighbouring Gentry, and other Perſons, they rais'd it to near Fifty. He was invited, and would have been welcome, where he might have had much more, but he refus'd, becauſe he found his Labours proſperous, and Tho't their getting a ſuitable Supply would be difficult if he ſhould leave them. He was abundant in Prayer and Preaching, and Catechizing, and viſiting his Pariſhioners from Houſe to Houſe: Inſomuch as that if the meaneſt Perſon in his Pariſh were either Sick, or nigh

* *He hath nothing extant, but his Farewel Sermon to his People in a Book call'd,* Englands Remembrancer; *and an Account of the Life and Character of Mr.* Hieron, *and other* Darbyſhire *Miniſters,* Qu.

nigh the Hour of Travel, or in any other Difficulty or Strait, he was always ready to Pray with them, or give them a Sermon ſuited to their Exigencies, in which he had a marvelous Faculty, as to which very few exceeded him. When he was Ejected in 62, he retir'd to *Mansfield* where he ſpent the reſt of his Days. From thence he would often viſit his former Charge and Flock, keeping Days of Prayer with them, *&c.* And many a dark Night hath he been engag'd in Travelling in dirty and dangerous Ways, on their Account, to ſhow his ſincere Regard to their Souls good. At *Mansfield* he attended on the Publick Worſhip, and kept his Meetings before or after the Publick Service, that he might not interfere. His Latitude was Great: For he went much upon the Principles of the Old Moderate Nonconformiſts, ſuch as Mr. *John Ball*, &c. Such Love did he conciliate there, thro' the blameleſsneſs and pleaſantneſs of his Converſation, and his Diſcreet Management of himſelf, as that when others were clapt into Priſon, upon that which was call'd the Lord *Ruſſels* Plot, a conſiderable Perſon who conſtantly kept to the Publick, and whoſe Judgement was fix'd that way, went to the Lord Lieutenant, and offer'd to be bound Body for Body for him, for his good Behaviour, that he might peaceably ſtay at Home. The offer was accepted; and Mr. *Porter* continu'd in his own Houſe without Suſpicion or Diſturbance.

An handſome Comprehenſion with a fit Indulgence would greatly have pleas'd him. He was look'd upon as the greateſt Oracle of Bleſſing in thoſe Parts, and highly valu'd by his Brethren, who us'd to Converſe with him upon difficult Caſes, and paid a great Deference to his Judgment. He Dy'd at *Mansfield*, Jan. 22. $16\frac{82}{83}$. His great Excellency lay in ſuitable Pathetick Preaching upon all Occaſions; and an extraordinary Gift in Prayer; in which Duty he would be particular in his Remembrance of the Church of God, the State of the Nation, and the Caſes of his Friends and Relations.

Bramp-

Brampton: Mr. *Robert More.* Caldwall: Mr. *Nathanael Barton.* Turndicke: Mr. *Thomas Sweetnam*, and Mr. *Edward Buxton.* Dranfield: Mr. *Moſely* or *Maudſley.* Buxton: Mr. *John Jackſon.* Bechiff Abbey: Mr. *Bayes.* Blackwell: Mr. *Sam. Nowel.* Edal Chappel: Mr. *Wright.* Monyaſh: Mr. *Robert Cook.* Heathfield: Mr. *Higginbottom.* Bakewell: Mr. *Iſaac Bacon.* Tiddſwel, or Sheldon: Mr. *John Beeby.* Greſley: Mr. *Tho. Ford.* Aſford: Mr. *Edward Hollingſhead.* Dower: Mr. *James Lawton.* Fairfield in Hope Pariſh: Mr. *Will. Naden.* Roadnook: Mr. *Olderſhaw.* Knyveton: Mr. *Rawlinſon.* Aſton upon Trent: Mr. *Palmer.* And Mr. *Finch*, Mr. *Firth*, Mr. *Tho. Hill*, and Mr. *John Wood*, at uncertain Places.

There Conform'd afterwards in this County, Mr. *Matthews* of *Edlaſton*, Mr. *Sutton* of *Crich*, and Mr. *Pool* of *Mugington.*

In the County Palatine of LANCASTER.

Mancheſter: Mr. *Henry Newcome*, M. A. Mr. *Richardſon*, and Mr. *John Wigan.*

Mr. *Newcome* was firſt Rector of *Gauſworth* in *Cheſhire*, from whence in 1656, he remov'd to *Mancheſter* upon an unanimous Invitation to Succeed Mr. *Rich. Hollingworth* Deceas'd. This Removal was not without its difficulty, becauſe he had at the ſame time a like Invitation from the Town of *Shrewsbury.* He had not been here long, before Sir *George Booth* rais'd the Country for *Charles* the II. in which Affair Mr. *Newcome* was heartily Engag'd, and thence forward continu'd in great Eſteem and Friendſhip with that Honourable Perſon. He remain'd in his Publick Work till 62, joyning with Mr. *Heyrick* in claſſical Meetings with the reſt of the Neighbouring Miniſters, and diſpenſing all Ordinances in that Numerous Congregation; and afterwards Preaching Privately at Home and Abroad. And when he could not Preach, he Wrote many excellent Papers upon ſeveral practical Subjects, and diſpers'd them among his Hearers, who Contributed

Freely

freely towards his Maintenance, and took great Care of Him and His. The *Oxford* Act forc'd him to remove into *Ellenbrook* Chappelry; but he return'd as ſoon as he could with any Safety, to his Family and Flock. He Preach'd privately till the Year 72, and afterwards in a Licens'd Place. And at length the People built him a large ſtately Chapel on the South ſide of the Town call'd *Ackers*, which he had not us'd long, before it pleas'd God to remove him by Death: And he was himſelf the firſt that was Bury'd in his New Chapel, *September* 20. 1695. Aged about Sixty-Eight.

He was a Perſon of good Natural Parts, Cultivated by an Extraordinary Induſtry, which began very early, and continu'd all his Life. Witneſs the many Volumes left behind him, written with his own Hand. He was Maſter of a large Stock of ſolid Learning and Knowledge, always ready for Uſe, but never for Oſtentation. His Parts and Learning were Admirably ſet off by a ſingular Fitneſs for Friendſhip and Converſation, in which he was amiable above many. His Temper was Sincere, Candid and Generous. His Diſcourſe Ingenious, Innocent, Facetious, and Inſtructive. His Deportment Grave, yet Sweet and Obliging. A moſt Sincere and Inartificial Humility at once hid and adorn'd his other Excellencies. His Moderation was known unto all Men, that ever knew or heard of him. He had both a large Charity and a great Veneration for thoſe that differ'd from him, if they were Men of Worth, and unblameable in their Lives. They can Teſtify this, that knew what a fair and Amicable Correſpondence he maintain'd with many of the Conforming Clergy, to ſeveral of whom this Good Man's Name was perhaps as Precious, and his Society as Grateful, as if he had been one of their own Stamp But his Peculiar Excellency was in Preaching. His Sermons were Practical, Plain and Diſcurſive, full of Holy Zeal and Fervour, and an Eloquence without any Labour of his own, not Imitable by the greateſt Labour of another. He had a ſtrange way of Inſinuating and Winding himſelf into his Hearers Boſoms, whoſe only Regret hath been that the Sermon muſt ſoon be at

an

* *He hath Printed the* Sinners Hope: *A Discourse on* Ezra. 10. 2. Usurpation Defeated, and *David* restor'd: *A Sermon on the Restauration of King* Charles *the* 2*d.* The Covenant of Grace effectually Remembred. *A Discourse on Psal.* 105. 8. *with* 1 *Chr.* 16. 15. *And an* Help to the Duty in, and right Improvement of Sickness. *A Discourse on Job* 5. 6, 7, 8. *and a Discourse* about Rash and Sinful Anger, *on Prov.* 25. 28.

an end. * An Eminent Divine once hearing him, said, *If I had this Mans Tongue, I could not Scape being proud of it.* Among other Lectures Abroad, in which he assisted, there was one set up by Mr. *Nath. Hilton* of *London*, in *Bolton* (where he was Born) at which Mr. *Newcom* took his Turn once a Month for many Years, with Mr. *Baldwin*, Mr. *Pendlebury*, and Mr. *John Walker*.

Mr. *Richardson* Preach'd the Sermon at Six a Clock on Lord's Day Mornings at *Manchester*; and was also Ejected. A Competent Scholar, and a Pious Man. He Preach'd by vertue of a License in 72, at *Chorton*, and was very Laborious in his Master's Work, and dy'd in 1680.

Altham: Mr. *Tho. Jollie*. After his Ejection in 62, He was seiz'd at *Healy* by a Lieutenant, and Three Soldiers, and carri'd in a rude manner to their Guard, where he must find Sureties for his Behaviour, and be sent out of the Country. * Accordingly he was sent into *Yorkshire* on the Lord's Day in extream Rain; but soon sent back by the Marshal, to whom he was Committed, because no reason of it was assign'd. He was afterwards seiz'd in the same manner, and sent to *York*, and after great Expence and hazard of his Life he was sent home in Peace. He was taken a Third time in 64, and that at a Meeting, and was Committed to *Lancaster* Jail. He was seiz'd again by Order from the Lord Lieutenant and Deputies in 1665. By the Five Mile Act he was separated from Friends and Estate; and put to continual Night Travels. Being taken Preaching a Third time, a Warrant of Banishment was sent out against him; but it miscarri'd, and he escap'd. In 69. He was Imprison'd Six Months in *Lancaster* Jail again for Preaching within Five Miles of *Altham*, where he had been Minister. The same Year he was Sued for 40*l.* upon the Five Mile Act, the Suit costing him about 80*l.*

* *See Conf. Fourth Pl. for the Nonconf. pag.* 57. &c.

But

But the Particularities of his Troubles would be endleſs; all which he endur'd with great Patience to the laſt.

Ormskirke: Mr. *Nath. Heywood*; † Educated in *Trinity* Colledge in *Cambridge*, and afterwards with Mr. *Ed. Gee* of *Eccleſton*. He was a Man of great Piety, and an excellent Preacher, but ſtrangely malign'd and oppos'd by ſome evil Neighbours. * After having liv'd exceeding uſefully, and much belov'd, he dy'd, *Dec.* 16. 1677. *Ætat.* 45.

† *Since his Death, there have been ſome Sermons of his Printed; emit.* Chriſt Diſplay'd as the choiceſt Gift, and the beſt Maſter. Oct. 1679.

* *An Account of his Sufferings may be ſeen; Conf.* 4. *Pl. for the Nonc. pag.* 52.

Denton: Mr. *John Angier*. * And Mr. *Holme*. Mr. *Angier*, was Born at Dedham in Eſſex: Educated in *Emanuel* Colledge in *Cambridge*; and liv'd afterwards with Mr. *John Cotton* at Boſton in *Lincolnſhire*. His firſt ſettled Miniſterial Work was at *Ringley*. He had Epiſcopal Ordination from Dr. *Lewis Bayly* the *Welch* Biſhop, who put forth the *Practiſe of Piety*, and he Ordain'd him without Subſcription. Mr. *Angier* kept a Nonconformiſt to the Ceremonies, and therefore had ſome Adverſarys. Dr. *Bridgman* Biſhop of *Cheſter*, liv'd then at *Great Leaver*, not far from him, to whom many Complaints of that kind were brought: Whereupon he ſent for Mr. *Angier*, and Expoſtulated with him, but gave him very good Words, and Profeſs'd a great reſpect to him. The Biſhop's Wife was at that time under great Trouble of Conſcience, on which Account ſhe frequently Convers'd with Mr. *Angier*, who was an Inſtrument of much good to her by his Counſels and Prayers. The Biſhop, however was forc'd to ſuſpend him; upon the preſſing Solicitations of Arch Biſhop *Laud*. After continuing a Year and Half at *Ringley*, he remov'd to *Denton*, in 1632. When the Act of Uniformity took Place, he continu'd in his Publick Station without Conforming. Warrants were now and then Iſſu'd out to Apprehend him, but the worſt Men had no Heart to meddle with him. Sometimes they ſearch'd, but Profeſs'd they would not ſee him for a Hundred Pounds. Some of the Biſhops of *Cheſter* would

* *See the Narrative of his Holy Life, and Happy Death, in* Oct. 1685.

would enquire of his Son, *How doth the Good Old Man Mr.* Angier? Moſt of the Juſtices had a great Reſpect for him, and ſome were nearly Related to his Wife: And by the ſpecial Providence of God, he continu'd Preaching in his Publick Chapel for Seventeen Years after the Silencing Act, in which time he was an Inſtrument of Good to many. It was the common Saying, he is an Old Man, and cannot live long; let him alone while he lives. He dy'd *Sept.* 1. 1677. *Ætat.* 72. He was of a Sweet, Moderate, Catholick, Healing Spirit. An Excellent Caſuiſt. A Man mighty in Prayer. A hard Student. Of an Exact Converſation. Very Affable and Courteous; full of Charity and Good Works. And in general a Pattern of Holineſs. Some remarkable Paſſages of his Diary; and his Judicious Reſolution of a few Caſes of Conſcience, are added at the end of his Printed Life.

Salford: Mr. *Richard Holbrook*, M. A. Born in *Mancheſter*, and bro't up in *Trinity* Colledge in *Cambridge*. When Silenc'd, he apply'd himſelf to Phyſick. He was a Man of good Parts, a ſolid Scholar, and a Pious Man. He dy'd in *July* 1676. Aged about Forty.

Blackley: Mr. *Thomas Holland*. A Gentleman Born; ſometime Miniſter at *Ringley* Chapel, but Ejected here. When Silenc'd, he remov'd to a Houſe of his own near *Newton* Heath, and liv'd Privately. He dy'd in 1657. *Ætat.* 57. He had ſore Afflictions in his Body and Eſtate, and was taken off from his Work ſome Years before he dy'd, but had been an able and diligent Preacher in the former part of his Life.

Aſhton under Line: Mr. *John Harriſon*. He was many Years the Learned, Faithful, Zealous, Laborious Miniſter of this Place. His Father was a Gentleman of good Quality near *Wigan*, an Eminent Profeſſor of the Puritan Stamp. He was much vex'd in the Days of the former Biſhops, and put to great Charges in the Eccleſiaſtical Courts. He conſulted Mr. *Ball* of *Whitmore*, what he ſhould do to be eaſie. Mr. *Ball* adviſ'd him to give them ſome Mony, for that is it ſays he they look for. He follow'd his Advice,

vice, and was more quiet afterwards. This worthy Gentleman had ſeveral Sons: (Dr. *Peter Harriſon* of *Chriſts* Colledge in *Cambridge*, and afterwards Parſon of *Chedle* in *Cheſhire*, was one of them) but this Mr. *John Harriſon* was the Flower of the Family. He Exercis'd his Miniſtry for ſome time at *Walmſley* Chapel; but when Mr. *Henry Fairfax* quitted the Living of *Aſhton*, Sir *George Booth* gave him the Preſentation of it. He continu'd in it till 62, and then reſign'd. The Lord *Delamere* continu'd his Kindneſs to him, and offer'd him to put in his Son *Maurice* (who was a Conforming Miniſter) into his Place: But Mr. *Harriſon* fearing his Son might not be fit for that charge, preferr'd the Advan age of his Peoples Souls before the Advancement of his Family, and therefore Conſcientiouſly wav'd it; and rather made uſe of his Intereſt on the behalf of Mr. *Elliſon*, who was a Man of great worth, and a good Preacher, who enjoy'd the Living of *Aſhton* till his Death. Mr. *Harriſon* living privately, was his uſual Auditour, till he was Baniſh'd by the *Oxford* Act, at which time he retir'd to Salford; where he had not been long before he was depriv'd of the uſe of his Limbs, which was reckon'd to be the Conſequence of his indefatigable Labours, and Faſtings, and Night Studys. He went to the *Bath* for releif, and found ſome Benefit for the preſent. He return'd afterwards to *Aſhton*, and his Diſtemper encreas'd, till it put a Period to his Life in 1669. *Ætat.* 57. He was an excellent Preacher; and a Man of great Devotion. He conſtantly kneel'd in his Prayer in the Pulpit, and nothing was viſible but his Head. He was eminent for Holineſs, Humility, Induſtry, Zeal for God, and Stedfaſtneſs in his Principles. When ſome Gentlemen of the Epiſcopal Party, oppoſs'd the Claſſis at *Mancheſter*, and they writ ſeveral Papers to each other, the Miniſters of that Presbytery appointed Mr. *Harriſon* to Anſwer them, which he did very Largely and Learnedly. * His Funeral Sermon was Preach'd by Mr. *Elliſon*, who gave him a great Character; tho' not beyond his Deſert. Tho' his Merits were great, his Circumſtances were Mean; but his Spirit was always eaſie.

* *The Book is entituled*; The Cenſures of the Church reviv'd *Qu.* 1659.

Old-

Oldham: Mr. *Robert Conſtantine.* Miniſter of this Pariſh many Years. In 1650, He refus'd the *Engagement*; whereupon Juſtice *Aſhton* of *Chatterton* vigorouſly Proſecuted him, ſo as to force him to remove to *Burſtal* in *Yorkſhire*, whither he was invited. Upon his remove, he was Succeeded by Mr. *John Lake*, afterwards Biſhop of *Chicheſter*. But after ſtaying away three or four Years, Mr. *Conſtantine* return'd again to *Oldham*; where he was again Ejected in 62. He liv'd privately afterward till 72, when he took out a Licenſe, and Preach'd to a conſiderable Company at *Greenakers*, about a Mile from *Oldham*. He liv'd to be very Aged, and his Parts decay'd, and his Memory fail'd. He dy'd *Decemb.* 13. 1699. In the prime of his Days, he was a Man of a clear Head, pregnant Parts, ſolid Learning, and ſweet Converſe. He was a well accompliſh'd Preacher, of a voluble Tongue, and audible Voice, good Method, and very taking. He was a Member of *Mancheſter* Claſſis, and often choſen Chairman. He was indeed at laſt Superannuated as to his Work; but he liv'd and dy'd in Credit, both with Miniſters and Chriſtians.

Ratcliff: Mr. *Tho. Pyke*; who at firſt Preach'd at *Walmſly* Chapel in *Bolton* Pariſh, and afterwards at this Place, where he was Ejected in 62. He Preach'd at *Blackley* near *Mancheſter* in 72, and was very uſeful. He dy'd in *July*, 1676.

Eckles: Mr. *Edmund Jones.* His Father had been Vicar of this Place many Years; he had bred up three Sons for the Miniſtry; of whom this was the only Nonconformiſt. He was one of the firſt Claſſis of *Mancheſter*. A Man of excellent Parts, an able Scholar, naturally very Rhetorical. When he was Ejected, he Preach'd in Private; and when Autority allow'd it, more Publickly, He dy'd, *May* the 2. 1674. *Ætat.* 48.

Cockley Chappel: Mr. *John Leaver*, Born in *Bolton*. His Father was a Romaniſt. He was bred up in the Free-School at *Bolton*, and afterwards at *Brazen-noſe* Colledge in *Oxon*. He was Silenc'd in 62. (and call'd Little Mr. *Leaver*, to diſtinguiſh him from Mr. *John Leaver* who was a luſty Man, who continu'd Parſon of *Bolton*.) He was a Man of great Integrity,

tegrity, and a uſeful Preacher. In 72 He Preach'd to a good number in his own Houſe: And after this preſent Liberty was allow'd, he kept an open Meeting in *Bolton*, where he Adminiſtred the Lord's Supper every Month to ſome Hundreds. He dy'd *July* 4. 1692. *Ætat.* 58.

Rochedale: Mr. *Robert Bath*, and Mr. *Zachary Taylor*.

Mr. *Robert Bath*, was Vicar of this Place many Years. Born in *Kent*, and ſent down into *Lancaſhire* by Arch-Biſhop *Laud*, whom he diſappointed by proving a Puritan. He heartily fell in with the Miniſters of the County, and join'd with the Second Claſſis at *Bury*: And afterwards freely left his Vicaridge, tho' conſiderable, (when he had been there above Thirty Years) rather than enſnare his Conſcience. The *Oxford* Act forc'd him to leave his Family; but within ſome time returning home he laid hold of the King's Indulgence, and Preach'd to a numerous Aſſembly in a Place call'd *Underhill*. He was a Gracious, Humble, Meek and Peaceable Man, and a Solid Divine, tho' he had no very ready Utterance. He was a Faithful Friend, and good in all Relations. he ſpent much time in viſiting the Sick, and adviſing his Neighbours, and writing ſerious Letters to diſtant Friends. He dy'd in 1674. *Ætat.* 70.

Mr. *Zachary Taylor*, was Mr. *Bath's* Aſſiſtant, and turn'd out with him in 62. After his being Silenc'd, he taught School firſt at *Rochedale*, and then at *Bolton*. He was the firſt Maſter of the School erected there by Mr. *James Leaver* of *London*. From thence he remov'd to a famous School at *Kirkham* in the Hill Country. He dy'd in *Febr.* 1692. *Ætat.* 74. He was a very good Scholar, and an uſeful Schoolmaſter, a ſolid Orthodox Preacher, and a Pious Man.

Holcomb Chapel: Mr. *Henry Pendlebury*. Born and Bred in theſe Parts. Of St. *John*'s Colledge in *Cambridge*. He Preach'd his firſt Sermon at *Aſhworth* Chapel, in 1648, and continu'd there ſome time as Probationer. He was ſet apart to the Office of the Miniſtry at *Turton* Chapel near *Bolton*; together with Mr. *James Lievcrſey*, after they had been Examin'd, and had Diſputed, and Perform'd their Preparatory

Exerciſes, before the 2d Claſſis in *Lancaſhire*, who met ordinarily at *Bury*. The day of their Ordination was *October* 3. 1650. Mr. *John Tilſley* was Moderatour, and gave the charge with much Eloquence and Faithfulneſs. Mr. *Bath* of *Rochedale*, Mr. *Furneſs* of *Bury*; Mr. *Pyke* of *Ratcliff*, and Mr. *Scolweld* of *Heywood* being Aſſiſtants, all laying on their Hands. He made his Confeſſion ſolemnly and accurately, and made the uſual Promiſes with much Reverence and Humility. He afterwards Preach'd ſome time at Horridge Chapel; and thence in 1651, remov'd to *Holcomb*, where he diligently apply'd himſelf to his Studys, Preaching, Diſcipline, and Adminiſtring all Ordinances, till he was Ejected in 62. He ſtill continu'd in the Exerciſe of his Miniſtry, and was inſtrumental for the good of many. He dy'd of a Languiſhing Diſeaſe, *June* 18. 1695. *Ætat.* 70. with theſe Words in his Mouth: *Father come, and take me to thy ſelf.*

He had read over moſt of the Ancient Fathers, and had fully Study'd the Controverſys betwixt Proteſtants and Papiſts as appears by his Writings. *

* *He wrote a Treatiſe concerning* Tranſubſtantiation, *which was carry'd by a Friend of his privately to Arch-Biſhop* Tillotſon, *who caus'd it to be Printed, he ſo much approv'd it. He hath written another Treatiſe on the Sacrifice of the* Maſs. *He Preach'd many excellent Sermons on Chriſt's Transfiguration, many Copys of which are Abroad: But 'tis the deſire of ſome, that the Author's Original, might be Perus'd and Printed. Since his Death, a Treatiſe of his hath been Printed on* 2 *Cor.* 4. 18. *call'd* Inviſible Realitys, the real Chriſtians great Concernment, *&c. where may be ſeen a further Account of this good Man's Life.*

Heywood Chapel: Mr. *George Thomaſſon*, A Diligent Laborious Preacher, who earneſtly long'd for the good of Souls, and was very uſeful in his Place. He dy'd in 72. *Ætat.* 58.

Bolton: Mr. *Richard Goodwin*, M. A. And Mr. *Robert Park.*

Mr. *Goodwin* was Born in *Suſſex*, and bro't up in *Emanuel* Colledge in *Cambridge*; very Providentially bro't into this Country, where God had much Work for him. He was Ejected in 62, and afterwards liv'd either more Publickly or Privately, and Preach'd either to many or few, as times would allow. He dy'd

dy'd *Decemb.* 12. 1685. *Ætat.* 72. He writ much, but Printed nothing. He was a plain Practical Preacher, and had an excellent Gift in Prayer. He will have a great Retinue of Souls to preſent to his Maſter at the laſt day. He was Succeeded by Mr. *John Leaver*, in his Meeting Place at *Bolton*.

Mr. *Robert Park*. Born in the Town of *Bolton*, and Bred in *Emanuel* Colledge in *Cambridge*. He was Vicar of *Bolton* before the Civil War, upon the Approach whereof he withdrew into *Holland*, and was Aſſiſtant to Mr. *Symmonds* in the Engliſh Congregation at *Rotterdam*. Mr. *George Vicar* of *Bolton* dying in 1644; the People of *Bolton* ſent over to Mr. *Park*, and earneſtly Solicited him to return. He did ſo after ſome time, and was Lecturer while Mr. *Goodwin* was Vicar. He had the Benefit of Mr. *Goſnold's* Gift, and the Peoples free Contribution, by whom he was much belov'd. He was a Man of incomparable Parts, Learning and Piety, and a very exact Preacher. When he was Ejected, he liv'd Privately for a time. He was a Witty and Facetious Man. *What* (ſaid he once in Diſcourſe) *did Dagon get by ſetting up the ſecond time? Nothing but a fatal fall: For his Head and both his palmes of his Hands were cut off: So that he had neither Wit nor Strength to help himſelf.* Upon the Five Mile Act, he liv'd at *Broughton*. But in ſome time he return'd to *Bolton*, and Preach'd as he had Oportunity. He dy'd in 1669. *Ætat.* 70. He had a very good Library; which was ſold for the ſupport of his Wife and Children.

Deane: Mr. *John Tilſley*, M. A. He was bro't up in the Univerſity of *Glaſcow* in *Scotland*. When he came home into *Lancaſhire*, where he was Born, he Preach'd with Mr. *Horrocks* at *Dean* Church, and he was to him as *Timothy* to St. *Paul*, a Son in the Goſpel. He had prodigious Parts, a retentive Memory, (which made whatſoever he read his own) a ſolid Judgment, a quick Invention, warm Affections, and a ready Utterance. He was mighty Charitable; ſtrict in his Life, and free and familiar in his Diſcourſe. He was a Principal Member in the 2d. Claſſis in *Lancaſhire*. A Man of a ſtout active Spirit, and who fear'd nothing, when once he was Satisfi'd as to the Ground he went on. When the Aſſembly at *Bolton* had once

ſuſpended a Prophane and Diſſolute Preacher at *Ribcheſter*, few but were fearful to go to Preach at the Place and Declare the Suſpenſion: But Mr. *Tilſley* was free to it, and did it with great Courage, and yet with a becoming Candour and Meekneſs. His Miniſterial Abilities were Stupenduous, and ſuch as rarely meet in one Man. He Preach'd Mr. *W. Rathband's* Funeral Sermon at *Cockey* upon 1 Cor. 3. 10. He Preach'd alſo at the Funeral of Collonel *Robert Bradſhaw*, (Eminent for his Piety, Valour and Wiſdom) in the time of the War; and had a very Auguſt Aſſembly in Bolton Church; where he alſo afterwards did the like Office for his Father Mr. *Alexander Horrock*. But he was not to be perſwaded to Print theſe or any other of his Diſcourſes; but was us'd to ſay that he could not be ſo well pleas'd with any of his own Performances. He Succeeded Mr. *Horrocks* at *Deane*; where he was Ejected no leſs than three times. The firſt time was by the Engagement, which he refus'd: But tho' he was on that Account caſt out, he was ſoon reſtor'd. The 2*d*. time was by the Act of Uniformity in 62. After which, tho' he forbore Preaching, he continu'd living in the Houſe adjoining to his Church, which being in the Hands of Truſtees, was ſtill allow'd him. When the Excellent Dr. *Wilkins* became Biſhop of the Dioceſs, he allow'd him to Preach in his Church again as Lecturer, another being Vicar, who read the Prayers. When the Biſhop was dead, he was indicted at the Aſſizes for his Nonconformity, and by the Influence of ſeveral Gentlemen in the Neighbourhood Ejected a 3*d*. time. After which he ſpent the reſt of his Days in a private Life at *Mancheſter*, where he dy'd June 24. 1678. *Ætat*. 60.

Torkſcarth Park Chapel near *Leverpool*: Mr. *Tho. Crompton*, M. A. Born at *Great Leaver*, bred in *Mancheſter* School, and at the Univerſity of *Oxon*. After the Act of Uniformity took place, he continu'd to enjoy the Liberty of the Publick Chapel, being ſome way Priviledg'd. Mr. *Briſco* (who liv'd alſo in the Neighbourhood) and he, join'd together to ſupply it, one Preaching one Lord's Day, and the other the next. He was a Man of Excellent ready Parts, and good Elo-

Elocution. After Mr. *Baldwin's* Death, he remov'd to *Eccles*. He dy'd at *Manchester*, Sept. 2. 1699. *Ætat.* 64.

Heaton: Mr. *William Bell.* * A great Scholar, and a good Orator. He was Ordain'd by Dr. *Bridgeman* Bishop of *Chester*. He had the 50 *l. per Annum*, bequeath'd by Queen *Elizabeth* to four Itinerant Preachers in *Lancashire*. I suppose the allowance of 200 *l. per Annum* for that purpose is still continu'd, to four such Persons who are call'd the Kings Preachers. But both this and his Living too was left by Mr. *Bell* in 1662, for the sake of his Conscience. After his Ejectment he liv'd privately at *Sinderland*, in the Parish of *Ashton under Line*, being a constant hearer of Mr. *Angier* of *Denton*. In 72, he return'd to his Old People at *Heaton*, and Preach'd among them by vertue of a License. He dy'd in 1681. *Ætat.* 74.

* *He Printed a Discourse on Gen. 5. 24. Entit.* Enoch's *Walk: together with some little pieces, which I have not seen.*

Chorley: Mr. *Welch*; a very Humble, Mortify'd Man: Tho' he did not excel in Gifts, it was made up in Grace. His very Enemies had nothing to say against him. He was of so blameless a Conversation, that most Gentlemen had a good Word for him: and accounted so faithful, that Mr. *Standish* of *Duxbury*, (a Person of a great Estate) left the Tuition of his Children to him, after his own and his Wife's Death. And he discharg'd his Civil as well as Ministerial Trust so faithfully, that the most Critical *Momus* had nothing to lay to his Charge. He dy'd in 1665. *Ætat.* 64.

Walton: Mr. *Robert Eaton* and Mr. *Henry Finch.*

Mr. *Robert Eaton* was Born in *Cheshire*, and brought up at *Cambridge*. Settled first in *Essex*, whence he remov'd to this Place, where he was Ejected in 62. And was after some time Chaplain to the Lord *Delamere*. When the Liberty of the Dissenters was establish'd by Law, he Preach'd to a Congregation in the Parish of *Prestwich*, where they built him an handsom Chapel. He was a solid Divine, a good Scholar, and a judicious Christian, of great Moderation, and exemplary in his Behaviour. He dy'd at *Manchester* in August 1701; and his Funeral Sermon was Preach'd by Mr. *Finch*, who was Vicar of

Walton, when the Act for Uniformity took place, and afterwards continu'd a Silenc'd Nonconformiſt.

Walmeſly Chapel: Mr. *Briſcoe*; Bred up in *Trinity* Colledge near *Dublin* in *Ireland*; Paſtour of a Congregational Church in this Chapel. He afterwards remov'd thence to *Toxtoth Park*, where he Preach'd in the Chapel jointly with Mr. *Thomas Crompton*. And he continu'd there till he dy'd, which was in *Sept.* 1685. *Ætat.* 66. He was a good Scholar, and a fine Oratour. His Sermons were Judicious, but his Voice was low; which was more than Compenſated by his taking way of Delivery.

Haughton Chapel: Mr. *Peter Nailour*; Born in this County, and bred up in St. *John*'s Colledge in *Cambridge*. He Preach'd much in *Peniſton* Pariſh, in the time of Mr. *Swifts* Confinement, and remov'd thence to *Alverthorp* nigh *Wakefield* in 1672, and Preach'd in the Meeting Place there, and at *Pontefract*, as long as he liv'd. He dy'd in 1690. *Ætat.* 54.

Aſhton upon Merſy-bank: Mr. *James Wood*. A moſt Induſtrious Man, and indefatigably Laborious: He was at his Study even to his Old Age, both early and late. And he was an Excellent Preacher, and had abundant Succeſs. He dy'd in 1668. *Ætat.* 63.

Chobent Chapel in Leigh Pariſh: Mr. *James Wood*, Jun. a Son of the Former; who follow'd his Father's Steps in his Father's Spirit.

Billing: Mr. *Wright*; a Man of Learning, Gravity, and Humility. When he was Silenc'd he liv'd privately; and Pray'd much, but Preach'd little, being Indiſpos'd as to his Health. He liv'd very Exemplarily, and did good in his Place. He us'd in a Morning to walk out into a Field near his Houſe: Being gone forth on *Febr.* 1. 168$\frac{4}{5}$, according to Cuſtom, and not returning as expected, they ſent to look for him, and found him dead, as is ſuppos'd of an Apoplexy.

Leverpool: Mr. *John Fogg*; Born in *Darcy Leaver* in *Bolton* Pariſh, and Educated in *Oxon*. His firſt Settlement was at *Wigan*, whence he remov'd to this place where he was Ejected in 62. He was a Man of fine Parts, good Learning, a ſerious Chriſtian, and a uſeful Preacher. Upon the Coming Forth of the *Oxford*

ford Act, he and his Father in Law Mr. *Glendal* of *Cheſter*, liv'd together in the Pariſh of Great *Budworth* in *Cheſhire* in great Amity, and uſeful as they had Opportunity; he dy'd in 1670. *Ætat.* 48.

Croſton: Mr. *Hiet*; Born in *London*, and had been Miniſter here many Years, when he was Ejected in 62. He was before Ejected for refuſing the *Ingagement*, which was the Caſe of many others in this County. He dy'd in 1664, about 70 Years of Age. He was an able Preacher, had a conſiderable Eſtate, and was given to Hoſpitality.

Rivington: Mr. *Sam. Newton*. Being turn'd out in 62, he liv'd at *Crompton*, and Preach'd there as times would bear it: He afterwards remov'd back again to *Rivington*, and read ſome of the Prayers, and had Liberty to Preach in the Church without Diſturbance. He dy'd in March 1682; not above 40 Years of Age; but very ripe in Parts and Grace.

Warrington: Mr. *Robert Yates*: Vicar there many Years: An able Orthodox, ſound Divine. A very uſeful laborious Miniſter in that Populous Town and Pariſh: And yet he had ſeveral Potent Enemies, who bro't him into ſome Trouble by the Five Mile Act. In 72, he took the Opportunity of Preaching in a Publick Meeting-Houſe, but was violently diſturb'd. He was not long after ſeiz'd by a Palſy, which Craz'd his Intellectuals, and rendred him incapable of Work a Year before he dy'd; which was in *November* 1678. *Ætat.* 66.

Garſtang: Mr. *Iſaac Ambroſe*, ſometime Miniſter of *Preſton*; but he afterwards remov'd to this Place, where the Act of Uniformity found him in 62. A little after the King's Reſtauration there was a Meeting of above 20 Miniſters at *Bolton*, to conſult what Courſe to take. Mr. *Ambroſe* and Mr. *Cole* of *Preſton* declar'd before them all that they could read the Common Prayer, and ſhould do it, the State of their Places requiring it, in which otherwiſe their Service was neceſſarily at preſent at an end. The Miniſters conſidering the Circumſtances of their Caſe approv'd their Proceeding. Mr. *Cole* (afterwards Dr. *Cole*) was ſo forward as to Expreſs himſelf at the ſame time in Words to this Purpoſe. *Gentlemen, I am got to my*

Hercules *Pillars*, *my* ne plus ultra, *I shall go no farther*. And indeed he was turn'd out of *Preſton*; but found ſome ſtronger Motives in other Parts: For he afterwards Conform'd, and was Lecturer at *Dedham* in *Eſſex*. But as for Mr. *Ambroſe*, he liv'd and dy'd a Nonconformiſt; and was a Man of that Subſtantial Worth, that Eminent Piety, and that Exemplary Life, both as a Miniſter and a Chriſtian, that 'tis to be Lamented that the World ſhould not have the Benefit of Particular Memoirs concerning him from ſome able Hand. One thing that was peculiar in him deſerves to be mention'd here. 'Twas his uſual Cuſtom once in a Year, for the ſpace of a Month to retire into a little Hut in a Wood, and avoiding all Humane Converſe to devote himſelf to Contemplation. Poſſibly by this Practiſe he was the fitter for his ſacred Miniſtration all the reſt of the Year. He liv'd in the latter part of his Life at *Preſton*, and when his end drew near, was very ſenſible of it. Having taken his Leave of many of his Friends abroad with unuſual Solemnity, as if he foreſaw that he ſhould ſee them no more, he came home to *Preſton* from *Bolton*, and ſet all things in order. In a little time ſome of his Hearers came from *Garſtang* to viſit him. He diſcours'd freely with them, gave them good Counſel, told them he was now ready whenever his Lord ſhould call, and that he had finiſh'd all that he deſign'd to write, having the Night before ſent away his Diſcourſe concerning *Angels* to the Preſs. He Accompany'd his Friends to their Horſes, and when he came back ſhut himſelf in his Parlour, the place of his Soliloquy, Meditation and Prayer; they tho't he ſtay'd long, and ſo open'd the Door, and found him juſt expiring. This was in the Year 1665. *Ætat.* 72. He was Holy in his Life, Happy in his Death, and Honoured by God and all good Men. His Works were Printed altogether in *Folio*, in 1689.

Ellel Chapel: Mr. *Peter Atkinſon* Sen. A Man of ſuch ſingular Ability and general Intereſt, Influence, and Uſefulneſs, that he was call'd the Apoſtle of the North. He had ſo much Favour with the Gentry, that he Preach'd quietly at his Chapel for a conſiderable time after the Act of Uniformity took Place. His In-

Income there indeed was but ſmall: But his encouragement in the Succeſs of his Miniſtry very Conſiderable. He dy'd *July* 17. 1677. *Ætat.* 75.

Melling: or elſe Burton Wood Chapel: Mr. *Malliſon*; Born at *Raſtrick* in *Yorkſhire*, and bred in *Oxford*. He was Ejected in 62. Eſteem'd an Excellent Scholar, but no famous Preacher. His Family was Numerous, and he dy'd very poor in *May* 1685. *Ætat.* 75.

Dowgles: Mr. *Jonathan Scolfield*; many Years Miniſter at *Heywood* Chapel, whence in 1659, he remov'd to this Place, where he was Ejected in 62. He met with a great variety of Family Afflictions in the Courſe of his Life. When he was Silenc'd he had many Children, and no viſible way of Subſiſtence for them; and yet God rais'd up Friends to him and his, ſo that they were never bro't to Extremity. He dy'd in 1667. *Ætat.* 60.

Lun Chapel: Mr. *Harriſon*. A good Scholar, and a Methodical Preacher. fix'd in a dark Corner, where he was wonderfully follow'd and flock'd after, and very uſeful. He dy'd in 1664.

Seſton: Mr. *Joſeph Thompſon*; Born in *Wigan*, and brought up at *Oxon*. He had a Pleaſant Seat, and rich Parſonage, which he quitted in 62 for inward Peace. He was a good Scholar; a Man of Wit and very Ingenious. He was Rich, and did good with his Eſtate. He ſpent the latter part of his Life at *Ormskirk*, where (as I am inform'd) he dy'd in 1669.

Harwich: Mr. *Walton*; a Laborious faithful Miniſter. Provided with no Subſiſtence when Ejected, tho' he had ſeveral Children. He dy'd in 1664.

Standiſh: Mr. *Paul Lathum*; ſometime Chaplain to Collonel *Aſhton* of *Middleton*. He had a good Eſtate, and liv'd very Nobly: A Man of good Parts, Exemplary Piety, and Laborious in the Miniſtry. He had a rich Parſonage, but readily forſook it in 62, rather than grate upon his Conſcience: and he dy'd the Year after, *viz.* in 1663. Aged about 54.

Duckenfield: Mr. *Sam. Eaton*. He gathered a Congregational Church here, and afterwards remov'd to *Stockport*, where he Preach'd in the Free-School.

Some

Some of the People ran things to a mighty height, and grew wiſer than their Miniſters; ſo that they created him abundance of Difficulty. He was a good Scholar and a judicious Divine. He was turn'd out of the Publick Exerciſe of his Miniſtry in 62. He afterwards attended on Mr. *Angier's* Miniſtry at *Denton*, and ſo did many of his Old Hearers, and by Difficulty and Sufferings they were bro't off from their Heat and Rigours, and wrought into a better Temper. He dy'd *January* 9. 1664. *Ætat* 68.

Gorton Chapel: Mr. *Lee*. A ſerious ſingle hearted Man, of good Abilities, very Laborious in the Work of the Miniſtry: One of the Claſſis of *Mancheſter*. He was grievouſly afflicted with the Stone, which at laſt cut him off, in 1664. About 50 Years of Age.

Longridge Chapel: Mr. *Smith*. Once Miniſter at *Bradſhaw* Chapel, but found by the Uniformity Act in this Place in 62. He did not Conform, and yet Preach'd frequently in the Chapel afterwards. For it being an obſcure Place, with a ſmall Salary, there was no great ſtriving for it. He dy'd very poor in 1672. *Ætat.* 60.

Cartmel or Clavely: (or ſome where in the Neighbourhood) Mr. *Cammerford*: An uſeful Preacher in this Remote Corner, who dy'd in 1676.

Ulverſton: Mr. *Lampet*. Another warm and lively Preacher in the ſame Quarter, beyond the Sands.

Heaton near Mancheſter: Mr. *Whitehead*. A Pious, Painful, and Faithful Miniſter, who Study'd to do good in his place, and Preach'd as often as he could to his People, after his being Ejected. He dy'd in *Febr.* 1679. *Ætat.* 73.

St. Helins Chapel: Mr. *Thomas Gregge*. His Father was Miniſter of *Bolton*, and dy'd about 1644. *Bradley*-Hall with a 100 *l. per Annum* was his by right of Inheritance; but he quitted it becauſe of ſome Encumbrance upon it, and would not intangle himſelf in the Affairs of this Life. He was very Undaunted and Couragious in his Maſter's Work; Preaching moſtly in the Chapel, or openly in Houſes in the face of Danger, and yet was never Impriſon'd. He was a Man of great Integrity, and kept cloſe to his People

People in the worſt times. He dy'd in 1681, exceedingly Belov'd, and much Lamented.

Wigan: Mr. *Hotham.* Lancaſter: Dr. *Marſhal.* Newton-heath Chapel: Mr. *John Walker.* Gorton: Mr. *Will Leigh.* Birch Chapel: Mr. *Robert Birch.* Chorlton: Mr. *Benſon.* Aſhley Chapel: Mr. *Tho. Crompton,* M. A. a very ſelf-denying mortify'd Man to worldly Profits, Pleaſures or Honours. He was a great Scholar, well acquainted with the Ancient Fathers, and eſpecially St. *Auſtin,* of moſt of whoſe Works he could give a very exact Account. He was one of univerſal Charity, a true Catholick Chriſtian, of an exact harmleſs Converſation. Tho' he was Ejected in 62, yet ſeven or eight Years after, he Preach'd in *Aſhley* Chapel, reading ſome few Prayers, without Subſcribing, *&c,* He dy'd *Febr.* 2. 1691, and left behind him a conſiderable Library, a good Name, and a rare Example of Mortification.

Hindley: Mr. *James Bradſhaw.* Blackbrode: Mr. *Aſhley.* St. Michaels: Mr. *Nathanael Baxter.* Meales: Mr. *Will. Aſpinwall.* Burtonwood: Mr. *Sam. Mather.* Houghton-tower: Mr. *Tho. Kay,* and Mr. *John Harvey.* Turton: Mr. *Taylor.* Winwick: Mr. *Jeſſop.* Singleton: Mr. *Cutbert Harriſon.* Durwen: Mr. *Charles Sagar.* Kirkly: Mr. *Ambroſe.* Ellel: Mr. *Atkinſon,* Jun. Raynford: Mr. *Roger Baldwin.* Cartmel: Mr. *Bennet.* Whitmouth Chapel: Mr. *Dewhurſt.* Bradſhaw: Mr. *Dury.* New Church in Roſſendale: Mr. *Kippax.* Crofton; Aſſiſtant: Mr. *Low.* Harwood: Mr. *Sandford.* Alkrington: Mr. *Towne.* Atherton: Mr. *Wood,* Jun. and Mr. *Wadington,* Mr. *Hadin,* and Mr. *Parr,* not then fix'd at any certain Places.

There Conform'd afterwards in this County: Mr. *Bradley Hayhurſt* of *Leighe.* Mr. *Peter Aſpinwall* of *Heaten.* Mr. *Joſhua Ambroſe* of *Darby.* Mr. *Will. Cole* of *Preſton.* Mr. *Will. Coleburn* of *Ellinburgh.* Mr. *Loben* of *Ouldham.* Mr. *James Booker* of *Blakely.* Mr. *Will. Aſpinwall* of *Formeby.* Mr. *Briars* of *Heapey.* Mr. *Fiſher* of *Kirkham,* and Mr *Jakeys* of *Bolton.*

Barton:

In WESTMORELAND.

Barton: Mr. *Timothy Roberts.* A Welchman: One of conſiderable Learning. He was a Man of great Humility and Self-Denial, a cloſe Student, and profitable Preacher. He was particularly Famous for his great Skill in the *Hebrew* Tongue.

Somewhere near *Kendal.* Mr. *Greenwood.* Crosby on the Hill: Mr. *Chriſtopher Jackſon*: Turn'd out alſo in *Yorkſhire.* Askham: Mr. *Chriſtopher Langhorne.*

At an uncertain Place: Mr. *John Mallace*, or *Wallace.*

Theſe Perſons afterwards Conform'd: Mr. *Thomas Dodgſon* of *Ravinſtangdale.* Mr. *Francis Higginſon*, of *Kirkby Steven*; and Mr. *John Dalton*, of *Shapp.*

In the County of CUMBERLAND.

Carliſle: Mr. *Comfort Starr.* Who was alſo turn'd out in the County of *Kent*, and afterwards Exercis'd his Miniſtry at *Lewis* in *Suſſex.*

Croglin: Mr. *John Rogers*, M. A. He was the Eldeſt Son of Mr. *John Rogers* Miniſter of *Chacomb* in *Northamtonſhire.* * Born *April* 25. 1610; and bred in *Wadham* Colledge in *Oxon.* He was for ſometime Preacher at *Middleton Cheyney* in *Northamptonſhire*, and afterwards at *Leigh* in *Kent.* Thence he was ſent by Order of Parliament to *Bernard Caſtle* in the Biſhoprick of *Durham*, where he ſettled in 44, and continu'd till *March* 2. 1660. At which time he remov'd to *Croglin*, where the Act of Uniformity found and Ejected him in 62

* *He was the Author of a good Book, concerning* Chriſtian Watchfulneſs.

In his younger Years, he was well Acquainted with Mr. *Dod*, and Dr. *Harris*; of whom he was us'd often to ſpeak with great Reſpect; as alſo of Dr. *Prideaux*, and Dr. *Cheyne*: But no name did he mention with ſo much Pleaſure, as that of Mr. *Will. Wheatly* of *Banbury*, whom he always ſtil'd his Spiritual Father.

ther. When Mr. *Rogers* came to *Bernard Caſtle*, he took a Liſt of the Number of Souls in his Pariſh, which at his firſt coming were about 2000. He took an exact Account who of theſe were Perſons of Knowledge, and who were Ignorant: who fit or unfit for the Lord's Table, *&c.* As for thoſe who were Ignorant, he convers'd much with them, gave them good Books to Read; and Catechiz'd and Inſtructed them, till he tho't them qualify'd for that Sacred Solemnity. He took great care of poor Children, that they might live uſefully, and not be train'd up in Ignorance and Idleneſs. He was much Reſpected by Sir *Henry Vane*, Father and Son, whoſe ſeat at *Raby Caſtle* in that Neighbourhood gave Opportunity for frequent Converſation. As an Old Acquaintance he afterwards waited upon Young Sir *Henry* when Impriſon'd in the Tower; and found him Stout and Reſolute not ſenſible of any Crime he had committed.

In thoſe Times of Confuſion, when Soldiers were Preachers, an Officer of Note then Quartering in the Town, ſent to Mr. *Rogers* to demand his Pulpit, for his Uſe at ſuch a Time; bidding him refuſe him it at his Peril. But Mr. *Rogers* was not mov'd: Inſtead of complying, he ſent Word, he deſir'd to know, who gave him Authority to Preach? And whether he had a Commiſſion from God, *&c.* For he was well aware, that the Miniſterial Power and Office was very diſtinct from the Military; and therefore tho' the Soldiers kept the Town, he reſolv'd to guard the Pulpit. He was a zealous Obſerver of the Lords Day, and would always oppoſe the driving of Cattel thro' the Town on that Day, tho' it was to a Fair to be held at ſome Neighbouring Place the next. He had ſome Difficulty with the *Quakers*, who much encreas'd in thoſe Parts; but his Carriage was ſo engaging, that even many of them could not forbear giving him a good Word. He was given to Hoſpitality; and was indeed the *Gaius* of thoſe Parts, entertaining all Miniſters and Chriſtians who paſs'd that way, with great openneſs and freedom. His Removal to *Croglin* after he was Ejected at *Bernard-Caſtle*, was by the Procurement of the Lord *Wharton*. And tho' he was Ejected there

alſo,

alſo, yet did he keep his Temper and Moderation. He was of a Catholick Spirit, and a great Enemy to narrow and uncharitable Principles or Practiſes. He had always a fair Correſpondence with the neighbouring Clergy, between whom and him there paſs'd an exchange of Friendly Offices, without any Shyneſs, or ſhadow of Grudging. Nay, he was treated very reſpectfully upon Occaſion, by thoſe of the greateſt Eminence: As Dr. *Stern*, Arch-Biſhop of *York*; Dr. *Rainbow* Biſhop of *Carliſle*; and the preſent Biſhop of *Durham*: On the latter of whom he often waited, and by Reaſon of his Acquaintance in his younger Days with the Old Lord *Crew*, was always receiv'd in a Manner peculiarly obliging.

He continu'd the Exerciſe of his Miniſtry after his being Silenc'd, without Fear. He Licens'd a Place or Two in 72, at *Darlington* and *Stockton* in *Durham*. When the Indulgence expir'd, he Preach'd at his own Houſe at *Startford*, one Lord's Day; and the other he would ſpend, either in *Teeſdale*, or in *Waredale*, among thoſe who wrought in the Lead-Mines. Many a troubleſome Journey hath he taken to thoſe poor People, thro' very deep Snows, and over high Mountains, when the Ways have been extream bad, and the Cold very ſharp and pinching: But he made nothing of his Fatigue thro' his Love to Souls; eſpecially being encourag'd by the mighty eagerneſs of thoſe honeſt People to hear the Word. And he us'd to Preach frequently on the Week-days alſo. And yet for all his Pains he did not receive above 10 *l. per Annum*, but Liv'd upon what he had of his own, and had ſome room left both for Generoſity and Charity too.

He us'd to take all Occaſions for good Diſcourſe. It being the Cuſtom in the *North* after a Funeral to have an *Arval* (as they call it) or Dinner, he would ſo ſuitably ſpeak even in the midſt of the Entertainment of Divine Things, that ſome bitter malignant People would refuſe to be preſent there, when they knew he'd be one of the Company: Becauſe (ſaid they) we ſhall find *Rogers* Preaching there.

He Dy'd with a great deal of Calmneſs and Reſignation, at *Startforth* in *Yorkſhire*, Nov. 28. 1680. His

His Funeral Sermon was Preach'd by Mr. *Brokill* Minister of *Bernard Castle*, where he was bury'd. He gave him a very Friendly Character: And indeed his Memory is precious in those Parts to this Day *.

Penreth or near it: Mr. *Roger Baldwin*. After his Ejection he remov'd into *Lancashire*. There he took a Farm, for which he paid a considerable Fine. Having Three Children he took it for Three Lives, not putting his own Life in, but theirs; as not doubting but that some one of them at least might survive him: But it pleas'd God he out-liv'd them all, upon which he quitted the Farm, and would be no more concern'd in it. He at length fix'd at *Eccles* near *Manchester* in *Lancashire*, where he Preach'd at *Monks-Hall* for many Years, acceptably and profitably. He Dy'd *June* 9. 1695. *Ætat.* 70. He was a solid Scriptural Preacher. A Judicious Divine. One of good Parts, and an agreeable Temper. He was one of the *Monday* Lecturers at *Bolton*.

Bridekirk: Mr. *George Benson*. He afterwards retir'd into *Lancashire*, where he Liv'd at *Kellet*, and Preach'd in his own House: He Dy'd in 1691. *Ætat.* 76.

Grastoke: Dr. *Richard Gilpin* †. As Eminent a Divine as any these Parts afforded. A general Scholar, an excellent Casuist, a most agreeable Preacher, and of extraordinary Gravity and Wisdom. He lost a considerable Living for his Nonconformity, which he never repented. He afterwards settled at *New-Castle*, where he had a numerous Congregation: And his Wisdom was try'd and approv'd in his Conduct of them. He kept, and he left them in Peace; tho' fearful of what hath since happ'ned among them. He was every way a great and a valuable Man; and his Name is, and will be precious in all these Parts.

Lasenby:

* *He hath nothing in Print but a little* Catechism: *And Two Letters to Mr.* Rich. Wilson, *upon the Death of his Daughter, whose Life was Publish'd under the Name of the* Virgin Saint.

† *He hath not left much in Print. All that I know or can hear of, is: A Sermon before the United Ministers of* Cumberland *and* Westmorland, *Entit.* The Temple Rebuilt. *The Heads of Agreement between the Ministers of those Two Countys. An excellent Treatise of* Satans Temptations, *in* Qu. *An Assize Sermon Preach'd in* 1660. *And the Comforts of Divine Love; Preach'd on Occasion of the Death of Mr.* Timothy Manlove.

Lasenby: Mr. *Simon Atkinson.* A very Acute Man, and of a good Judgment. Especially Nice in his School Learning. He Dy'd in *Sept.* 1694. upon a Cold caught Travelling from *Penreth*, where he Preach'd at the opening of a Lecture, encourag'd by Dr. *Thomas Gibson*, of *Hatton Garden* in *London.*

Cockermouth: Mr. *George Larkham.* He continu'd there after his being Silenc'd, and held on Preaching to his People as he could in the worst of Times. He Dy'd *Dec.* 26. 1700. *Ætat.* 71. After he had exercis'd his Ministry in that Place Forty Eight Years. He was a Man of brisk Parts, and a bold Temper, till the latter Part of his Life, when he grew more Pensive.

Brampton: Mr. *Burnand.* Yet Living at *Harwich*, where he is Pastor of a Congregation. Glasenby: Mr. *Sam. Broadly.* Thuresby: Mr. *John Carmitchel.* St. Johns Chapel: Mr. *James Carr.* Crosby: Mr. *John Collyer.* Kirkanders: Mr. *Tho. Courtney.* New-Kirk: Mr. *Cragg.* Bolton: Mr. *Fowand*, or *Forward.* Melmerby: Mr. *William Hopkins.* Kirk-Leventon: Mr. *Hopper.* Huton: Mr. *John Jackson.* Dauston: Mr. *John Jackson.* Sowerby: Mr. *Peter Jackson.* Keswick Parish: Mr. *Lane.* Lampley: Mr. *John Michael.* Boulnes: Mr. *John Saxton.* Ednel: Mr. *Taylor.* Torpenny: Mr. *Tho. Turner.* Anstable: Mr. *George Yates.* And Mr. *George Nicholson*, Mr. *Anthony Sleigh*, and Mr. *Daniel Broadly*, at uncertain Places.

If any of these afterwards Conform'd, I should be thankful to be certainly inform'd of it.

In NORTHUMBERLAND.

Hartborn: Mr. *Ralph Ward*, M. A. A Native of *Yorkshire*, bred in *Sidney* Colledge in *Cambridge*, under the Tuition of Mr. *Elias Pauson.* While at the University, He found much Benefit by the Ministry of Mr. *Samuel Hammond*, Fellow of *Magdalen* Colledge, then Preacher at St. *Giles* in *Cambridge*, who was the Instrument of his Conversion. When his Tho'ts first began

began with earneſtneſs to be apply'd to Religious Matters, He (as is uſual) found himſelf in great Perplexity, but by Mr. *Hammond*'s Advice was reliev'd and quieted. Neither were his Studies neglected: For he was ſo Diligent and Induſtrious as to be Noted for a good Proficient. Leaving the Univerſity in Order to Service in the Countrey, he firſt began at *Denby* Chapel in *Pennyſton* Pariſh in *Yorkſhire*, where he was Born. Mr. *Hammond* leaving the Univerſity, and ſettling at *Biſhop Waremouth*, in *Durham*, Mr. *Ward* made him a Viſit: And was by him recommended for a Chaplain to Col. *Fenwick*, whoſe Regiment remain'd in Garriſon at *Lieth* in *Scotland*, after the Fight at *Dunbarr*. Mr. *Ward* began to Preach at *Leith* in *Auguſt* 1651, and was much reſpected: But returning the Year after to viſit his Friends in *Yorkſhire*, they prevented his going back to *Scotland*, and in 1653, He was fix'd at *Wolſingham* in the County of *Durham*, and was Ordain'd: His Letters Teſtimonial, are annex'd in the Margin *. After his Settlement, he viſited both *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, and Commenc'd Maſter of Arts of both Univerſities, and returning to *Wolſingham* (where he had

* *For as much as* Mr. Ralph Ward *hath addreſs'd himſelf to the Claſſical* Presbytery, *within the Town and County of* New Caſtle *upon* Tyne, (*according to the Order of both Houſes of* Parliament *of* Aug. 29. 1648, *For the Ordination of Miniſters by the Claſſical* Preſbytery;) *deſiring to be Ordain'd a Preaching* Preſbyter, *for that he is call'd to the Work of the Miniſtry in* Wolſingham *Church in the County of* Durham, *and hath exhibited unto the* Preſbytery, *a ſufficient Teſtimonial now remaining in their Cuſtody of his compleat Age, of his unblameable Life and Converſation, of his Diligence and Proficiency in his Studies, and of his fair and direct call to the forementionʼd Place.*

We the Miniſters of the ſaid Preſbytery *have by Appointment thereof Examinʼd him, according to the Tenor of the ſaid Ordinance; and finding him to be duly Qualifyʼd and Gifted for that Holy Office and Employment, (no juſt Exception being made againſt his Ordination or Admiſſion) have approvʼd him: And accordingly in the Church of* Johns *in* New Caſtle *upon the Day and Year hereafter expreſs'd, have proceeded ſolemnly to ſet him apart to the Office of a Preaching* Preſbyter *and Work of the Miniſtry, with Faſting and Prayer, and Impoſition of Hands: And do hereby (ſo far as concerneth us) Actually admit him into the ſaid Charge, There to perform all the Offices and Duties of a faithful Miniſter of Jeſus Chriſt. In Witneſs whereof we have hereunto Subſcribʼd our Names, this 14th Day of* September, *A. D.* 1653. John Bewick *Moderator.* Rich. Prideaux. Anthony Lapthorn. Robert Plaiſance. Henry Lever. William Coley. John Marſhe. Will. Henderſon. And Tho. Hubbart.

a Benefice of about 150 *l. per Ann.*) He apply'd himself vigorously to his Work. He labour'd hard on the Lords Days, and went on the Week Days from House to House, to enquire after the Fruit of his Pains. The Poorer Sort he invited to his House once or twice a Week to be Catechiz'd and Instructed; promising them Victuals for their Bodies, if they would mind the good of their Souls: But to his Sorrow, he found they soon grew weary; and as for those of his Hearers who were in better Circumstances, tho' they carry'd it very respectfully to him, yet they generally declin'd his Personal Applications. On which Account, together with some other Difficulties he met with, he readily accepted an Invitation to the Sequestred Living of *Hartborn*, where his Encouragement as to Income was smaller, but his Prospect of Success greater. Here he did much Service in a little Time. And indeed it was but a little Time he had to Labour there, for quickly after King *Charles*'s Restauration, the former Incumbent dispossess'd him. Whereupon he retir'd to *New-Castle*, and kept School, having many Gentlemens Sons for his Scholars; and withal, he Preach'd occasionally for Mr. *Hammond*, and Mr. *Durant*, then Ministers there: And thus he continu'd till they were all call'd to *Durham*, to give their Reasons why they could not comply with the Act of Uniformity in 1662. After this, he retir'd and Liv'd privately; but in some time, became Domestick Chaplain to the Late Worthy and Learned Gentleman, Sir *John Henley* of *York*, in whose Family he was exceedingly respected, and singularly useful. The *Oxford* Act forc'd him to retire for a Season: But it was not long before he return'd to the City of *York*, and Liv'd with his own Family, Preaching privately without Disturbance. And in this Place, he wore out more than Thirty Years of his Life, in Labours and Sufferings.

Ann. 1672. When the Indulgence came out, he began his Publick Ministry in that City; and he soon had a very flourishing Congregation, as most in *England*. His constant Practice in his Publick Work on the Lords Day, (which he continu'd for almost Twenty Years, was to begin with Prayer, then to read

read a Chapter and Expound Part of it. Then he Sung a Pſalm, Pray'd and Preach'd; and concluded with Prayer. In his Expoſitions he finiſh'd the whole Epiſtles to the *Epheſians*, and *Coloſſians*, and the *Decalogue*. In his Preaching, he almoſt Compleated a Body of Divinity. He Preach'd Twice every Lords Day without any Aſſiſtance, till his Strength fail'd him. He had a Lecture every Fortnight, in which he Preach'd over the Parable of the Ten Virgins, and the 8th to the *Romans*: And the 14th of *John* he finiſh'd but a little before his Death. He adminiſtred the Lords Supper every Six Weeks, and had gone thro' great Part of *Solomon*'s Song upon that Occaſion. He alſo for many Years repeated his Lords Days Sermons every *Tueſday* Morning. He had Days of Conference with his People, and of anſwering Queſtions in Divinity. He had alſo ſet Times of Philoſophical Diſputations with ſome Young Scholars who Liv'd in the City; beſides his Diligence in Catechizing Youth, and calling Parents and Maſters to that Work, and viſiting the Sick, and reſolving the Doubts of many. He would alſo often go into the Countrey and Preach Lectures on the Week Days when he could not ſtir abroad in the City. All this was in him a labour of Love: And his Succeſs much added to his Pleaſure in it. Many that are Dead and gone, and many who are yet Living, have heartily Bleſs'd God for his Pains amongſt them.

The Devil would not ſuffer him however to live without Diſturbance. He met with ſome Oppoſition in the Exerciſe of his Miniſtry in Private, before King *Charles* his Indulgence. Neither was he Free afterwards. He was put into the Spiritual Court by the Church-Warden in 1671, And was Excommunicated for not frequenting his Pariſh Church; and not receiving the Sacrament there. The Excommunication was renew'd from Year to Year; it was driven to a *Capias*, which coming out every Term, either Confin'd him to his Houſe, or oblig'd him to be very Cautious in going forth. Some time Writs were broke up ſpecial; and he could not ſo long have eſcap'd, if he had not been

ſtill favour'd with Private Notice. *Ann.* 1682. He was Fin'd 20 *l.* (at another Time 'twas 40 *l.*) upon Information againſt him for a Conventicle. He Appeal'd to the Quarter Seſſions, and was Diſcharg'd by the Jury. His Doors have been broken open in the Night, and his Houſe ſearch'd in the Day time; ſometimes profeſſedly for Mr. *Ward*, ſometimes pretendedly for ſome Perſons diſaffected to the Government. In 1684, he was taken on the Lords Day, at a Gentlewomans Houſe with all the Hearers, and Inform'd againſt for a Riot: *Quod vi & Armis, riotoſè & routoſè aſſemblavere, in terrorem Regis ſubditorum*, &c. He gave Bail for Appearance at the Aſſizes. And Judge *Jefferies*, then coming the Northern Circuit, there was no want of Raillery: But Mr. *Ward* behav'd himſelf when before him with great Sedateneſs and Prudence: But a *Capias* was ſerv'd upon him in open Court by the Eccleſiaſtical Officers. For the Riot (ſo call'd) he was Fin'd 50 *l.* and left a Priſoner. A *Mittimus* was afterwards ſent to the Goaler from the Sheriffs of the City to detain him alſo upon the Account of Five 20 *l.* Fines, out of the *Exchequer*, for not rendring his Body within Six Days after Proclamation, tho' neither the Biſhops *Significavit* nor the Kings Writt gave any Addition to his Name, either of Gentleman, or any other Title, according to the Statute of 5 *Hen.* 5. c. 1. The want of which Addition rendred the forfeiture void by Statute of 5 *Eliz.* c. 23. and yet he was kept Priſoner upon *Ouſe-Bridge*, upon the Account of 50 *l.* Fine for the Riot, and of 100 *l.* Fine from the *Exchequer*, for not rendring his Body; and by the *Capias* Writt, ſerv'd on him by the Spiritual Court. Hereupon He (and Mr. *Andrew Taylor* that Publick Spirited Merchant, who open'd his Doors for private Meetings in the ſtraiteſt Times; who was at this Time his Fellow Priſoner;) Petition'd the Judge at the next Aſſize, but in vain. His Impriſonment was continu'd, but he was not hindred from Preaching on the Lords Day to ſeveral that went out of the City to hear him; which alleviated his Bonds.

When

When King *James* the II. aſcended the Throne, he open'd the Priſon Doors by his Declaration. Mr. *Taylor* was ſet at Liberty, by the Kings ſpecial Order, without paying any Fine to the King or Eccleſiaſtical Court, having been illegally Proſecuted. The great Charges, the Court alledg'd they had been at, kept Mr. *Ward* ſtill Priſoner: But at length the Matter was ſo Compromis'd, that upon his Paying 40 *l*, they gave him their Abſolution, *March* 8. 1685. And he reciv'd his *Quietus* out of the *Exchequer* in *June* 1686.

Being reſtor'd to his Liberty, he return'd to his Work with the ſame Sincerity and Deſires to do good, but not with the ſame Strength of Body. He was forc'd to have Mr. *Noah Ward* to aſſiſt him every Third Day. His Strength ſenſibly declin'd afterwards: And 'twas ſuppos'd his Health was much impair'd, and his *Aſthma* encreas'd by his Long Confinement. He found his End by Degrees approaching, and was intent upon making ſuitable Proviſion. He met Death neither with the inſenſibleneſs of a *Stoick*, nor with the Careleſsneſs and Heat of a *Roman*, but with the Reverential Fear and tried Faith of a Chriſtian. He told a Pious Lady by whom he had been much reſpected, when ſhe came to pay her Laſt Viſit to him, in the Words of St. *Paul*: I hope I can ſay (ſaid he) this; *That in Simplicity and Godly Sincerity, not with fleſhly Wiſdom, but by the Grace of God, I have had my Converſation in the World.* He expir'd *March* 13. 1691. *Ætat.* 62.

He was a very thinking Perſon; had a ſolid and diſcerning Judgment, but was not laviſh of his Words. He was a ſubſtantial Divine; well acquainted with Syſtematical, Polemical, and Caſuiſtical Divinity: And particularly with the *Popiſh*, *Arminian*, and *Socinian* Controverſies. He was of a bold Spirit, and undaunted in his Work: And he had Prudence and Meekneſs to Govern his Courage, that while it kept him true to his own Conſcience, it made him not juſtly offenſive to others. He was eminently Pious. All his Sermons were Preach'd over Twice: Firſt to himſelf, and then to others.

His Motto was; *Vive, ut vivas.* He was much in Prayer: Was not afraid of his own Company, was delighted with Soliloquies, and kept his Heart with all Diligence. He was excellent in all Relations. His Family was a well ordred Church. And his Friendſhip was ſafe, edifying, and honourable. In a Word, all the Worthy Characters of a Goſpel Miniſter met in him. He deſerv'd quite other Treatment than he met with from an unkind World, but his Reward is above.

New-Caſtle upon *Tyne:* Mr. *Samuel Hammond* of St. *Nicolas.* Mr. *Durant* of *Alhallows.* Mr. *Henry Leaver* of St. *Johns*; who was alſo turn'd out at *Branſpeth* in *Durham.* And Mr. *Thomas Weld.*

Barwick upon *Tweed:* Mr. *Luke Ogle.* And Mr. *Wriſſel.*

Woller: Mr. *John Lomax.* A Man of great Learning even in the Opinion of Biſhop *Coſins*, and one of ſingular Modeſty. He afterwards ſettled at *Shields*, where he Practis'd Phyſick: And Preach'd when he had an Opportunity.

Chatton: Mr. *James Duncanſon.* A very Pious Man. At his coming to the Pariſh, he was oppos'd by Two Ancient, and then flouriſhing Families, of whom he foretold that in a while they ſhould not have a Foot of Land in *Northumberland*, which Time ſome that were preſent ſhould Live to ſee; which accordingly fell out. The Truth of which Paſſage, (I am inform'd) there are many who yet Survive, are ready to Atteſt.

Ellingham: Mr. *Patrick Bromfield.* A very facetious, but plain-hearted Man. He ſuſtain'd himſelf when he was Silenc'd, by practiſing Phyſick.

Long Howton: Mr. *Lane.* A Man of great Sincerity, and of an unblameable, exemplary Converſation.

Whittingham: Mr. *Abraham Hume.* Who went afterwards to *London*, where he is yet Living, Paſtor of a Congregation.

Edlingham: Mr. *John Murray.* Yet a Preacher at *Edinburgh.*

Warwerth,

Warworth, or *Warkworth*: Mr. *Moor*. Who made a very great Reformation in the Pariſh, by his Prudence, Diligence, and obliging Behaviour. He went afterwards into *Ireland*.

Mitforth: Mr. *Benlows*. Since a Counſellor at Law.

Collerton, or *Thokerinton*: Mr. *Taylor*. He forbore Preaching for ſeveral Years after his being Ejected: But at length being under Trouble of Mind, he return'd again to his Work.

Pontland: Mr. *Humphrey Bell*. Tho' he was much ſolicited to Conform, yet upon mature Deliberation he refus'd it, and was Content to turn Farmer for a Livelihood. Upon his Death-bed, *he thank'd God, that he had preſerv'd a good Conſcience*. He was a Learned Man as his MSS. Papers teſtifie; and of great Moderation.

Bolam: Mr. *Robert Leaver*. A very ſubtle Diſputant, and noted for his Sincerity. He was deſcended from that Mr. *Leaver*, who was Chaplain to King *Edward* the VI.

Whatton: Mr. *Wicleff*. Who of a Laborious Preacher became a diligent Farmer.

Eriſden: Mr. *Henderſon*. Afterwards Chaplain to Sir *Ralph Delaval*; to whom he Dedicated His Diſcourſe againſt Conformity, which was never Printed: But there are ſeveral Copies of it in Private Hands. I am Inform'd, it ſhows both the Candour and Learning of the Author, who was remarkable for both.

Alnewick: Mr. *Gilbert Rule* *. Who before his ſettling here, had been a Noted Tutor in the Univerſity of *Glaſcow*. While here he was uſeful and much belov'd, by the People, till he was Ejected.

* *He hath Printed*, A Rational Defence of Nonconformity; *wherein the Practiſe of* Nonconformiſts *is vindicated from promoting* Popery, *&c.* Qu, The Good Old Way defended, *againſt the Attempts of* A. M. *D. D. in his Book call'd*, An Enquiry into the New Opinions (*chiefly*) propagated by the *Presbyterians* of *Scotland*, Qu. The Cyprianick Biſhop Examin'd, *and found not to be a* Dioceſan, 4*to*.

in 62. After his Ejectment, he was one while in *Holland*, where he ſtudy'd and took his Doctors Degree in Phyſick: Another while he was in *Ireland* where he Preach'd with good Acceptance.

Another while he was at *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, where he both Practis'd Phyſick, and Preach'd Occaſionally. At laſt after the late Happy Revolution, He ſettled at *Edinburgh*, of which City, and Univerſity, he for ſeveral Years was one of the brighteſt Ornaments: Being univerſally reſpected by Wiſe and Sober Perſons, for his fitneſs for Government which he was call'd to in the Univerſity; his uſeful and edifying Way of Preaching in the Pulpit; and his Prudence, and Moderation in Eccleſiaſtical Matters.

Norham: Mr. *Edward Orde*. Eglingham: Mr. *John Pringle*. Tweedmouth: Mr. *William Meene*. Ovingham: Mr. *John Trurant*. Stanton: Mr. *Haddon*. Bottle: Mr. *John Thompſon*. Felton: Mr. *John Seaton*. Cornwale: Mr. *Areskin*, or *Aſcue*. Ancraſt: Mr. *Foreſide*. Biwel: Mr. *Davis*. Allenton: Mr. *Strong*. Bowton: Mr. *Murrow*. Bedlinton: Mr. *Darnton*. Tinmouth: Mr. *Gordon*. Haughton: Mr. *John Hume*. Stannington: Mr. *Ownes*, or *Evans*. Whitton: Mr. *Wakely*. And Mr. *William White*, Mr. *Bruce*, Mr. *Blunt*, and Mr. *Carr*, at uncertain Places.

There Conform'd here afterwards, Mr. *Cole*, Mr. *Prideaux*, and Mr. *Aſhburnham*, and Mr. *Knightsbridge*, all of *New-Caſtle*. Mr. *James Aird* of *Ingram*. And Mr. *Lupton* of *Woodhorne*.

In the Biſhoprick of DURHAM.

Biſhops Aukland: Mr. *Richard Frankland*, M. A. Born in 1630, at *Rauthmel*, in the Pariſh of *Giggleſwick* in *Craven*; and Educated at the famous School there. He was ſent to *Cambridge*, *Anno* 1647; and admitted Member of *Chriſts* Colledge, when Dr. *Samuel Bolton* was Maſter, and he made good Proficiency both in Humane and Divine Learning. He afterwards ſettled at *Biſhops Aukland* (a good Living.)

When

When the Protectour *Oliver* Erected a Colledge for Academical Learning at *Durham*, Mr. *Frankland* was pitch'd upon as a very fit Man to be a Tutour there. But that Colledge being demoliſh'd at the Return of King *Charles*, and the Act of Uniformity taking Place, he not only loſt his deſigned Poſt, but his Living too, upon his refuſal to Conform. After his being Silenc'd, he liv'd at *Rauthmel*, where he was perſwaded to ſet up a private Academy in his own Houſe. Sir *Thomas Liddal* ſent his Son *George* to be Educated under him; and many others follow'd his Example: So that in the ſpace of a few Years, he had to the Number of 300 under his Tuition; many of them are now worthy and uſeful Miniſters of the Goſpel. From *Rauthmel* he in 1674, remov'd to *Natland* near *Kendal* in *Weſtmorland*, where beſides his Care in the Education of thoſe who were committed to him, he Preach'd frequently in his own Houſe, at *Kendal*, and at ſeveral other Neighbouring Places. In theſe Parts he had a thriving Congregation, whom he kept in Peace, by his Candour and Humility, Gravity and Piety, notwithſtanding the different Principles they were off; and he was generally belov'd, and exceeding uſeful; but in 1682, he was forc'd to remove, by a Storm rais'd againſt him by his Enemies. He withdrew for a while to *Carkmel-ſands*, and afterwards to *Altercliff*, and thence in 1689 to *Rauthmel* again, in all which Places he kept up his Academy, and was otherwiſe very uſeful.

In the latter part of his Life, he was Afflicted with the Stone and Strangury, and various other Infirmities, which he bore with an Exemplary Patience. He dy'd *Octob.* 1. 1698. *Ætat.* 68.

He was an Eminent Divine, and Acute Mathematician: A ſolid Interpreter of Scripture; Very Sagacious in diſcovering Errours, and able in defending Truth: Witneſs his valuable piece in Print againſt *Socinianiſm*. He was one of great Humility and Affability. No very taking, but a ſubſtantial Preacher. Few Convers'd with him, but they reſpected and valu'd him. He was a Man of great Moderation, very Liberal to the Poor, Studious to promote the Goſpel in all Places, and good in all Relations. He

met

met with much Oppoſition in the latter part of his Life; was cited into the Biſhop's Court, and Excommunicated for Non Appearance: But the Lord *Wharton*, Sir *Thomas Rookby*, and others interceding with our Gracious King *William*, he ordred his Abſolution, which was accordingly read in *Giggleſwick* Church. Arch-Biſhop *Sharp* afterwards ſent for him, and treated him with great Civility; notwithſtanding which a freſh Citation was ſent from the Eccleſiaſtical Court, of which he took little Notice: Nor was there any need he ſhould; for a *Prohibition* was ſent down to ſtop Proceedings.

City of Durham: St. Nicolas; Mr. *Devereux*. Helveth: Mr. *Holdſworth*. Kellow: Mr. *Thomas Dixon*. Bowdens: Mr. *Robert Pleaſance*. Gateſend: Mr. *Thomas Weld*. Lumſley: Mr. *Wilſon*. Jarro: Mr. *Batty*. Eſington or Staynton: Mr. *Will. Pell*. Elwick: Mr. *John Bowey*. Biſhops Weremouth: Mr. *Graves*. Sedgfield: Mr. *Hunton*. Whitton Gilbert: Mr. *Hutton*. Middleton: Mr. *Thomas Kentiſh* Cotham: Mr. *Kiplin*. Hartlepool: Mr. *Bowey*. Norton: Mr. *Brough*. Eggcliffe: Mr. *Dan. Buſhel*. Hegington: Mr. *Squire*. Waſhinton: Mr. *Williamſon*. And Mr. *Feake*, whoſe place is uncertain.

There Conform'd here afterwards, Mr. *John Weld* of *Ryton*. Mr. *Richard Battersby* of *Haughton*. Mr. *Coats* of *Sodbury*. Mr. *Dockery* of *Lancheſter*. Mr. *John Kidd* of *Redmarſham*. Mr. *Stott* of *Whikham*. Mr. *Bewick* of *Stanhope*. Mr. *Bickarton* of *Wulſingham*. Mr. *Pariſh* of *Darlington*. Mr. *Timſon* of *Hellens Aukland*. Mr. *Tho Bowyer* of *Mugliſwick*.

In YORKSHIRE, *The* Weſt-Riding.

York City: Mr. *Edward Bowles*, M. A. Mr. *Tho. Calvert*, M. A. Mr. *Peter Williams*, and Mr. *Parret*; who were ſettled by the Parliament at the Minſter, and Preach'd in their Courſes there, and at other Places in the City.

Mr. *Edward Bowles*, was Son of Mr. *Oliver Bowles* of *Sutton* in *Bedfordſhire*, who was an uſeful Member of

of the Aſſembly of Divines, and Author of the Excellent Book call'd *Paſtor Evangelicus*, Publiſh'd by his Son of his, and Dedicated to the Earl of *Manchester*. A Book not ſuffer'd to creep out in the time of Rampant Epiſcopacy, not for any Evil in it, but becauſe ſome Men do not care to be put upon too much Work.

He was Born about the Year 1617; and was Educated in *Katharine* Hall in *Cambridge*, under theſe two Eminent Maſters, Dr. *Sibbs* and Dr. *Brownrigge*. And he ſeems not to have loſt his time there; for by that time he was 27, he Publiſh'd that noted Tract, Entit. *The Myſtery of Iniquity ſtill working in the three Kingdoms*, 4to, 1643, which gave a great deal of Delight and Satisfaction to Elder Heads. He was for ſometime Chaplain to the Earl of *Manchester*; but upon the Reduction of *York*, was Conſtituted one of the Four Miniſters maintain'd by the State in that City with Honourable Stipends. There was the Stage of his Buſineſs for about the 18 laſt Years of his Life. The pains in Preaching was equally divided among the whole Quaternion, *viz.* two were at the *Minſter* on Lords Days for a Month, and two at *Alhallows on the Pavement* for the other Month Alternately. As for Mr. *Bowles*, tho' he Preach'd but one part of the day, he Expounded the Scriptures on the other, beſides his ſhare in Expoſitions and Lectures on the Week Days.

He was indeed a great Man an excellent Scholar, and one of more than uſual Prudence. He had a clear Head, and a warm Heart. His Preaching was very acceptable not only to his Friends and Followers, but to ſtrangers; even thoſe of a contrary Judgment approv'd well of it. So that the very Sequeſtred and Decimated Gentlemen were his Hearers, and that ſome times at his Houſe, where in the Evenings he was wont to repeat his Sermons; as Sir *Chr. Wyvel*, &c. Being a Man of very great Abilitys, and thoſe well Cultivated with Reading and Meditation, he had a neat way of expreſſing his Mind Briefly and Sententiouſly, but yet with plainneſs, and very intelligibly. He had a clearneſs in his Notions, and that made him utter them without Obſcurity. Beſides he did not

ſpend

ſpend his time about Mint and Cummin, *&c.* but the weightier things of the Law and Goſpel, which have the greateſt reliſh with ſober Minds. It was ordinarily (but falſely) laid to the charge of the Miniſters of thoſe times, that in ſtead of the plain Goſpel, they ſtill ſang *Canticum Novum*, to the Tune of the Times, to the keeping open Breaches, *&c.* But it may be appeal'd to any of the Hearers of Mr. *Bowles* yet alive, and more than that to the ſeveral Volumes of Sermons that have been written from his Mouth, and are yet reſerv'd as a Treaſure in *York*, and uſefully read in Familys, whether he ever us'd any ſuch manner of Preaching. No: Repentance, and Faith in Chriſt, and the other invariable Truths of Chriſtianity were his conſtant Themes. And his Prayers were as much of a Piece, as his Sermons: For there were Four things he moſtly Pray'd for, *viz.* That there might be *Sound Doctrine*, *Purity in Worſhip*, *true Chriſtian Liberty*, *and the Power of Godlineſs*.

He had alſo the Reputation of a very Prudent Man in Converſation. He was indeed ſomething reſerv'd to Strangers, but open and Familiar with his Friends. He had a Byaſs for Goodneſs, and made it his Endeavour to promote Honeſt Deſigns upon all Occaſions: So that he had frequent Acceſs to the Magiſtrates of the City, promoting by their means a Reformation of many diſorders without being ſeen in it himſelf. And tho' he lay hid, yet was it ſaid, that he was the Spring that mov'd all the Wheels in the City.

His greateſt Activity and Interſt was ſeen about the great Revolution in 1660, when the Lord General *Monck* paſs'd thro' *Yorkſhire*, where moſt of the Gentry of the County, with the Lord *Fairfax* at the Head of them, Addreſs'd to him for a free Parliament. The Addreſs is in Print, and was the Pattern of all the reſt that follow'd in other Countys thro' which he paſs'd. It muſt be own'd that this was a critical Fact, and one main Cauſe of the King's Reſtauration. And as to this whole Buſineſs, 'tis well known Mr. *Bowles* had a conſiderable hand in the management of it. The Lord *Fairfax* being one of the Commiſſioners ſent from the Parliament to invite

King

King *Charles* into *England*, Mr. *Bowles* accompany'd him to *Breda*. Some have been very free in charging him with over-acting himſelf in this matter; but were that true, he might well eno' be excus'd of both Parties. Of the *Presbyterians*, who then ſaw and felt ſuch an unſettled Succeſſion of Opreſſions, that became intolerable. A Rampant Army threaten'd to leave neither Prieſt nor Steeple-houſe in *England*. There were no leſs than Nine ſorts of Supream Powers in a Years ſpace, or thereabout; ſome of them menacing greater Deſolation to Piety than we have ſince felt. Sober Men were in an *Egypt*, and long'd for their *Exodus*: Which was not a time for Perſons of Probity and Activity to ſit ſtill. The *Epiſcopal* Party have yet leſs Reaſon to Reflect upon him, with any ill Reſentment: For had not he and his Brethren beſtirr'd themſelves, Epiſcopacy had never been reſtor'd. He never ſought after Preferment in the New Eſtabliſhment, tho' his Merits might have recommended him to the Beſt: 'Twas Satisfaction eno' to him to have done his Duty. He and others, might read over *Solomons* Obſervation, with a little Variation, *Eccleſ.* 9. 14. 15. There was a miſerable Kingdom and great Oppreſſors in it; *Now there was found in it a poor wiſe Man, and he by his Wiſdom deliver'd the Kingdom: yet no one remembred that poor Man.* He was contented after all, to ſuffer with his Brethren, and determin'd to adhere to his Old Principles, whoever veer'd with the Wind, and turn'd with the Tide. Among other pliable Souls, who ſtrangely encreas'd and multiply'd upon that ſudden change, there was one Mr. *H----r*, who not long after his having begun to read the Prayers, was accidentally met by Mr. *Bowles*, who accoſted him in this manner: Well Brother *H. how like you the Common Prayer?* Truly ſaid Mr. *H. its but dry Stuff: I always tho't ſo,* ſaid Mr. *Bowles*: and ſuppoſe *that* may be *the Reaſon why our Vicars Choral run to the Ale-houſe as ſoon as they have done Reading.* He was very facetious in Converſation; Modeſt, but very obliging; a tall and lovely Perſon; of a freſh and clear Complexion; as his Picture kept by many in *York* as a Particular Memorial of him, doth in part diſcover.

'Tis

Tis credibly Reported the Deanry of *York* was offer'd him: but not being satisfy'd with Conformity, he was presently excluded the Minster, but continu'd Preaching at *Allhallows*, and afterwards at St. *Martins*; However he seems to have prefer'd the Vicaridge of *Leeds*, and resolv'd to have retir'd thither. The Ingenuous Mr. *Ralph Thorsby* of that Town, (to whom I acknowledge my self indebted, for these, and other material Hints) hath in his Collection of Manuscripts some Sheets of Original Subscriptions of the Inhabitants of that Town and Parish, and a Transcript of the Magistrate's Letter, under the Hands of Alderman *Thoresby*, *Dawson*, *Allanson*, &c. to the King and Council, concerning his Election, &c. *April* 1661. But thro' the favour of the times, Dr. *John Lake* (afterwards Bishop of *Chichester* and one of the famous Seven) was instituted into that Vicaridge.

Mr. *Bowles* kept a Lecture every Tuesday in the Morning at St. *Peters* in *York*, and in that Lecture went thro' the whole Epistle to the *Romans*. He Preach'd his Course at the Minster on the Wensday Lecture, and once a Month at *Tadcaster* where he was often set upon by the Quakers. He also Lectur'd over both the Epistles to the *Corinthians*, and the first of St. *Peter*, which were his last Sermons, and well worthy the Light: But he was very backward to Print. †

† He *hath not much Extant*: *Besides what is before mention'd, I know of nothing of his, but two Excellent Sermons; one at* Pauls *before the Lord Mayor of* London. *And another concerning the Duty and Danger of Swearing at* York, 1655. *And a plain and short Catechism* (*without his Name*) *Oct. the* 8*th. Impression*, 1676.

He was always the Mouth of the rest, when the Country and City Ministers had their quarterly Meetings. His Death was as generally Lamented by Pious and well disposed Persons, as any one Mans would have been in the Land. For besides his great worth and Eminent Abilities, he was in the Flower of his Age, not exceeding 45. He was Bury'd on the Eve of *Bartholomew* Day, 1662: so that his Mouth was open

open'd above, just at the time when they were stopping it here below. Many Copies of Verses were made to adorn his Hearse, some of which are not Contemptible; but my Limits are too strait to insert them here.

Mr. *Peter Williams*, * was a sweet Temper'd, meek spirited Man; one of great Abilities, and considerable Learning, and had a well furnish'd Library. He was an exact and curious Preacher, very Spiritual and Intentious. He liv'd an Holy, retired Life. After his being Silenc'd, he kept close to his Study: Nor did he wholly lay aside his Work. He Preach'd a Week-day Lecture at the Lady *Listers*. Many envy'd his Liberty, but durst not meddle with him, he being Shrowded under the Wing of such an Honourable Person, who (as was said) was nearly related to Thirty Knights, and Persons of the best Rank. After her Death he kept his Lecture at my Lady *Wakson's* House; and she at her Death, gave that House to him and his. He dy'd of the Stone and a Feavour together, *March* 26. 1680. *Ætat.* 55.

* He *hath Printed* Φιλαρθρωπια, *or the Transcendency of Christ's Love towards the Children of Men, in* 1665.

Mr. *Thomas Calvert*, * Preach'd at *Alhallows* on the Pavement, when he was turn'd out of the Minster. After he was wholly Silenc'd, he liv'd Privately in the City, till the *Oxford* Act Banish'd him, and then he withdrew to the good Lady *Barnicks* near *Todcaster*; and in some time return'd back again to *York*. He was a Pious Devout Man, and a Profound Preacher. His matter was Excellent, but he was not very Solicitous as to Method. He Read and Study'd much; and had great Acquaintance with the *Jewish Rabbies*. He had a reach in Translating and Expounding Scripture which was Peculiar. He was Bury'd in his Study to the last; but sore broken in his Spirit, Body and Estate, by an Extravagant Son, a Merchant: And as much comforted on the other side in his Brother's Son, Mr. *James Calvert*, (of whom in his Place) he dy'd in *March* 1679. *Ætat.* 73.

* He *hath published* Mel Cæli; Medulla Evangelii: *or the Prophet* Isaiahs *Crucifix, being an Exposition of the* 53*d Chapter of his Prophecy: Qu.* 1657. *The Blessed Jew of* Morrocco, *or the Blackmore*

ade White: wherein is a Diatribe *of the Jews Sins and Miserys; with many things very observable. He also Reprinted a Book of Mr.* Foxes, *all'd* Christus Triumphans; Comædia Apocalyptica: *With a learn'd Epistle prefix'd to Schoolmasters. He also wrote a piece of Poetry against the Papists, &c.*

Mr.

Mr. *Parret*, after he was Silenc'd by the Act for Uniformity, apply'd himself to the Practise of Physick, and remov'd into the North; where he dy'd about, 1666.

Sheffield: Mr. *Fisher*, Mr. *Hancock*, Mr. *Bloom*, and Mr. *Prime*.

* He writ little, besides the remarkable History of Mrs. Martha Hatfield.

Mr. *Fisher*, * was Congregational in his Judgment, but of great Piety and Worth, and an Excellent Preacher, and was an Instrument of much good in this Populos Town. In his younger Days he had been Minister in *London*, and joining with another, it so fell out that when the other Minister Preach'd great Multitudes flock'd to hear him, while Mr. *Fisher* had but very few Auditors. Enquiring the Reason of one of the Parish, he was Answer'd; Sir, *you do but Preach the Old hum-drum Doctrines of Faith and Repentance, but the other Preacheth Dispensation Truths.* It much Affected him, as it must needs do any Man that hath to do with Persons of a like Stamp and Character, who matter not Ministers of a Rush, if their Preaching suits not their vitiated Palate. He afterwards Succeeded worthy Mr. *Towler*, and Mr. *Bright* at *Sheffield*, and walked in their Steps, Preaching Usefully, and living Exemplarily till his Ejectment in 62. Some time after that, he was Imprison'd in *York* Castle, upon pretence of a Plot, which he was far from owning the least concern in; but there he got so bad a habit of Body, that he liv'd not long after. He fix'd with Mr. *Hatfield* at *Laughton*, where he dy'd in 1665. He often us'd to say to his Children, *Take measure of your selves when you are alone.*

Mr. *Rowland Hancock*, was Vicar of *Ecclesfield* near *Sheffield*, but turn'd out in 60, by Mr. *Wright*, former Incumbent. He afterwards Preach'd at *Bradfield*, where the Act for Uniformity found him when it took place. When the *Oxford* Act came out, he for sometime withdrew, and was entertain'd by Mr. *Sylvanus Rich*, of *Buthouse* in *Pennyston* Parish That Storm being over, he return'd and Preach'd at *Shertliff*-Hall, where he liv'd near *Sheffield*, maintain'd a Weekly Lecture at *Bradfield*, and being invited to Preach occasionally at *Alverthorp* near *Wakefield*, he was taken and committed Prisoner by two Justices of Peace

Peace to *York* Caſtle, where he continu'd ſome time. He was a very Pious Man, of excellent Natural Parts, and tolerable Learning, tho' he had not been bred at the Univerſity. His Sermons were Succinct, Methodical, and Elaborate. In the latter part of his Life, he was ſeiz'd with the Palſy, and afterwards continu'd long under languiſhing Diſeaſes, and was exercis'd with ſevere Pain, which was tho't to be the Stone; but his Body being open'd after his Deceaſe, no Stone was found, but they perceiv'd ſomething of the Strangury, and an Ulcer in his Bladder. He bore his Pain with an invincible Patience, and dy'd *April* 14. 85.

Mr. *Mathew Bloom* was at *Altercliff* Chapel near *Sheffield*, and afterwards Aſſiſtant at *Sheffield*. He was a Man of good Parts, and an excellent Preacher. He dy'd ſuddenly at Sir *William Bury's* in *Lincolnſhire*. As he was riſing out of his Bed, he complain'd of a Pain in his Arm, and growing Sick, they were forc'd to carry him again to his Bed; where he was no ſooner laid, then he cry'd out, *Oh what need is there to be always ready for Death!* And ſo breath'd his laſt. *April* 13. 1686. *Ætat.* 46. As to Mr. *Prime*, He is yet Living.

Rotheram: Mr. *Luke Clayton*, a Prophet that had unuſual Honour in his own Country, on the Account of his Real Worth, and Pious Labours. He was an Excellent Diſputant, and a very ready Man: and for many Years Preach'd twice a day, to a Numerous Congregration, and Catechiz'd the Youth in Publick; after which he conſtantly on Lord's Day Evening (about Five a Clock) Repeated the Subſtance of his Sermons. He having no Succeſſor provided for him, continu'd to Exerciſe his Miniſtry after *Bartholomew* Day 62, to the great Advantage of that and the Neighbouring Places, and he continu'd ſo to do, till the *January* following, when he cheerfully ſuffer'd the Penalty of Impriſonment, rather than the People ſhould be wholly left Deſtitute of ſacred Miniſtrations. He was the firſt of the Miniſters that were ſent to *York* Caſtle, by vertue of the Act for Uniformity. He afterwards Preach'd at *Graſebrough* Chapel

for ſeveral Years; and dy'd of a Conſumption, *June* 13. 1674. About 50 Years of Age.

Hanſworth: Mr. *Cart.* He reſided here ſeveral Years after his Ejectment in 62. An Eminent Scholar, and great Divine. Major *Taylor* of *Wallinwells*, committed his only Child to his Tuition, when he was ſent by King *Charles* to Fortify *Tangier*. He was faithful to his Truſt, and his Pupil is a very worthy Gentleman, and uſeful Magiſtrate in his Country. He dy'd in 1674.

Ackworth: Mr. *Burbeck.* He had been Miniſter there many Years, when he was Silenc'd in 62. He afterwards dwelt in his own Houſe at *Sheffield*; Preach'd frequently, and did much good. He was a very worthy Divine, and a ſolid ſubſtantial Preacher, one of a chearful Spirit, but much afflicted with the Stone. He dy'd in 1674. Aged about 60. Dr. *Bradley* Succeeded him at *Ackworth*.

Sandall parva near Doncaſter: Mr. *Hobſon.* A Sober, Serious, Pious Man, and Faithful Miniſter. After his being Silenc'd, he remov'd and liv'd about Three Miles Eaſt of *York*. He was a Man of a ſweet winning Deportment, and unblameable Converſation, and yet met with many Diſcouragements. He had little Employment, and yet was Comfortably provided for. He dy'd about the Year 1671.

Bradſworth: Mr. *William Hawden.* Born at *Holbeck* near *Leeds*. Silenc'd in 62, whith his Brethren: Upon the Five Mile Act he went to *Sherborn*, and afterwards remov'd to *Wakefield*. He Preach'd both at home and abroad as Opportunity offer'd, as long as his Sight continu'd; but for the Eight or Ten laſt Years of his Life, his Sight fail'd him. However, afterwards he had frequent Meetings in his own Houſe. He was a great hater of all Vice, a ſound Orthodox Divine, a great promoter of what was good, and one of Magnanimity and Reſolution. In 1685, when the Duke of *Monmouth* was Landed, he with many others was ſent Priſoner to *Hull*, and thence convey'd to *York* Caſtle, where the Commiſſioners requir'd he ſhould be bound to his good Behaviour, which he peremtorily refus'd, knowing no Occaſion for it; but the matter was Compromis'd, upon a Friend's

Friend's paſſing his word for him. He dy'd *Aug.* 26. 1699. *Ætat.* 84.

Hickleton: Mr. *Everard.* An Eminent Divine and ſolid Preacher, and one of excellent Parts. When he was turn'd out, Sir *John Jackſon* took him and his Wife into his Family. He was Chaplain, and his Wife the Houſe-keeper. He was very uſeful in the Family; and dy'd there *Anno* 1665.

Smeton: Mr. *Noble,* M.A. Born at *Aſleby* in *Holden* Pariſh, *Anno* 1611. Admitted of *Chriſts* College in *Cambridge* in 1630. In 1637, he was Miniſter at *Whitgift.* In 1646 he remov'd to *Smeton.* One of an happy Memory, a great Preſence, and readineſs of Wit; a mighty Oppoſer of the Factions and Hurrys of the Times. He had much Trouble with the Quakers, whom he greatly confounded in Occaſional, and ſett Diſputations. He was an excellent Diſputant, and never loſt or diſparag'd the Cauſe which he undertook, nor his Reputation by Ignorance or Paſſion. In the latter part of his Life, he Preach'd to a Private Congregation at *Pontefract.* He departed this Life *Febr.* 11. 1679. *Ætat.* 74. And was an excellent, uſeful, ſolid, Divine.

Thurnſco: Mr. *Benton.* Was Born at *Whiskethill,* near *Atherton* in *Burſtall* Pariſh. He was a Man of Parts, Preſence and Aſſurance. After his Ejection in 62. He took a Farm, and apply'd himſelf to Husbandry, for the Neceſſary Maintenance of his Family: And afterwards he follow'd the Mault Trade. He dwelt at *Barnſly,* where being an affable chearful Spirited Man, he maintain'd good Correſpondence with the Neighbouring Gentry, whereby he was kept much out of Trouble, but at the ſame time he had not the ſame Opportunities for Preaching as many of his Brethren; and yet he Preach'd ſometimes. He dy'd, *Aug.* 22. 1688. *Ætat.* 42.

Hemſworth: Mr. *Charman* or *German.* A Pious Painful Faithful Miniſter, but not ſo Succeſsful as ſome others of his Brethren. He dy'd in 1667. He was a very Subſtantial Divine, and a good Scholar.

Silkeſton: Mr. *Spanford,* Vicar there many Years. (there's a very pretty Church there, and therefore it is call'd the *Minſter in the Moores*) He was a Pious

Man, of competent Parts and Abilities; very plain in his Preaching, Holy in his Life, Facetious in Diſcourſe, and a lover of all good Men. When he was Ejected, Mr. *Robert Cotton*, (a Worthy, Pious Gentleman in that Pariſh) took him to his Houſe, and kept him as long as he liv'd. He dy'd in 1668. *Ætat* 80.

Pennyſton: Mr. *Henry Swift*. Who continu'd Preaching after the Silencing day, till he was Impriſon'd. He continu'd Three Months in *York* Caſtle, ſeveral Nonconformiſts ſupplying for him all the while; and when he was at Liberty, he fell to Preaching again. There was no ſtriving for the Place, which was but a ſmall Vicaridge, the Profits whereof till it came to Eaſter Reckonings were Glean'd by the Duke of *Norfolk*, who only allow'd the Incumbent a ſmall Stipend. He was Impriſon'd a ſecond and a third time, and was at laſt prevail'd with to take the *Oxford* Oath, and he read ſome few Prayers to keep his Place, but neither declar'd his Aſſent and Conſent, nor made the Subſcription requir'd in the Act of Uniformity, and yet held on Preaching till his Death: Which was *Octob.* 31. 1689. *Ætat.* 68.

Hoylland: Mr. *Inman*. At this place there were 2 Parſons and Parſonages. One of them, *viz.* Mr. *Herring* kept in, Mr. *Inman* was Ejected in 62. He afterwards taught School in *Clayton* and liv'd Obſcurely, but was a good Scholar. He dy'd in *March* 1689. *Ætat.* 66.

Denby Chapel in Pennyſton Pariſh: Mr. *Crook*. He was born in *Sheffield*, and brought up at *Cambridge*. A ſober and ſtout Man, very ſound and Orthodox, of good natural Parts, Active and Vigorous in a good Cauſe, and very able to defend the Truth by Argument. He had a conſiderable Eſtate, and Preach'd but Rarely and Privately. He dy'd at *Wakefield*, *Jan.* 9. 168⅝. He was but a Spare and Temperate Man and yet had been long afflicted with the Gout, which at laſt roſe upward, from his Foot to his Throat and Choak'd him, when he was about 40 Years of Age.

Sandal Magna, near Wakefield: Mr. *Timothy Wood*. An Unvierſal Scholar, of a ready Wit, and Voluble Tongue. A Diligent Student, and of a Tenacious Memory

Memory: An excellent Preacher, and of a peaceable Spirit. As far from Plotting as any Man, tho' by Misinformation he was Imprison'd in the Castle of *York*. He was one of three in these Parts, who could not imagine the Act of Uniformity had been so high, but that it might have been Passable: But upon Search, they found the Ford too deep, they could neither Wade it, nor Swim it, and therefore they kept themselves safe (on this side,) with their Brethren. He liv'd some time in *Sandal*, after his being Silenc'd, and afterwards remov'd into *Leicestershire*; and Preach'd often in some Publick Churches. He dy'd at *Belgrave* near *Leicester*, in 1680. *Ætat.* 63. He was a Man of prodigious Parts, and Industry; and good Elocution. He had fram'd a Common Place Book of all the Heads of Divinity, containing the Quintessence of the choicest Authors he had Convers'd with: But he Printed nothing.

Croften near Wakefield: Mr. *Edward Hill*. He had been formerly a Conformist, but coutld not fall in with the New Settlement in 62. He was a Pious, Grave, Ancient Divine, of an excellent Temper. Upon the coming forth of the Five Mile Act, he remov'd to *Shibden* near *Halifax*. He and his Wife had liv'd together Forty Years, and dy'd within Two Hours one of another, in *Jan.* 166⅔.

Selby: Mr. *Burſdal*, or *Birdſal*; bred up in *Trinity* Colledge near *Dublin* in *Ireland*, in the beginning of Dr. *Winter's* time there. He often acknowledg'd the goodness of God in the many Advantages he enjoy'd there, in Publick Ordinances, and Godly Society. After his being Silenc'd, he became Domestick Chaplain to Mrs. *Hulton* of *Poppleton*, Sister to my Lord *Thomas Fairfax*. He was of great Use in that Honourable Family, and to the Neighbourhood, by his Example, Prayers, and Preaching. Esq; *Hulton*, after his Ladys Death, continu'd his Encouragement, tho' he did not long Survive her: Dying in 1636. He was very Temperate, and of a blameless Life; and any contrary Reflections, because of the flushing of his Face, which was natural to him, were altogether groundless.

Long Haughton: Mr. *Taylor*. After his being Silenc'd, he became Chaplain to Sir *Edward Rhodes*; and afterwards liv'd at Mr. *Wadsworth's* at *Swath Hall* near *Barnesly*. He was a Serious Zealous Christian, and a plain laborious Preacher. Removing to *Sheffield*, he dy'd *March* 1681, at about Forty Years of Age.

Wakefield: Mr. *Joshua Kirby*. * M. A. Born in *London*, and Educated in *Oxford*. He lost a good Living for refusing to take the Engagement, after which he went Northward upon this Occasion. The Lady *Camden* about this time gave 100 *l. per Annum*, to maintain a Lecture at *Wakefield*, and appointed the Company of *Mercers* in *London* to be Trustees in Settling and Managing it. They chose Mr. *Kerby* first Lecturer on that Account; who went down thither in 1650, and Preach'd on Lord's Days in the afternoon, and call'd the first Child Born to him after he came thither *Camdena*, in grateful Acknowledgement of his Benefactress. He was a solid substantial Preacher, and a great Scripturist. Some complaining of his citing too many Scriptures in his Sermons: His Answer was, that it was as if the Baker complain'd, that the Miller brought him too fine Flower to make Bread of: Can we speak more properly than in God's Language? But his Excellency lay in Prayer, wherein he had a peculiar Gift. A Conformist Minister once hearing him, said to a Friend, Mr. *Kirby Prays Apostolically*. He was rather reserv'd in Discourse; but if engag'd by Question, there was much depth and significancy in his short Answers. He had a notable Faculty in Expounding Scripture, where he had many pretty, but unusual Glosses. He had something of Singularity in his Sentiments, and in his common Practise, but there was no danger attending it. His Garb was wonderful plain, and he requir'd the same of all under his Charge. He was very strict in Family Discipline, and faithful in Instruction and Admonition. He was a Man of great Courage and Resolution, and inflexible when he had once fix'd his Principles. He was Prisoner at *Lambeth* in 1659, together with Mr. *Cook* of *Chester*, and Mr. *Harrison* of *Ashton*, about Sir *G. Booth's* business. Afterwards he was

**He Printed a little Protestant Catechism in Scripture Phrase.*

was made Priſoner upon the Act for Conventicles. Being turn'd out by the Act for Uniformity *, he ſet up a Pulpit in his own Houſe, and Preach'd to all Comers, for which he was ſent to *York* Caſtle, where he was not Idle, but improv'd his Solitude in Praying, Meditating, and Preaching when he was ſuffer'd.

And ſometimes he would divert himſelf in making Verſes, many Copies whereof yet remain in the Hands of his Friends, as to which it muſt be own'd the Senſe is far beyond the Poetry.

* *A particular Account of his Sufferings may be ſeen in* Conf. 4. Pl. *for the* Nonconf. page 46.

After Travelling much about in the latter Part of his Life, he at laſt Finiſh'd his Courſe at *Wakefield June* 12. 1676. *Ætat.* 59. And was Bury'd in his own Garden, becauſe he was Excommunicated. He was a Man of extraordinary Sanctity and Exactneſs; a right *Jacob* in his ordinary Garb, and inward Plainneſs and Prevalence with God: Another *Elijah*, a Champion for Truth againſt many Oppoſers.

Thornhill: Mr. *Joſhua Whitton* or *Wiltan*, whoſe Benefice was reckon'd at 300 *l.* a Year. He was born at *Sowerby*, and bred at *Cambridge*, was a witty Man, and a good Scholar, and had been Chaplain to my Lord *Ferdinando Fairfax*. He was an able and judicious Preacher, of large Acquaintance and Influence; and being bleſs'd with a plentiful Eſtate, he was a Cordial Friend to his poorer Brethren. When he heard that the Act of Uniformity was come out, he and two other Miniſters rode to *York* (as one ſaid) with their Cloak Baggs full of Diſtinctions, hoping they might get over it, and keep their Places: But having read it, it Silenc'd and Anſwer'd them. Tho' they were all Prudent and Learned Men, and of Catholick Spirits and Principles, yet they return'd with a Reſolution rather to quit all than Comply: Two of them kept their Reſolution to the Day of their Death, and the Third remains firm and fix'd in the ſame Cauſe. Mr. *Wiltan* after his Ejectment, remov'd to *York*. He was Purſe-bearer and Diſtributor of the Contributions of Cha-

ritable Perſons, for the ſupply of Poor Miniſters. He was a Man of an excellent Temper, of great Integrity, and unuſual Sagacity. He was found Dead in his Bed, *June* 1. 1674. *Ætat.* 56.

Kirkheaton: Mr. *Chriſt. Richardſon.* After his Ejectment he retir'd to his own Houſe at *Laſſell* Hall. Beſides Preaching on Lords Days, He had a Lecture in his Houſe once a Month, in which ſeveral of his Brethren join'd with him. He afterwards went to *Leverpool*, Preaching one Day in *Tuxtoth Park* Chapel, and the other Day in the Town. His Preaching to the laſt was very Neat and Accurate, but plain and taking. He had an healthful Conſtitution, which continu'd till Old Age. He dy'd in *December* 1698. being about 80.

Ardſley Chapel near *Wakefield:* Mr. *Jeremiah Marſden.* Being charg'd with the *Yorkſhire* Plot, he eſcap'd to *London*, and chang'd his Name to *Ralphſon*, or Son of *Ralph*, which was the Name of the Father, who had Four Sons: *Samuel*, *Jeremy*, *Gamaliel*, and *Joſiah*, who were all Preachers. This ſecond Son, was inclin'd to the Notions of the fifth Monarchiſts, was Impriſon'd in *Newgate*, where he Dy'd, in 1684. *Ætat.* 55. having writ ſeveral Treatiſes.

Rodwell near *Leeds:* Mr. *Milner.* A Pious, Zealous Miniſter, Uſeful and Laborious. After his Ejection he remov'd to a Place near *Fel-Church*, and Preach'd at my Lady *Rhodes* Chapel at *Haughton*, in the firſt Licenſe Time in 72. And afterwards in that Worthy and Worſhipful Family, where both he and many of his Brethren found loving Entertainment in the hardeſt Times. He was one of good Parts, and competent Learning. His Labours was very Succeſsful. He Dy'd *March* 7. 1681. Aged about 41.

Leeds: Mr. *Todd*, Mr. *Sale*, and Mr. *Neſs.*

Mr. *Robert Todd*, was Miniſter at the New Church at *Leeds*, and the firſt Miniſter that ever was there: For Mr. *Harriſon* who built it, choſe him to Officiate in it. He

He was a very worthy Divine, an excellent Scholar, and a ſolid, ſubſtantial Preacher: But hath left nothing in Print, except an Epiſtle before a Book of Mr. *Wales*. He was a very Holy and Humble Man. He Dy'd *Ann.* 1664. about 65 Years of Age. His Memory is to this Day precious in *Holderneſs*, where he Liv'd and Preach'd in his Younger Days: And at *Leeds* where his Sermons are kept in many Hands as a precious Treaſure.

Mr. *Sale*, formerly Miniſter at *Thornton* Chapel, was call'd to be Aſſiſtant to Mr. *Todd*, Ann. 1647. A Learned and Holy Man, of fine Parts, and an excellent Preacher. He was Born at *Pudſey*, and bro't up in *Cambridge*, and after his remove thence he ſpent ſome time with Mr. *Reyner* of *Lincoln*. When he was Silenc'd, he Liv'd at his own Houſe at *Pudſey*. He kept a conſtant Courſe of Preaching there to the Neighbourhood, till God diſabled him by a Lingring Diſeaſe, which Iſſu'd in a Palſie. He Dy'd in 1679. He was a great Comfort and Companion to old Mr. *Wales*, with whom he ſerv'd as a Son in the Goſpel. They were near Neighbours, and continu'd dear Friends to the Laſt.

As for Mr. *Neſs* *, he afterwards fix'd in *London*; and is yet Living, but Superannuated, and Longing for his Diſcharge.

* *He hath Printed,* The Hiſtory, and Myſtery of the Bible; *in ſeveral Volumes in* Folio. *With many other Tracts.*

Beeſton: Mr. *Leonard Scurr*. He had a good Eſtate there. And ſome time after his being Silenc'd, He, and his Mother, and Maid, Liv'd retir'd at a Houſe in the *Park*, where Thieves breaking in, Robb'd and Murder'd them, and ſet the Houſe on Fire. They afterwards fled into *Ireland*, whither they were Purſu'd. Two of them were taken and condemn'd. One was Hang'd in Chains in *Holbeck* Green. The other was Repriev'd in hopes of a further Diſcovery, which he could never be bro't to. A Particular Narrative of this Tragedy is extant in Print.

Hunſlete:

Hunſlete: Mr. *Hawkſworth.* An Able, Judicious Preacher, and a good Scholar. The Act of Uniformity gave him a *Superſedeas*, and the Five Mile Act drove him from home; at which Time he retir'd to *Alverthorp* Hall, near *Wakefield*, where he Dy'd *Nov.* 23. 1667. He was an Inſtrument of Good to many.

Holbeck: Mr. *Robert Armitage.* A pious Man, and a plain uſeful Preacher. Chaplain in the Parliaments Army in the Time of the War. A Man of Spirit, yet Sober, Solid, and Peaceable: Of great Zeal for God, and againſt Sin. He Liv'd privately in *Holbeck* for a Time when Silenc'd; but retir'd to a private Corner near *Halifax* upon the Five Mile Act. Afterwards returing Home, he Preach'd in his own Houſe, and tho' ſome Watch'd for an Advantage againſt him, yet he was never Impriſon'd. It could never be diſcern'd what Judgment he was of: Whether *Preſbyterian*, *Congregational*, or *Epiſcopal.* He Dy'd *April* 20. 1689. *Ætat.* 78.

Wood-Kirk: Mr. *Chriſtopher Marſhal.* Born in *Lincolnſhire*, Educated partly in *Cambridge*, and partly under Mr. *Cotton*, at *Boſton* in *New-England.* A *Congregational* Man. A good ſolid Scholar, of conſiderable Parts, and of a ſerious Spirit, but enclin'd to Melancholy. He met with many Perſonal and Domeſtick Afflictions. Being Ejected in 62, He Liv'd privately near his People, in a Houſe of his own. In the baniſhing Time, he Liv'd in *Horbury.* Returning again, he Preach'd there privately. In 72. He Preach'd at *Topcliff* Hall. He was Accus'd and Impriſon'd on the Account of a Plot, with ſeveral of his Brethren, but they came off clear, there being none could lay any Thing to their Charge. He had a ſound Mind, but a craſie Body, which at laſt grew untenantable to his precious Soul, which broke looſe, and expired in *Feb.* 1673. *Ætat.* 59.

* *He Printed an excellent Treatiſe upon* Gal. 3. 13. *call'd* Mount Ebal Levell'd, *Oct.* 1659. *and had prepar'd another Treatiſe upon* Rom. 7. 4. *Call'd the Souls Marriage, firſt and ſecond. He was much ſet upon the Priming it, but an* Imprimatur *could not be procur'd, which ſtopp'd it. 'Tis uncertain in what Hands it now lies.*

Pudſey: Mr. *Elkanah Wales**, M. A. He was Miniſter here above Forty Years. Born at *Idle*, and Educated at *Cambridge.* A Man of great Holineſs,

an unſpotted Life, and a ſound Judgment. He was often invited to greater Places (particularly to *New-Caſtle*) but was unwilling to leave his poor Ancient People. He was reckon'd the moſt ſucceſsful Preacher in Converting Souls, in the whole Country: But it was obſerv'd, this was more among Strangers and Occaſional Hearers, than his own People, to whom he Preach'd conſtantly. He had an admirable Art in preſſing Practical Truths home upon the Conſcience. He had ſome Trouble for Preaching in *Bramly* Chapel, upon a ſpecial Occaſion. He was ſummon'd before the Juſtices, and had gone to Priſon, but that Friends interceded, and his Age procur'd him Reverence. He was forc'd from home byth e Five Mile Act, and Travell'd amongſt his Friends, and Dy'd at Mr. *Hickſon*'s at *Leeds*, *May* 11. 1669. being near Eighty Years of Age. He was Tall, of a comely Countenance, and winning Behaviour: And had an excellent Diſpoſition, which was advanc'd by Grace to ſo high a Degree, as to render him exceeding Amiable.

Idle: Mr. *Thomas Smallwood.* He was Born in *Cheſhire*, and was Chaplain in the Army. He was turn'd out of *Batly* a Sequeſtred Living in 60. But Preach'd in *Idle* Chapel when Ejected in 62. He was a Man of a Noble, Valiant, Active Spirit. He Preach'd convincingly for the awakening of Sinners; there lay his Delight and Excellency; and God marvelouſly bleſs'd and proſper'd him. He was a moderate *Congregational* Man; ready to Act in Concert with his Brethren. Upon the Five Mile Act he remov'd to *Flanſhaw* Hall near *Wakefield*, where he Dy'd *Nov.* 24. 1667. Aged about 45.

Halliſax: Mr. *Eli Bentley.* Born in *Sowerby*, and bred in *Cambridge*, where he was ſome time Fellow of *Trinity* Colledge. In *Auguſt* 1652, he became Aſſiſtant to Mr. *Booth* at *Halliſax*, and after his Death continu'd alone till *Auguſt* 62. He fled before the Five Mile Act; but in 72 return'd to *Halliſax*, and Preach'd in his own Houſe. He Dy'd *July* 31. 1675. *Ætat.* 49. He was a Man of good Parts; a ſolid, ſerious Preacher, of a very humble Behaviour, and very uſeful in his Place. He Liv'd deſir'd, and Dy'd lamented

lamented. Upon his Death-bed, he thus expreſs'd himſelf to a particular Friend: *God will take a Courſe with theſe unreaſonable Men, that require ſuch Terms of Communion, as a Man cannot with a ſafe Conſcience ſubſcribe to.*

† *His Printed Works are theſe, Baptiſmal Bonds renew'd, being ſome Meditations on* Pſal. 50. 5. *Cloſet Prayer a Chriſtians Duty. Sure Mercies of* David. *Iſraels Lamentation after the Lord. The Holy Life and Happy Death of Mr.* John Angier. *Advice to an only Child, or excellent Counſel to all young Perſons. Beſt Intail, a Diſcourſe on* 2 Sam. 23. 5. *Family Altar: A Diſcourſe on* Gen. 35. 2, 3. *To promote the Worſhip of God in Private Families. Meetneſs for Heaven, on* Coloſ. 1. 12. *The New Creature: on* Gal. 6. 15. *The General Aſſembly: Or a Diſcourſe of the gathering of all Saints to Chriſt.*

Coley: Mr. *Oliver Heywood* †, of *Trinity* Colledge in *Cambridge*. He was Proſecuted in the Conſiſtory at *York*, for not reading the Common-Prayer, a whole Year before the Act of Uniformity commenc'd, He was Suſpended, and Excommunicate, and a Writt was given out againſt him *. *Ann.* 1669. Preaching occaſionally near *Leeds*, he was carry'd before the Mayor, who treated him like a Fury. He ask'd, whether he had not been once in their Hands already? Mr. *Heywood* anſwer'd, he was never in Priſon, but once for the King in Sir *George Booths* Riſing. He was at length carried away with Lanthorns to the Goal call'd *Capon Hall*, and there put into a Room like a Swine-ſtye, having nothing in it but heaps of Straw. He was afterwards in the Eccleſiaſtical Courts, *&c.* This Worthy Old Gentleman (to whom the World is indebted for moſt of theſe Paſſages, concerning the Miniſters of this County, and of *Lancaſhire*) is yet Living.

* *See* Conformiſts 4*th Plea for the* Nonconformiſts, *Page* 38, 48.

Sowrby Chapel: Mr. *Henry Root*, Sen. Was a conſiderable Traveller in his younger Days. In 1645, he gather'd a *Congregational* Church, and was Paſtor to them till 62. He Preach'd in his Chapel after *Bartholomew* Day, for Half a Year: But was at length ſeverely dealt with; being dragg'd out of his Chapel, *&c.* and ſent to *York* Caſtle, where he continu'd Three Months. He Dy'd, *Oct.* 20. 1669. About Eighty Years of Age.

Bramop: Mr. *Croſsly.* He had *Robert Dinely* Eſq; for his Patron, under whoſe Wing he was ſhrow-

ded

ded after *Bartholomew* Day. For he had Liberty by Connivance about Two Years; and he Dy'd *Ann.* 1664. The Houſe of this Eſquire *Dinely*, was a common Receptacle for *Nonconformiſt* Miniſters; for he maintain'd Lectures in his Houſe to the Time of his Death, *Ann.* 1689.

Howarth: Mr. *Rob. Town*, Sen. Formerly Miniſter at *Ealand* in the Vicaridge of *Hallifax*. He Dy'd in 1663, about the 70th Year of his Age.

Moremonkton: Mr. *Conſtantine*. A Pious and Diſcreet Man; a good Scholar, and a judicious Preacher, very laborious in his Maſters Work while he had Opportunity, and not without good Succeſs. He Dy'd, *Ann.* 1665.

Pontefract: Mr. *Ferret*. A conſtant, diligent, laborious Preacher, of competent Gifts and Learning. He was in great ſtraits after his Ejectment: But had a good Library. He Dy'd *Ann.* 1663. Aged about 64.

Kerby Hall: Mr. *Joſhua Smith*. Born in *Leeds*, and Student in *Katharine* Hall in *Cambridge*, where he made a good Proficiency in Learning. When ſettled in the Country, he became a very zealous Preacher, took much Pains in inſtructing his People, both in Publick and Private; and the Lord ſucceeded his endeavours; he did much good in a little Time, for he quickly ran out his Race. He Dy'd in 1662.

Poppleton near *York:* Mr. *Joſiah Holdſworth*. Born at *Rippenden* near *Hallifax*. He was Miniſter for ſome Years in *Eſſex*, where he was ſucceſsful for the good of many. He was Ejected at *Popleton* in 62, and remov'd thence to *Wakefield*. He Preach'd afterwards for a Year in *Idle* Chapel: And Dy'd at *Wakefield*, *Oct.* 18. 1677. *Ætat.* 75. He was a Pious Man, of a venerable Aſpect, had great Judgement in Phyſick, and was a very Intelligent Perſon.

Chapel le Brears near *Halifax:* Mr. *Gamaliel Marſden*. He was Student in *Trinity* Colledge by *Dublin* in *Ireland*, and continu'd there Ten Years; part of which he was Fellow. He was turn'd out with

with Dr. *Winter* upon King *Charles*'s Reſtauration, then came into *England*. He had but 5 *l.* when he Landed at *Leverpool*, and knew no Relations or Friends he could repair to, but reſolv'd to go to *Coley* in this County, where his Father had been Miniſter long before. There he found Friends, and was fix'd in this Chapel, whence he was Ejected by the Act of Uniformity. He afterwards went into *Holland*, and at his return taught ſome young Students at *Hague* Hall, Phyloſophy, *&c.* He was a ſolid Scholar, tho' no very plauſible Preacher. He was *Congregational*, but of a moderate Spirit. A Man of great Piety and Integrity. He Dy'd *May* 25. 1681. *Ætat.* 47.

* *He writ a ſerious Treatiſe upon* Mat. 6. 34. *and Printed ſome excellent Diſcourſes of Mr.* Garbut's; *Entit. One come from the Dead, to awaken Drunkards.*

Bramham: Mr. *Thomas Hardcaſtle* *. Born at *Barwick* upon *Holm*, and Train'd up under Mr. *Jackſon* of *Barwick*, a Learned Divine. He was but a Young Preacher when the Act of Uniformity came out, which found him at *Bramham*. He Preach'd afterwards at *Shadwel* Chapel, and other Places: Was a Man of pregnant Parts, and a bold Spirit, and fear'd no Danger. He was ſeveral times Priſoner at *York*, at *Leeds*, and *Cheſter*. At *Briſtol*, where he was Preacher to the *Anabaptiſts*, they ſent him to the Houſe of Correction. He was a Pious Man, and very ſtrict in his Life. He Dy'd at *Briſtol*, *Ann.* 1679.

Barley Chapel, near *Selbye:* Mr. *Pickering*. Born at *Kippax*, and Educated at *Cambridge*. A good Scholar, and uſeful Preacher. When Ejected, he maintain'd his Integrity. Some time Chaplain to Eſq; *Dinely* at *Bramhup*; whence he remov'd to *Morley*. He continu'd his Labours there, till a few Days before he Dy'd; which was in 1680. Aged about 44.

Healigh near *Tadcaſter:* Mr. *Cornelius Todd*. Second Son of Mr. *Todd* of *Leeds*. He was a Pious Man, an *Iſraelite* indeed. Who continu'd his Miniſterial Labours under many Diſcouragements and Diſadvantages. He took his turn at *Ellenthorp*, with others of his Brethren, invited by the incomparable Lady *Brook*; and had 8 *l.* a Year ſettled on him by the Lord *Wharton*, during Life. He Dy'd *Ann.* 1696.

Worſpur near *Barneſly*: Mr. *Shaw*. A Pious Man, and a good Scholar. After his being Silenc'd, he was Tutor to Mr. *Boſwel*'s Two Sons, whom he fitted for the Univerſity. Afterwards he Preach'd in *Holderneſs*, where he fell into a Conſumption. He Dy'd in *Sept.* 1691.

Tonge Chapel near *Leeds*: Mr. *Core* †. A ſober Man and good Scholar. He profeſs'd and practis'd Phyſick. He Dy'd at *Leeds*, *April* 1688. About 70 Years of Age.

† *He wrote a Book of Myſtical Antichriſt.*

Treaton: Mr. *Amgill*. One of neat Parts, and likely to be very uſeful, who Dy'd quickly after he was Ejected and Silenc'd.

Addle: Mr. *Thomas Sharp* *, M. A. † Born in *Little Horton*, near *Bradford* in this County, of Religious Parents, who ſeeing his Promptneſs and Induſtry for attaining Humane Learning, and hopefulneſs for Religion, Dedicated him to God in the Work of the Miniſtry, tho' he was their Eldeſt Son, and likely to have a conſiderable Eſtate. He was ſent to *Cambridge* in 1649. and admitted in *Clare-Hall* under the Tuition of the famous Mr. *David Clarkſon* (his Mother's Brother) who when he left the Univerſity, committed him to the Care of that great Man Mr. *John Tillotſon*, afterwards Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*. He was very Studious, and having excellent natural Parts, cultivated by great Advantages, and unuſual Induſtry, he became an univerſal Scholar: A ſolid Logician, a good Linguiſt, a fluent Orator, a profound Philoſopher, and a very skilful Mathematician. Leaving the Univerſity thus accompliſh'd, he firſt enter'd on the Publick Stage at *Peterborough*, where he did not continue long: but remov'd into his Native Countrey about the Year 60. His Uncle Mr. *William Clarkſon*, who was Parſon of *Addle* Dying, He was preſented to

* *See the Account of him, prefix'd, to his Divine Comforts, Antidoting inward perplexities of mind, which is the only Thing of his that is Extant.*

† *He wrote ſome things which were never Printed, but are reſerv'd in Private Hands.*

1. *Againſt the* Papiſts *upon a young Mans going over to them.*

2. *Againſt Two high Church-men, who gave themſelves a Liberty, rigidly to cenſure their peaceable Brethren.* 3. *Againſt ſome Quæries, ſaid to be* Dr. Owen's, *about the Lawfulneſs of their hearing Common-Prayer, who are in their Places, engag'd in the purſuit of farther Reformation. And they were his Verſes upon* Sleep, *which are Printed under* Clevelands *Name: Beſides which there are ſeveral valuable Poems, among his Manuſcripts.*

that

that Parſonage by Eſquire *Arthington* of *Arthington* the Patron. He accepted it, but enjoy'd it only for a very little while, for Dr. *Hich* Parſon of *Guiſeley*, challeng'd it as his by Right, upon the Return of King *Charles*, becauſe he was excluded by the Act againſt Pluralities made by the Parliament. Mr. *Sharp* was capable of it (having been Epiſcopally Ordain'd) and yet was willing to reſign, tho' Mr. *Arthington* was for trying his Title to preſent by Law. He was the more willing to quit it, foreſeeing a Storm coming. He had eaſily gotten other Preferment, had it not been for the Act of Uniformity, whereby he was Silenc'd. He Liv'd afterwards privately in his Fathers Houſe, and follow'd his Studies very cloſe. In 72. He took out a Licenſe and Preach'd in his own Houſe, whither great Numbers reſorted. He Preach'd afterwards at *Morley*: And when Mr. *Stretton* remov'd to *London*, he ſucceeded him in the Congregation at *Leeds*; where he Dy'd *Auguſt* 27. 1693. *Ætat.* 59. He was every way a great Man, and yet clothed with Humility. He was very Laborious in his Work, full of Self-denial, and exceeding temperate and mortify'd to all earthly Enjoments. He was excellent in Prayer; a fluent Preacher. His Sermons were Elaborate and Accurate; and all he did exceeding Polite and Scholar-like. He was of a Peaceable, Catholick Spirit, rather for compoſing Differences than eſpouſing a Party. His comfortable Exit, may be ſeen in the Printed Account of him, to which the Reader is referred.

Carwood: Mr. *Robert Sherborne*, M. A. His Father was Vicar of *Brayton* near *Selby*. His Mother was ſcarce Seven Months prægnant before his Birth. And as his Birth was præmature, ſo were his after Improvements. For he was ſooner a Man, a Chriſtian, and a Scholar, than moſt others. He was fit for the Univerſity at Thirteen Years of Age; but at Fourteen left *Coxwold* School, (where the famous Mr. *Smelt* was Maſter) and was admitted of *Sidney* Colledg in *Cambridge*, where he had Mr. *Parrot* for his Tutor. When he left the Univerſity he Liv'd ſome time with Mr. *Maskill* of *Sherburn*, by whom

he was assisted in the *Hebrew* Tongue, at the same time as he advanc'd in his other Studys. His first Ministerial Labours were at *Kellington*; whence he remov'd to *Carwood* in 1659, where he was a Pious Painful Preacher; joining with the Neighbouring Ministers in their Publick Lectures and Private Exercises. He found so much sweetness in Divine Ordinances himself, that he was thence led earnestly to Press a constant Attendance on them upon others. He was wont to perswade even those to attend who objected their Deafness: And he would encourage them to it by an Instance of a very good Man, one of his Parishioners at *Kellington*, who being stark Deaf, yet Attended constantly when he Preach'd; for he tho't he enjoy'd more Communion with God, and had more Comfort then, than at other times. For such to be present is to own God's Publick Worship, as well as they can; it is to Reproach the Sloth and Neglect of those who might wait there to better purpose, and yet are willingly absent. Their Reverend Deportment under the Publick Ministry, who only can see and Meditate may be a good Example to trifling Attendants, *&c.*

He was labouring in the Word and Doctrine among his Flock, for above the space of three Years, till the Uniformity Act disabled him. His Father Conform'd, and kept his Living at *Brayton*, and the Son went and liv'd with him, and was by Connivance Assistant to him. The Father read the Prayers, Administred the Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, according to the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of *England*, and Preach'd now and then; but the Son was the more constant Preacher. And he was generally belov'd by the People, and his Labours were greatly Successful. There were no Informations against him. And the Arch-Bishop's Connivance at him engag'd the Hearts of many good People to Pray for him. He held on thus for several Years: But his brittle Constitution not bearing hard Labour, with that Activity of Spirit which he discover'd in all: He sunk under his Burden, fell into a Consumption, and pin'd away in Six or Eight Weeks time; *Anno* 1670 or 71. The loss of him was much

Lamented in all thoſe Parts. His Funeral Sermon was Preach'd by Mr. *Ralph Ward* in *Brayton* Church.

Bradford: Mr. *Jonas Waterhouſe*. Sometime fellow of St. *John's* Colledge in *Cambridge*.

Rippon: Dr. *Richardſon*; turn'd out upon the King's coming in, and continued a Nonconformiſt afterwards. He travel'd beyond the Seas.

Leighton in the Morning: Mr. *Richard Whitehurſt*. Who afterwards had a Congregation near *Bradford*.

Whiſton: Mr. *Thelwell*, or *Thetwell*. He dy'd in 1684. Aged about 60.

Sherburn: Mr. *Tho. Johnſon*, yet living. Honley Chapel: Mr. *Dury* a Scotch-Man, who after his being Silenc'd, departed into *Scotland*. Staynington: Mr. *Darwen*. Letwell: Mr. *Hepworth*. Boulton: Mr. *Denton*. Bircklin: Mr. *David Barns*. Thornton: Mr. *Danſon*. Nunmonckton: Mr. *Izott*. Horfferth: Mr. *Bulkley*. Biſhops Thorp: Mr. *Ellwood*. Heaton: Mr. *Lea*. Chappleton: Mr. *Stables*. Baydon: Mr. *Moor*. Raſtrick: Mr. *Robinſon*. To whom we may add Mr. *Aſhley*, a Preacher, but unfix'd when the Act of Uniformity took Place; who was afterwards Miniſter of a Congregation at *Hull*.

Theſe Perſons following, *viz.* Mr. *Ingham*, Mr. *Peebles*, Mr. *Smith*, and Mr. *Trigott*, were turn'd out ſomewhere in the Weſt-Riding; but the places where are uncertain.

N. B. I forbear mentioning here Mr. *Milward*, and Mr. *Stretton*, of the former of whom we have already had an Account under the Univerſity of *Oxford*, as alſo of the latter, under the County of *Suſſex*. The former was turn'd out of the pleaſant living of *Darfield* in the Weſt-Riding of this County, which is reckon'd worth 300 *l. per Annum*, and the latter out of *Nun Appleton*.

The NORTH *and* EAST-RIDING.

Bedal: Mr. *John Gunter*. His Parſonage was worth 500 *l. per Annum*, and yet he forſook it, rather than he would violate his Conſcience. He was a Man of great worth, and fine Parts. He dy'd, *Anno* 1686.

Cherry-burton: Mr. *Thomas Micklethwait*: one of the Aſſembly of Divines, long ſince dead.

Hull: Mr. *John Shaw*. * He was many Years Preacher in the great Church here. A Man of a brave Preſence, of excellent Parts, of a ſtupendious Memory. There was ſcarce a remarkable Paſſage in the Book of Martyrs, but he could give you the Subſtance of it *Memoriter*. He had a great Facility in Expreſſing himſelf, in the Pulpit or in Conference. He had a plentiful Eſtate, and a Heart to do much good with it; being Ejected from *Hull*, at the King's return, he retir'd to *Rotheram* the place of his Nativity, where he Preach'd frequently, as the State of things and times would bear. He dy'd *Anno* 1664.

* *He hath written ſome ſmall Treatiſes; but I know not their Title.*

Beverley: Mr. *Wilſon*. After his being Silenc'd here, he liv'd privately till 1672. When he took out a Licenſe, and Preach'd at a Meeting at *Hull*. He was a very worthy Man. He dy'd ſuddenly in *February*. 1678.

Kerby Underhill: Mr. *Peter Clark*. One of the Aſſembly of Divines, turn'd out at *Bartholomew* day. He was living in *Holderneſs* near *Hull Sept.* 27. 1677. What became of him afterwards, I ſhould be glad to know.

Holden: Mr. *Arliſh*. A Man of ſingular Parts, an excellent Preacher, and of a very Publick Spirit. He had a good Eſtate, and did good to many with it. He ſpent the latter part of his Life at *York*, where he dy'd in 1680. Aged about 57.

Sutton: Mr. *Joſiah Holdſworth*. Bred in *Cambridge*, and afterwards Chaplain to Sir *Richard Houghton* of *Houghton Tower* in *Lancaſhire*. In 72, he ſet up a Meeting in *Heckmondwyke*. He dy'd in 1685. *Ætat.* 45. A Man of great Piety, Sincerity, Strictneſs,

and Industry for the good of Souls; and Bless'd with abundance of Success.

Skiringham: Mr. *Blackston.* An Active, Judicious, Grave Old Man. After his Ejection he liv'd at *York*, and maintain'd his Integrity to the last. He dy'd *An.* 1686. *Ætat.* 84.

Topcliff: Mr. *James Calvert*, the Son of *Robert Calvert* a Grocer and Sheriff of *York*, was Born in the Pavement in that Ancient City. There also he was Educated till fitted for the University. He was of *Clare Hall* in *Cambridge*, Contemporary with the late deservedly famous Arch-Bishop *Tillotson*, bred up under Mr. *David Clarkson.* He was a Graduate; but I'm not certain how long he stay'd in the University. He had been several Years at *Topcliffe* when he was Silenc'd by the Act of Uniformity. He afterwards retir'd to *York*, and liv'd privately, but not idly: For he Study'd hard, and wrote his learned Book concerning the ten Tribes.

He was an Ingenious as well as a Pious Divine, of a meek and quiet Temper; and when he could not Conform, he submitted. He had several Colloquys with the *Arminian* Party, and the Church-Men, many of whom he by his Learning and Moderation kept from flying too high in those Points; so that they mostly fell in with Mr. *Baxter* in the middle way. Many Pious Conformists, as Mr. *Chr. Jackson*, Mr. *Ratcliff*, &c. would have won him over to the Church; but he could not be satisfy'd with the Answers return'd to his Objections. So that with all his Moderation, he was a true Nonconformist: For he would never be Re-ordain'd, nor give Assent and Consent to all in the Liturgy: And yet such as were of different Sentiments Lov'd and Honour'd him. Printing his learned Tract forementiond, in 72, * he Dedicated it to that excellent Person Bishop *Wilkins*, on whom he waited at *Scarbrough-spaw*, together with Mr. *Williams* of *York*. He receiv'd them with much respect,

* *'Tis thus Entitled:* Naphthali; seu Colluctat. Theolog de reditu 10. Tribuum, Conversione Gentium, & Mens. Ezekielis. *Lond. Qu.* 1672.

and

and encourag'd them to live in hope of a Comprehenſion; which is yet to come. Many after all Diſcouragements, yet long and wait for it, as the greateſt Bleſſing that could befal this Nation, if the Foundation were but wide and large eno'. But 'tis more the matter of their Prayer, than their Hope, that we may come to this, before we are reduc'd to ſome great Extremity. About 1675, he became Chaplain to Sir *William Strickland* of *Boynton*, where he continu'd ſeveral Years, Preaching and Educating his Son, till both he and his Lady dy'd. Then he remov'd to *Hull*, and thence into *Northumberland*, to Sir *William Midleton's*, where he Preach'd conſtantly in the Chapel as Chaplain, Educated his only Son, was left Tutour to him when his Father dy'd, and was very careful in his Education, both at home and in *Cambridge*. He was a Man of great Reading, and a good Diſputant. He dy'd in *December*, 1698. He left his Books, and a good Collection of Manuſcripts, to his Couſin Mr. *Harriſon*, Fellow of *Sidney* Colledge in *Cambridge*.

Tanfield: Mr. *John Darnton*. He was not Ordain'd when Ejected, nor for ſeveral Years after; but when call'd to Preach in 72, he was much Aſham'd and Afflicted in Spirit, for his Preaching ſo long without Solemn Ordination; whereupon he apply'd himſelf to a Meeting of Miniſters, confeſs'd his failing, and after Examination, was Solemnly ſet apart by Faſting and Prayer and impoſition of Hands. *July* 10. 1678. He did good in that dark Place, and dy'd *July* 9. 1680.

Thruſk or Thurſk: Mr. *Matthew Hill*, M. A. Born and Bred in the Ancient City of *York*. He made good Improvements at School, and was afterwards of *Magdalen* Colledge in *Cambridge*, under the Tuiton of Mr. *Samuel Hammond*. Returning home, he improv'd himſelf much in the Hebrew Tongue, under the Direction of Mr. *Sherwood* of *Poppleton*. The firſt place in which he was call'd to the Exerciſe of the Miniſtry was at *Helaugh*, (a little Town about Six Miles from *York*) where he ſettled, after his having firſt been ſolemnly Ordain'd. The Teſtimonial of his Ordination, being an Original, drawn up by the

Famous Mr. *Edward Bowles*, and in his own Hand Writing, and as good a Model as I have ſeen, a Copy of it is here Annex'd in the Margin. *

* *For as much as the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, the Great Apoſtle of our Profeſſion has judg'd it meet that there ſhould be a Succeſſion of Paſtors and Teachers in his Church, even unto the end of the World, for the edifying of his Body, until it come unto a perfect Man, unto the meaſure of the Stature of his fulneſs; and hath deputed the care of the Continuation of this Miniſterial Office, unto ſuch as have been already call'd thereunto, requiring them to commit the things they have receiv'd unto faithful Men, who ſhall be able to teach others alſo: We the Miniſters of Chriſt, who are call'd to Watch over part of his Flock in the City of* York, *with the Aſſiſtance of ſome others, that we might not be wanting to the Service of the Church in this its Neceſſity, having receiv'd credible Teſtimony under the Hands of divers Miniſters of the Goſpel and others, of the Sober, Righteous and Godly Converſation of* Matthew Hill, M. A. *and Preacher of the Goſpel at* Helaugh, *as alſo, concerning his Gifts for the Miniſtry, have proceeded to make further tryal of his fitneſs for ſo great a Work; and being in ſome good Meaſure Satisfy'd concerning his Piety and Ability, have upon the 23d day of* June, *A.D.* 1654, *proceeded ſolemnly to ſet him the ſaid* Matthew Hill *apart unto the Office of a Presbyter, and Work of the Miniſtry, by laying on our Hands with Faſting and Prayer: By the Vertue whereof we do eſteem and declare him a lawful Miniſter of Chriſt, and hereby recommend him to the Church of Chriſt, and more eſpecially unto the People of* Helaugh *aforeſaid, that they would receive him as a Miniſter of the Goſpel, Loving, Honouring, and Obeying him, in the Lord.*

In Witneſs whereof we have hereunto ſet our Hands, this 24th day of June 1654. Nathanael Jackſon, Edward Bowles, Thomas Calvert.

He had here much Oppoſition from the *Quakers*, upon many of whom he gain'd by Degrees. He remov'd from hence to *Thirſk*, where he was Ejected in 62. He was a Man of quick Parts, a good Scholar, a ſerious warm and lively Preacher, and of a free generous Temper. Being Ejected, he was wholly deſtitute of a Subſiſtence; and his Father, who had not without great difficulty born the Charge of his Education, was not able to give him any great Aſſiſtance. He Preach'd for a while privately at *York*, but in a great deal of Danger. He could not bear being Burdenſome to his Relations, and therefore caſts himſelf wholly upon Divine Providence, and Travels to *London*, in ſearch of ſome Employment. There he

he obtain'd a Chaplains Place, which drew him down to *Gatten* in *Surrey*, where he had 20*l. per Annum.* Some time after, removing thence, he loſt his little All in the Fire of *London*; and writing to his near Relation, He Subſcrib'd thus: *Your Brother, ſine re, ſine ſpe, tantum non ſine ſe, M. H.* He had ſeveral Relations that all along Preſs'd him to Conformity, which would ſoon have alter'd his Circumſtances; but no Neceſſitys could tempt him to think of offering Violence to his Conſcience. To his other Calamities, was added a weak and crazy Body, which was continually almoſt out of Order. At laſt he determin'd upon a Tranſplantation to the *Weſt-Indies*, and Embarqu'd with a light Cargo: Having little elſe beſides a few Cloaths, a Bible, a Concordance, and a ſmall parcel of Manuſcripts. He fix'd in *Charles County* in *Maryland* in 1669, where a brighter Scene began to open, and he had a Proſpect of conſiderable Uſefulneſs in the Miniſtry, and of a good Advantage by his Labours in temporal Reſpects. But new Troubles and Difficulties aroſe afterwards, which very much diſappointed his Hopes and Expectations, ſo that it may be ſaid as truly of him as of any one in modern Times, that it was thro' many Tribulations that he enter'd into the Kingdom of God. His whole Life was indeed a Comment, upon *Prov.* 16. 9. 33. Not being allow'd to ſerve God according to his Conſcience in his Native Country, he was forc'd into the remoteſt Parts, where he laid his Bones in a ſtrange Land, but with the ſame Hope of an happy Reſurrection unto Eternal Life, as if the ſame ſpot of Land that bro't him forth, had alſo entomb'd him.

Heſſel: Mr. *Thomas Micklethwait*. Feriby: Mr. *Rider*. Stillingfleet: Mr. *Thomas*. Stillington: Mr. *Alexander Medcalf*. Wetwang: Mr. *Wait*. Ellington: Mr. *Hulſton*. Bridlington: Mr. *Lucks* or *Luch*. Hilſton: Mr. *Blunt*. Roſs: Mr. *Stevenſon*. Burſtwick: Mr. *Hill*. Ganton: Mr. *Colenhone*. Wheldrake: Mr. *Byard*. Boynton: Mr. *Laughthorn*. Ellinton: Mr. *Fox* or *For*. Bransby: Mr. *Pomroy*. Hemminburgh: Mr. *Fido*. Cottingham: Mr. *Robinſon*. Sculcoats or Ouſwood: Mr. *Luddington*. Sigglethorp: Mr. *Law*. Serraby: Mr. St. *Hill*. Slingsby: Mr. *Sinclere*. Kelfield:

field. Mr. *Thomas.* Bugthorp: Mr. *Cranford.* Sandhuton: Mr. *Dunkinſon.* Kirklington: Mr. *Philip Nisbitt,* an able Man. Leſtingham: Mr. *Pecket.* Well Mr. *Procter.* Oſmotherlay: Mr. *Shemhold.* Eaſingwould: Mr. *Wilſon.* Heſſel: Mr. *Wilſon.* Stirington: Mr. *Mekal* or *Nichol.* Kirby Mall: Mr. *Walton.* And Mr. *Whearam,* and *Mr. Bayock.* who were not fixt. The following Perſons were turn'd out at *Bartholomew* Day, and afterwards Conform'd.

Mr. *John Hool* of *Bradfield.* Mr. *John Hide* at *Slaughwait.* Mr. *Kenion* of *Riponden.* Mr. *John Hepworth* of *Lotwel.* Mr. *Liſter* of *Giggleſwick.* Mr. *Wood* of *Saddleworth.* Mr. *Scargil* of *Chapelthorp.* Mr. *Moorhouſe* of *Caſtleford.* Mr. *Bovil* of *Bramly.* Mr. *Etherington* of *Morley.* Mr. *Moor* of *Baildon.* Mr. *Obadiah Lee.* Mr. *Buckley* of *Hosford.* Mr. *Lamb* of *York.* Mr. *Timothy Root,* of *Sowrby Bridge.* Mr. *Denton* near *York.* Mr. *Sampſon* of *Raweliff.*

In the County of LINCOLN.

Lincoln City: Mr. *Edward Reyner,* M. A. and Mr. *James Abdee.* Mr. *Reyner* was an Eminent Divine, of ſpecial Note. He was Born near *Leeds* in *Yorkſhire, Anno,* 1600, and bred in the Univerſity of *Cambridge.* He fear'd the Lord from his Youth. He was a great frequenter of Sermons in his Childhood; and a Conſtant Attendant on the Monthly Exerciſe which was encourag'd by that Excellent and Primitive Arch-Biſhop, Dr. *Toby Matthews,* at *Leeds, Pudſey, Halifax* and other Places. He was frequent in ſecret Prayer, ſtrict in obſerving the Sabbath, and grave in his whole Deportment, giving hopeful indications of future Eminence. While he was at the Univerſity, he was very Induſtrious and Diligent, and laid in a good ſtock of Learning. The ſtraitneſs of his Circumſtances would not allow of ſo long a ſtay there as his inclination led him to deſire; and ſometime after his remove thence, he taught School at *Asgerby* in *Lincolnſhire.* Mr. *Morris,* upon whom he depended moſt for his Encouragement there, being unable thro'

the

the Loſſes he ſuſtain'd to give him the Aſſiſtance he promis'd him, he was again at a Loſs for a Subſiſtence. But Providence ſeaſonably open'd a new way for him by an offer from the Counteſs of *Warwick* of the School of *Market Raſon*, in which he continu'd for ſome time, induſtriouſly grounding his Scholars in the Rudiments of Learning, and Principles of Religion; and improving all his ſpare time for the perfecting of his own Studys. And at Four Years end, the Counteſs beſtow'd upon him the Lecture at *Welton* which ſhe maintain'd. He was afterwards invited to *Lincoln* by a moſt Affectionate call of many Pious People there; firſt to be Lecturer at *Benedith*, *Auguſt* 13. 1626. And then to be Parſon at *Peters* at the *Arches*, *March* 4. 1627. Where he diſcover'd uncommon Miniſterial Abilities, and was an unſpeakable Bleſſing to the City, He was even then a Nonconformiſt to the Ceremonies, which created him Adverſarys, who would frequently complain of him, and threaten him, and yet his Liberty of Preaching was continu'd; and his Moderation procur'd him Favour with ſeveral that belong'd to the Minſter, who would ſometimes hear him in the Afternoon. Sir *Edward Lake* himſelf, the Chancellor was one of them, who was often his Auditor, and declar'd he receiv'd benefit by his Preaching, till he was reprov'd from above.

Dr. *Williams* the Biſhop of the Dioceſs in one of his Viſitations which was of Three Days Continuance, appointed Dr. *Sanderſon* to Preach the firſt day, Dr. *Hirſt* the ſecond, and Mr. *Reyner* the third. As ſoon as he had done, the Biſhop ſent him an invitation to Dine with him, and before parting preſented him with the Prebend of *Botolphs* in *Lincoln*: And at the Viſitation, Repeated, Commended and Confirm'd a good part of his Sermon, which prevented any inconvenience from the inferiour Clergy, who otherwiſe could not well have endur'd his free Reproofs. The importunity of Friends prevail'd with him to accept the Biſhop's Preſent of a Prebend, but when he came next Morning ſeriouſly to Reflect upon the Neceſſary Attendants and Conſequences of this his New Preferment, he was much diſſatisfy'd; for he

he found he could not keep it with a ſafe and quiet Conſcience: Hereupon he prevail'd with the Lady *Armine* (to whom he was related) to go to the Biſhop, to mollifie the Offence, and obtain a *Quietus*. The Biſhop pleaſantly told the Lady; *I have had many Counteſſes, Ladys, and others that have been Suitors to me to get Preferments for their Friends; but you are the firſt that ever came to take away a Preferment, and that from one that I beſtow'd it on with my own Hands.*

He was very Laborious in the Dutys of his Place, warning every one Night and Day with Tears, teaching them Publickly and from Houſe to Houſe, Being an Example of a Pious Diligent and Conſcientious Paſtour. It was a mighty trouble to him to find ſome of his People falling off to unſound Principles. He Pray'd for them without ceaſing, and diſcours'd them with much Meekneſs, reſolving before Hand to let no haſty Word paſs the Doors of his Lips. He laid down in his Sermons the Grounds of thoſe truths they had fallen from; yet in ſuch a general way, as if none in the Congregation had been of another Mind, that none might be Exaſperated. In 1639, He receiv'd Letters to Solicit him to take the Paſtoral Charge of the Congregational Church of *Engliſhmen* reſiding at *Arnheim* in *Guelderland*. One of the Letters was Subſcrib'd by Mr. *Thomas Goodwin* and Mr. *Philip Nye*: The other was from Sir *William Conſtable*. But hoping that better times were approaching in *England*, he ſent them a Denial.

In the Time of the Civil War he was much threaten'd by his Adverſaries, and felt many Effects of their Malice. Moſt of his Goods (except his Books) were plunder'd; and he was in danger of being Piſtoll'd in the Church. And therefore, when the Earl of *New-Caſtles* Forces poſſeſs'd the City and County of *Lincoln*, he fled away by *Boſton* to *Lynne*, and ſo to *Norwich* and *Yarmouth*, and was preſerv'd. In this Time of his with-drawment, he was uſeful to many. His Miniſtry found ſuch Acceptance, that both *Norwich* and *Yarmouth* ſtrove for him: And for a while he divided himſelf between both; Preaching at *Yarmouth* on the Lords Day, and keeping a Lecture at *Norwich* on the Week Day. This being

being a very great Fatigue, the Aldermen of both Places at length choſe Two Grave Miniſters to conſider and determine which Place gave the firſt and faireſt Call: And when it was decided for *Norwich*, he ſettled there for a few Years, and had a remarkable Bleſſing attending his Miniſterial Labours. At length the People of *Lincoln* by importunate Letters from themſelves, the Mayor and Aldermen under the Seal of the Corporation, with the Committee of Parliament, *&c.* challeng'd him for theirs: And obtain'd an Order from the *Aſſembly of Divines*, then ſitting at *Weſtminſter*, or rather a Reſolution in the Caſe, upon an Appeal made to them about the matter. The People of *Norwich* were all in General earneſtly deſirous of his ſtay with them. And at the ſame Time he was invited to *Leeds* in *Yorkſhire* by the Magiſtrates and Principal Inhabitants, who preſs'd him with the Conſideration of his Native Country which needed his help: And he had another preſſing Invitation to be one of the Preachers in *York* City. But the Conſideration of his former Relation to *Lincoln* made him determine for that City, without any Debate in one Caſe or the other about Means or Maintenance, or any Cajoling or Wheedling, which would have procur'd him whatſoever he would. *October* 29. 1645. He return'd to *Lincoln*, and ſettled in the Minſter. He was now wholly free from Apparitors, Purſivants, Ceremonies, and Subſcriptions, which were the Matter of his former Trouble, and yet he had not been long there before a new Trouble came upon him. For ſome of the Soldiers from one of the Kings Garriſons in thoſe Parts came Foraging as far as *Lincoln*. Their Malice was Pointed at Mr. *Reyner*, and him they Purſu'd, and there was none to oppoſe them. He fled into the Library to hide himſelf; but they follow'd him with-drawn Swords, Swearing they would have him Dead or Alive: Upon which he open'd the Doors, and they ſtript him of his Coat, Purſe, *&c.* and led him away in Triumph, till Captain *Gibbon*, One of the Commanders, who had been his Scholar at *Raſon*, Eſpy'd and Releas'd him. But after the Garriſons were reduc'd, he remain'd unmoleſted.

His

His great Concern now was for a Method in Church Matters, that ſhould Anſwer the moſt deſireable Ends, ſecure Purity, and Order, and yet hinder Animoſities and Diſſenſions. His Judgment was for the *Congregational* Way, and yet he had obſerv'd ſuch ill Succeſs in gather'd Churches, that he was a little Diſcourag'd. *I find* (ſays he) *many run into Errors, and are unſtay'd. I am not ſatisfy'd with their manner of laying the Foundation of a Church, as if there was none before; nor with their manner of Meeting, when every Member may Preach, which brings in deſpiſing of Preaching by their own Officers, and others in Publick: Nay, and even Strangers and Soldiers are permitted to Exerciſe*, &c. He was for proceeding warily: And at laſt after much Conſideration, and many tho'tful Hours ſpent in Prayers and Tears, he determin'd upon the *Congregational* Way, with theſe Three Cautions. *To hold Communion with other Churches, who ſeparated the Precious from the Vile, and to take Advice from them in a Brotherly Way. Not to admit any for Members, who live in Places under Godly Miniſters: And to contend for Truth, and bear Witneſs againſt the Errors of the Times both Publickly and Privately*; and particularly *ANTINOMIANISM*, and *ANABAPTISM*. Had the like Precaution been us'd by others, much Heat and Diſorder, had been prevented, both then and afterwards.

Being thus fix'd, he diligently fulfill'd his Miniſtry. He was a conſtant Preacher at St. *Peters* in the Morning, and at the Minſter in the Afternoon: And that his Miniſtry might be the more Effectual, he reduc'd it into a Catechetical Way, which was his Evening Exerciſe. He was a great Reprover of Sin, where-ever he ſaw it, in great or ſmall. He was conſciencious in his Conduct as to Publick Affairs, and could not fall in with the Practiſes and Opinions of the Times. The *Engagement* to the *Commonwealth*, which was taken by a great many of the Epiſcopal Party, was what he ſcrupled and refus'd. He weigh'd the Matter *Pro & Con*, as he did moſt of the great Concernments of his Life, and could not ſatisfie himſelf in a Compliance. In the Year 1658, when there met at the *Savoy*, Paſtors and Members from

from above a Hundred *Congregational* Churches, a Confeſſion of Faith and Order was Agreed upon among them, *Nemine Contradicente*. It was ſent to Mr. *Reyner* into the Country for his Suffrage with this Intimation; that the Publiſhing of it ſhould be ſtay'd, till his Anſwer was return'd, *&c.* His Anſwer was to this Purpoſe; that he gave his free and full Conſent to the Confeſſion of Faith; but that as to the Platform of Order, tho' he lik'd the Subſtance of it, yet there were ſome Particulars therein ſo expreſs'd, as that he was not ſatisfy'd. And at another Time, when he was urg'd to ſet his Hand to the Deſign, call'd the *Agreement of the People*, he poſitively deny'd: And inſtead of his Hand, ſent them divers unanſwerable Reaſons under his Hand againſt it.

He was a very humble, meek, quiet and patient Perſon; giving this as his Obſervation in the cloſe of his Days: *I have ever found that Words ſpoken in meekneſs of Wiſdom, and not from an angry Spirit, are moſt piercing to others, and moſt comfortable to my ſelf.* He was a great Recorder of Gods Mercies to Him and His; and to that End he wrote a Book of Remembrance as he calls it, wherein he has carefully inſerted many particular Mercies of God in his Education, in the ſeveral Stages of his Life, in his Removes, in his Wife, Son, Church, Miniſtry; in Preſervations from Adverſaries, *&c.*

His Works * were Publiſh'd partly by himſelf in his Life-time, and partly by his Son Mr. *John Reyner*, after his Deceaſe. This Mr. *John Reyner* (who hath been already mention'd in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, where he was Fellow of *Emanuel* Colledge) was a right Worthy Son of ſuch a Father. One of conſiderable Learning, ſingular Modeſty, and eminent Piety. He was Silenc'd before he had any fixed Place for the Exerciſe of his Miniſtry; and after his Ejection in 62 practis'd Phyſick. He was well qua-

* *They are theſe*, Precepts for Chriſtian Practiſe. *Of which there are ſeveral Editions. In the* 11*th*, *Printed in* Oct. 1658. *There are Added, Rules for governing the Affections; and for the Government of the Tongue.* Conſiderations concerning Marriage: *The Honour, Duties, Benefits, and Troubles of it*, Oct. 1657. A Vindication of Humane Learning, and Univerſities, &c. 8vo. 1663. The Being and well Being of a Chriſtian. *In Three Treatiſes*, Oct. 1669.

lify'd

lify'd for educating Young Men in Academical Learning. Which (after much preſſing) he was prevail'd with to undertake: But had not been long engag'd in it, before he, to the Publick Loſs, was taken off by an untimely Death at *Nottingham*. But whoſoever will take the Pains to peruſe his Preface to his Father's *Defence of Humane Learning*; and an intercalated Chapter in that Book about the uſefulneſs of the *Arabick* Tongue, for the Underſtanding the Scriptures; together with his Introductory Diſcourſe, about the Nature and Counterfeits of Grace, prefix'd to a Poſthumous Treatiſe of his Fathers, about *The Being and well Being of a Chriſtian*, will have ſuch a Specimen of his Sprightlineſs and Abilities, as will lead him to apprehend that he might have done great Things, had it pleas'd God to have lent him longer to the World.

Althorpe (in the Iſle of *Axholme*) Mr. *Thomas Spademan*. Educated at *Lincoln Colledge* in *Oxford*. Much eſteem'd for his Learning, Diligence, and Charity. So hearty in his Affection to the Old *Engliſh* Form of Government, that he refus'd to Sign the *Engagement*, which was generally done by his Neighbouring Miniſters, who afterwards Conform'd. And tho' he would not Sign the Declaration appointed by the *Oxford* Act in 1665, yet his known Loyalty and peaceable Behaviour induc'd the Deputy Lieutenants and Juſtices of the Peace, to permit him to reſide unmoleſted in the Place where he had been Miniſter. After the Indulgence granted in 1672, he was choſen Paſtor of a *Presbyterian* Church in *Boſton*, where he was generally eſteem'd for his Piety and Moderation.

Grantham: Mr. *Henry Vaughan*. And Mr. *John Starkey*. Mr. *Baxter* gives this Character of Mr. *Vaughan*, *That he was an Able, Sober, Godly, Judicious, Moderate Man, and of great Worth*. He was laid in Goal at *Grantham* for not Conforming, and went thence to *Barmudas* with his Family. Meeting with great Diſcouragement there from the *Quakers*, he return'd again into *England*, and Liv'd afterwards in *London*, obſcurely, and in a very low Condition.

Mr.

Mr. *Starkey* was a Worthy Divine, and excellent Preacher. First of *Peter-house*, and afterwards of St. *Johns* Colledge in *Cambridge*, where he was many Years Fellow. His Thirst after the Improvements of his Mind was very remarkable, and kept him close to his Studies all his Days. His Pulpit Performances ever smelt of the Lamp; his Delivery was graceful but not noisie; and it appear'd by him, that there is a Mildness in speaking, that is as Powerful as Force. Dr. *Bates* once told a Friend, that tho' Mr. *Starkey* much affected Retirement, yet he was fit for the best Auditory in *England*. He tho't much, but spake little in Company: Tho' upon just Occasions, he could speak as much to the Purpose as most Men. Never was he heard to Censure or Backbite others. He had none of that Feavorishness and Intemperance of Spirit, whereby some are over-heated, to the setting others as well as themselves on Fire. His Moderation was known unto all. While after his being Silenc'd he resided in *Lancashire*, it was his constant Custom, (the Parish Minister being a Worthy Man) to repair on Lords Days to the Publick Church; and tho' he continu'd the Exercise of his Ministry in Private, yet it was not till the Worship there was over. He spent the latter Part of his Life at *Newington Green*, near *London*, where he Liv'd belov'd, and Dy'd lamented. His Funeral Sermon was Preach'd by Mr. *Timothy Rogers*.

Flixborough: Mr. *Grant*. Some time Minister in *Worcestershire*, not far from *Kederminster*; was present at *Bewdley*, at the Disputation between Mr. *Baxter* and Mr. *Tombs*, which was much to his Satisfaction. After his being Silenc'd in this County, he retir'd to *Thurnsco* in *Yorkshire*. He was a very Active Man, of pregnant Parts, and great Learning, fit for any Company and Discourse; and an acceptable useful Preacher. He was a great frequenter of the Meeting at the Lady *Rhodes* at *Houghton*. He was at last seiz'd with a Palsie, which continu'd upon him half a Year. He Dy'd in 1681. *Ætat.* 64.

Croule:

Croule: Mr. *Durant.* After his being Silenc'd, he retir'd into *Yorkshire*, where he supply'd Mr. *Fisher's* Place as Pastor to the Congregation at *Sheffield.* Having done so some time, he was sent Prisoner to *York* Castle, where he Dy'd.

Pickworth: Mr. *Drake.* An excellent *Hebrician*, and Scripture Preacher. Stamford: Mr. *Brown*, Mr. *Richardson*, and Mr. *Cawthorn*, who is yet Living, Pastor of a Congregation at *Stoke-Newington* in *Middlesex.* Boston: Mr. *Anderson.*

Totney: Mr. *Martin Finch* *. Afterwards Pastor of a Congregation in the City of *Norwich.* Burton: Mr. *Mark Trickett.* Bromby and Frodingham: Mr. *John Ryther.* Lee: Mr. *Thomas Bonner.* Bratleby: Mr. *Theoph. Brittain.* Sleford: Mr. *George Boheme.* Kirton in Lindsey: Mr. *Moses Mells.* Manby: Mr. *Cramlington.*

Gunworly: Mr. *Matthew Sylvester* †. Who continu'd some time in the Country. And came afterwards to *London*, where he first exercis'd his Ministry alone, and afterwards in Conjunction with Mr. *Baxter*, who had a peculiar Respect for him, Living and Dying. The Remainder of Mr. *Baxters* Manuscripts are lodg'd in his Hands.

* *He hath Publish'd an useful Treatise, of the Conversion of Sinners to God in Christ,* Oct. 1680. *And a Funeral Sermon for Dr.* Collings, *Qu.* 1695.

† He *hath Publish'd a Sermon upon being for ever with the Lord,* Oct. *Another before the Societies for Reformation; And Four Sermons in the Volumes of the Morning Exercise. One in the Supplement to the Morning Exercise at* Cripplegate, *about the overcoming the inordinate Love of Life, and Fear of Death. A Second in that against* Popery, *to prove that Baptism and the Lords Supper, are the only Sacraments of the Covenant of Grace under the New Testament. A Third in the Continuation of Morning Exercise.* Qu. *on that Question.* How *may a gracious Person, from whom God hides his Face, trust in the Lord as his God. And a Fourth, in the Last Volume, on the Cure of a Lukewarm Temper.*

He *hath also some Sermons on the Twelfth Chapter of the Epistle to the* Hebrews, *now in the Press.*

Burton Pepperdine: Mr. *Lee.* Billingborow: Mr. *James Morton.* Donesby: Mr. *Rockett.* Levington: Mr. *Seth Wood.* Fulbeck: Mr. *Abraham Hinscliffe.* Claipool: Mr. *Redman.* Harlaxton: Mr. *Richard Northam.* Allington: Mr. *George Beck.* Boothby on the

the Cliff: Mr. *John Saunders.* Wiberton: Mr. *Law.* Quaplode, or Whapledd: Mr. *Petit.* Marcham: Mr. *Arnold.* Glentworth: Mr. *Ayres.* Bareby: Mr. *Elwood.* Tothill: Mr. *Gunvell.* Winthorpe: Mr. *Horne.* Ribie, or Rigsby, or Wragby, or Wrauby, (I know not which) Mr. *Jackſon.* Toſt: Mr. *Lawſon.* Barton: Mr. *Roat.* Steeping: Mr. *Thompſon.* Leſingham: Mr. *Hales.* Horn Caſtle: Mr. *Dickenſon.* Swafeald: Mr. *Weſton.* Colſterworth: Mr. *Brown.*

At uncertain Places: Mr. *Beckett* and Mr. *Oliver*; who after his being Silenc'd, was a Chaplain in *Yorkſhire* to that Pious and Excellent Perſon the Lady *Norcliff.* He was a ſpiritful little Man, a good Scholar, and a worthy Preacher. He dy'd *July* 10. 1686. *Ætat.* 72.

There Conform'd afterwards in this County, Mr. *Male* of *Beckby*: Mr. *William Laughton* of *Weſtborough.* Mr. *Sharp* of *Sedgbrooke*: and Mr. *Chriſtopher Read* of *Baſſingham.* If there were more, I'd be thankful for Intelligence.

In the County Palatine of CHESTER.

In the City of Cheſter. St. Michaels; Mr. *William Cook.* The great Church: *Thomas Harriſon*, D. D. St. Peters: Mr. *John Glendall.* St. Johns; Mr. *Peter Leigh.* Trinity: Mr. *Thomas Upton.*

Mr. *William Cook*, was bred up under the famous Mr. *John Ball.* He was a Man of a moſt Godly Life, and unwearied Labour. One of the Primitive Stamp; who could go in poor cloathing, live on a little, travel on foot, Preach and Pray almoſt all the Week when he had Opportunity; in Seaſon and out of Seaſon; trampling on this World as Dirt, and living a mortify'd laborious Life. He ſtrictly adher'd to his Principles in all the turns of the Times.

He was first Minister at *Wroxal* in *Warwickshire*; there he Publish'd two Treatises against the Anabaptists, From thence by the Advice of the *London* Ministers, he was remov'd to *Ashby* in *Leicestershire*. He was Ejected there for refusing the Engagement; and afterward settled in this City, where he was an useful Minister, till he was outed by the Act of Uniformity. After King *Charles* the first was Beheaded, he would often Pray, *that God would pull down all usurped Power, and restore the banish'd to their Right*. He was greatly offended at the Anabaptists, Seperatists, and Sectarys, and *Cromwels* Army for their Disloyalty. And therefore he tho't it his Duty to join with Sir *George Booth*, (afterwards Lord *Delamere*) when he made his Attemp to bring in the King, in 1659. He then perswaded the Citizens of *Chester* to deliver their City to him: For which he was bro't up Prisoner to *London*, and continu'd long in Confinement in *Lambeth* House; and had not the times turn'd, he had been try'd for his Life. But all this would not procure his Liberty to Preach the Gospel of Christ, without the Oaths, Subscriptions, Declarations, Reordination, and Conformity requir'd: Nay, quickly after his being Silenc'd, he was committed to the Common Jail of *Chester*, for Preaching in his own House, by the Mayor, at the Instigation of the then Bishop *Hall*. He continu'd to the time of his Death in a Pastoral Relation to a Society of many worthy and eminent Christians in that City; tho' during the heat of the Five Mile Act, he was forc'd to withdraw to *Puddington* in *Wirral*, where (as in *Chester* till King *Charles* Indulgence) he constantly attended on the Publick Ministry; and he himself Preach'd in the Intervals. He would say sometimes to his Friends, when he was in that Retirement, that he tho't *What little Peace and Quietness there was in this World, God's People enjoy'd in their Corners*. He was very indefatigable in his Ministerial Labours, in which he never sought any one's Assistance or Help; tho' while he had Liberty he constantly kept a Publick Fast in his Congregation every Month, as he did also a Private Fast in his own Closet and Family every Week. He usually set apart one Afternoon every Week, to visit the Familys

his Congregation, and to Catechize their Children and Servants, and Diſcourſe with them Perſonally about their Souls. His Viſits were ſhort and edifying; he manag'd them as one that was a great Husband of his time, and ſeldom or never parted without Prayer. He was not free to join in the Common Prayer, and bore his Teſtimony againſt Prelacy and the Ceremonies with ſomething of Zeal; but his great Piety, Integrity, Mortification and Charity, recommended him to the Reſpects even of many that differ'd from him. If any ask'd his Advice in a matter which might draw ſuffering upon them, he would be very tender, and deſire them not to depend upon his Judgment: But ſince it was a matter of ſuffering, to be fully perſwaded in their own Minds. He was a great Scholar, and a hard Student to the laſt; and was far from entangling himſelf in the Affairs of this Life, not knowing what he had, ſave the Bread which he ate. In Worldly Matters he was not very Converſable; but in Diſcourſe of the things of God, none more free and affable, or more ready to do Good. He liv'd and dy'd a great Example of ſtrict and cloſe walking with God, and a Heavenly Converſation; and his Memory is to this Day Precious with many. He finiſh'd his Courſe with Joy, *July* 4. 1684. *Ætat.* 73. When he lay on his Death-Bed, an Aged Friend of his asking him if he had not Comfort in Reflection upon his Labours in the Work of God, he preſently reply'd, *I have nothing to Boaſt of.* Tho' for ſometime before he dy'd, ſuch was the heat of the Perſecution, that he durſt not ſhew his Face in the City, yet many Conſiderable Perſons were very forward to do him Honour at his Death.

Dr. *Thomas Harriſon*, was Born at *Kingſton* upon *Hull*, and bred in *New England*. He was a Celebrated Preacher in the City of *London*, and extreamly follow'd, *Anno* 1651, and 52; and afterwards went over with *Henry Cromwel*, when he was ſent to Govern *Ireland* as Lord Lieutenant. He liv'd in his Family with very great Reſpect; and was for ſeveral Years Preacher at *Chriſt Church* in *Dublin* with Univerſal Applauſe. He continu'd there till the turn of the Times, and then came back into *England*, and fix'd

in *Chester*, where he was Preacher in the great Church, and was in no want either of a large or attentive Auditory. Here he was Silenc'd by the Act of Uniformity; and therefore he croſt the Seas again to *Dublin*, where he had before met with unuſual Reſpect, and continu'd the Exerciſe of his Miniſtry in Private, having a flouriſhing Congregation, and many Perſons of Quality for his conſtant Auditors. He was extreamly Popular, and this ſtir'd up much Envy. He was a moſt agreeable Preacher, and had a peculiar way of Inſinuating himſelf into the Affections of his Hearers; and yet us'd to write all that he deliver'd, and afterwards took a great deal of Pains to impreſs what he had committed to writing upon his Mind, that he might in the Pulpit deliver it *Memoriter*. He had alſo an extraordinary Gift in Prayer; being noted for ſuch a Marvellous Fluency, and peculiar Flights of Spiritual Rethorick, ſuiting any particular Occaſions and Circumſtances, as were to the Admiration of all that knew him. He was a compleat Gentleman, much Courted for his Converſation: Free with the meaneſt, and yet fit company for the greateſt Perſons. My Lord *Thomond* (who had no great Reſpect for Eccleſiaſticks of any ſort) declar'd his Singular value of the Doctor, and would often diſcover an high Eſteem of his Abilitys.

He was Congregational in his Judgment; and tho' his People were univerſally of another Stamp, yet he manag'd all matters with that Diſcretion, Temper and Moderation, that there never was the leaſt Claſhing or Danger of a Fraction. When he dy'd, the whole City of *Dublin* ſeem'd to Lament the loſs of him, and there was a general Mourning. He had a moſt Decent Honourable Funeral, attended by Perſons of all Ranks and Qualities. The Sermon was Preach'd by Mr. *Daniel Williams*, at that time Paſtour of another Congregation in that City.

He left behind him a valuable Library: And among other Manuſcripts, a large Folio, containing a whole Syſtem of Divinity. But I don't know that he has any thing in Print, beſides a Book Entit. *Topica Sacra*, or Spiritual Pleadings, in *Oct.*

Malpas

Malpas: Mr. *George Mainwaring*. Born in Wrenbury Pariſh in this County, and ſupported at the Univerſity by Mr. *Cotton* of *Cumbermere*, where he had the Reputation of a good Scholar. He was firſt Chaplain to Sir *Henry Delves*, afterwards Rector of *Baddely*, and Chaplain to Sir *Thomas Manwaring*. After the Wars he was remov'd to *Malpas*, whence he was Ejected upon King *Charles*'s coming in. His Converſation was Exemplary, eſpecially for plainneſs and integrity; he was eminent for Expounding Scripture. While he was at *Malpas*, he conſtantly gave all the Milk which his Dairy yielded on the Lord's Day to the Poor. He dy'd in a good Old Age, *March* 14. $16\frac{6}{7}\frac{7}{8}$.

Macclesfield or Maxfield: Mr. *James Bradſhaw*, Born in *Darcy Leaver*, of a conſiderable Family. His Father had Three Sons whom he train'd up in *Oxon*, to the three learned Profeſſions, of Law, Divinity and Phyſick. This (who was the Second) was the Divine, a Man of incomparable Parts, and had a Body of Divinity in his Head. He was for ſometime Miniſter at *Wigan* in *Lancaſhire*, and liv'd in the Parſonage; but Mr. *Hotham* obtaining it, he was call'd to *Maxfield*, where the Act of Uniformity Silenc'd him. Then he liv'd in his own Houſe of *Darcy Leaver*, and obtain'd Liberty for a while to Preach Publickly at *Haughton* Chappel in *Dean* Pariſh; and afterwards at *Bradſhaw* Chappel, by the Connivance of Mr. *Bradſhaw* of *Bradſhaw* Hall, reading ſome of the Prayers, without ever Subſcribing. He dy'd in *May* 1685. *Ætat.* 73. A Man of quick Parts, ready Elocution, ſolid Learning, a very good Preacher, a nimble Diſputant, and every way well Accompliſh'd for the Miniſtry.

Thornton: Mr. *Samuel Fiſher*. Sometime of *Wibbington*, and afterwards of *Shrewsbury*: Turn'd out with Mr. *Blake*, for not taking the Engagement againſt the King and Houſe of Lords; and afterwards liv'd at *Thornton*, where he was caſt out and Silenc'd. He was an Ancient Divine, an able Preacher, and of a Godly Life.

Norbury: Mr. *John Follie*. Brother to Mr. *Thomas Follie* of *Altham* in *Lancaſhire*. Bred up in *Trinity* College near *Dublin* in *Ireland*; Aſſiſtant for a while

to Mr. *Angier* of *Denton*. Going to Preach one Lord's Day Morning in the Chapel at Norbury, after the Act for Uniformity had taken place, he found the Doors Lock'd upon him. The People being unwilling to looſe the Opportunity, by ſome Means or other open'd the Doors, and he Preach'd as uſually. This was a thing that made a mighty noiſe at that time; for ſome Neighbouring Gentlemen were ſo Officious as to Acquaint the King and Council with the matter, Aggravating the Buſineſs, as if the Chapel Doors had been broken, *&c.* Whereupon a Purſevant was ſent down, who bro't up Mr. *Jollie*. Being before the King, he heard him very Patiently ſpeak for himſelf, and upon his Relation of the Fact ſet him at Liberty. He return'd into the Country more Animated than ever in his Miniſterial Work, and employ'd himſelf continually in Travelling, and Preaching in Publick Chappels and Private Houſes as he had Opportunity. He was Man of pregnant Parts, of a reſolute Spirit, and ſincere Deſigns for God. He dy'd *Jun.* 16. 1682.

Weſt Kirby, in *Wirral*. Mr. *John Cartwright*. After his Ejection, he was Chaplain to the Pious Lady *Wilbraham* at *Woodley*. He dy'd *Febr.* 17. 168$\frac{7}{8}$.

Nether Whitley: Mr. *John Machin*. * Born at *Stabridge* in *Staffordſhire*. *Octob.* 2. 1624. Educated in *Jeſus* College in *Cambridge*. While at the Univerſity, he had the Benefit of the excellent Labours of Dr. *Hill*, and Dr. *Arrowſmith*, under which he receiv'd ſuch Impreſſions of Seriouſneſs, as he retain'd to his dying Day. He was ordain'd at *Whitchurch* in *Shropſhire* in 1649. In 1650, he ſettled at *Aſhbury* in *Darby ſhire*, where for the ſpace of two Years he was a Painful and Laborious Preacher, and exceeding uſeful; not confining his Care and Concern to that Particular Town, but making frequent Excurſions into the *Moorlands*, and other dark Corners in *Staffordſhire*, where his occaſional Labours were exceeding uſeful to many Souls. From thence he was call'd to *Atherſton* in *Warwickſhire*, where he ſpent a Year in a Lecturers Place, and had many Converts. He afterwards remov'd to *Attbury* in this County, where he continu'd ſeveral Years. Among many other Inſtances of his fervent deſire of the good of Souls

* *See the Account of him, in the laſt Volumne of* Mr. Clarks Lives.

this was one, that he ſet up a Monthly Lecture, to be Preach'd in ſeveral Towns of great Concourſe in thoſe Parts, by the moſt Eminent Miniſters; as in *New Caſtle*, *Leek*, *Uttoxeter*, *Lichfield*, *Tamworth*, *Walſal*, *Wolverhampton*, *Pentridge*, *Stafford*, *Eccleſhall*, *Stone*, and *Muckleſton*: Which Lecture he ſet and kept up at his own Charge; and he had ſettled an Yearly Income in his Will for the upholding it. But living to ſee ſuch times as would not bear it, he was forc'd to let it fall, and diſpos'd otherwiſe of his Land. By the coming of another Incumbent to *Aſtbury*, he was at Liberty every other Lord's Day, and us'd to Preach abroad in the County, where he tho't his help moſt needful. In 61 he remov'd to *Whitley*, where he was Silenc'd in 62. And hardly any Man that was at that time Silenc'd, either bore his Ejectment with leſs Reflection upon Superiours, or with more Grief for ſo ſad a Diſpenſation. And yet he continu'd in the place of his Ejectment, Labouring for the Advantage of the Peoples Souls with all his ſtrength, and God made him a great Bleſſing to all the Country round. And Providence ſo ordered it that the Neighbouring Gentry, being convinc'd of the innocence and peaceableneſs of his Spirit and his Integrity, gave him no Moleſtation. He dy'd, *Sept.* 6. 1664. *Ætat.* 40.

He was Eminent for Holineſs, and an Heavenly Mind. A hard Studient, and an indefatigable Preacher. Of great Humility; and very ſtrict in his Watch. His Heart and Heat was wholly taken up with the great and neceſſary Points of Religion, which all true Chriſtians agree in: And making the Subſtance of Religion his Work and Buſineſs, he never had Leiſure or Pleaſure to trouble himſelf with controverted Circumſtances, nor would put his Soul out of Tune with ſuch things as had caus'd Jarrings and Diſcord among Chriſtians. And few were more Succeſsful in their Miniſterial Labours. A Pious Divine, (afterward a Dignitary in the Church of *England*) gave him this Character. *I am* (ſaid he) *ſo well ſatisfy'd, as to his extraordinary Piety in general, which I never yet heard or believe, that he departed from, that I wiſh my everlaſting Portion may be with him.* Concluding thus: *I never knew one more Publick Spirited, more ſenſible of*

Mens Spiritual Neceſſitys, and more ready (to his ability) to ſupply them: More Zealous for God's Glory, more Delighted, Inceſſant, Importunate, and Succeſsful in Prayer, and more thankfully ſenſible of the returns thereof, than this holy Perſon was; of whom this degenerate World was not worthy, and therefore having been abundant in the Work of the Lord, God hath ſatisfy'd him with never ending Experiences, that his Labour (from which he now reſts) ſhall not be in vain in the Lord.

Backford: Mr. *John Willſon.* A Man of great worth and a good Scholar; which cannot but be own'd by ſuch as will be at the pains to Peruſe his Writings, * tho' they may not reliſh the ſtrictneſs of his Principles.

* *He hath ſeveral Tracts extant: As.* the Vanity of Humane Inventions; *in an Exercitation on the Ceremonys. Oct.* 1666. Cultus Evangelicus; *or a Diſcourſe of the Spirituality of New Teſtament Worſhip. Oct.* 1667. *An Apology for the Peoples Judgment of private Diſcretion. Oct.* 1667. Nehuſhtan: *or a ſober and peaceable Diſcourſe concerning the aboliſhing of things abus'd to Superſtition and Idolatry. Oct.* 1668.

Sondbach: Mr. *Joſeph Coape.* Aſtbury: Mr. *George Moxon.* Gowſeworth: Mr. *Thomas Edge.* Neſton: Mr. *Samuel Marſden.* Criſtleton or Hargrave: Mr. *Samuel Slater.* Tervin: Mr. *Sabbath Clark.* Poulford: Mr. *Gheſt.* Dodleſton: Mr. *Baker.* Haſle-wal: Mr. *Keyes.* Burton: Mr. *Hugh Bethel.* Thurſtanten: Mr. *Watts.* Wood Church: Mr. *Graiſty.* Marbury: Mr. *Bruce.* Shokylach: Mr. *John Griffyth.* Acton: Mr. *Edward Burgal.* Roncorn: Mr. *Eaton.* Mottram: Mr. *Francis Shelmardine.* Rotherſtorn: Mr. *Adam Martindale.* Chelford: Mr. *Hugh Henſhaw.* Congleton: Mr. *Tho. Brooks.* Wimſlaw: Mr. *John Brereton.* Knottesford: Mr. *Hunter.* Bartumleigh: Mr. *Smith.* Mobberley: Mr. *Barlow.* Church-holme. Mr. *Andrew Barnett*, and Mr. *John Ravenſhaw.* Goſtree: Mr. *John Buckley.* Criſtleton: Mr. *Edwards.* Haſlyngton: Mr. *Haſſel.* Shotwick: Mr. *Matthew Jenkyns.* Over Peever: Mr. *Robert Norbury.* And Mr. *Reeves*, Mr. *Harvy*, Mr. *Burroughs*, Mr. *Gartſyde*, and Mr. *Moxon* Junior, whoſe places are uncertain.

There

There Conform'd afterward in this County: Mr. *Wright* of *Beeſton*. Mr. *Dunſtan* of *Northerden*. And Mr. *Samuel Edgly*, of *Thornton*. I know not of any more.

In FLINTSHIRE.

Worthenbury: Mr. *Philip Henry*. * M. A. Born at *Whitehall* in *Weſtminſter*, *Aug.* 24. 1631. His Father Mr. *John Henry*, was Gentleman to the Earl of *Pembroke*, who being made Lord Chamberlain preferr'd him to the King's Service: He was firſt Keeper of the Orchard at *Whitehall*, and afterwards Page of the back Stairs to the Duke of *York*, and liv'd and dy'd a Courtier. Having this Son Born to him in the Court, *Philip* Earl of *Pembroke*, *James* Earl of *Carlile*, and the Counteſs of *Salisbury* were his Sponſours in Baptiſm. Prince *Charles* and the Duke of *York* being about his Age, He in his Childhood often attended upon them in their Play, and it might rationally have been expected that this early Acquaintance would have iſſu'd in conſiderable Preferment afterwards, but the Publick changes that enſu'd ſeparated him from Court, and he was well ſatisfy'd in his Removal, not daring to think of a return, for fear of being enſnar'd: or otherwiſe he wanted not for Encouragement. However the Tincture of his firſt Education ſo far continu'd with him, as to leave the moſt ſweet and obliging Air of Courteſy and Civility that could be in his Converſe; which made him univerſally Belov'd and Reſpected. He was bro't up in *Weſtminſter* School under Dr. *Busby*. He was a great Proficient in School Learning, and particularly Careſs'd by the Doctour. *Anno* 1645, he was admitted King's Scholar, and was firſt of the Election, partly by his own Merit, and partly by the Intereſt of his Godfather the Earl of *Pembroke*. While he was at School, he attended conſtantly on the Morning Lecture which was carry'd on in the Abby Church every Morning between Six and Eight of the Clock, by Seven worthy Members of the Aſſembly of Divines

* *See an Account of his Life and Death in Oct.* 1698.

vines in Course; his absence from School for that time, being dispens'd with, upon his Mothers desire. He also constantly attended upon the Monthly Fasts at St. *Margarets*; and he found such good Effects of his Course in this Respect, that he would often recommend it to the care of Parents to bring their Children betimes to Publick Ordinances.

He was one of the Scholars whom the Dr. employ'd in Reading Greek Authors, to Collect by his Direction some Materials for that Excellent Greek Grammar which he afterwards Publish'd. And whereas it was the Ancient Custom of the School for all King's Scholars that were Candidates for an Election to the University, to receive the Lords Supper the Easter before, he comply'd with the Custom, and at *Easter* in 47, first went to the Lord's Table; his Master Dr. *Busby*, having for several Weeks before taken a great deal of pains with him, to instruct him in the Nature of the Ordinance, and assist him in his Preparation for it. His Masters Pains with him at that time was very Beneficial to him, and he often thankfully acknowledg'd it. And once he much surpriz'd the Doctor, when he first waited upon him after he was turn'd out by the Act of Uniformity: For when the Doctor asked him, *Prithee* (Child) *what made thee a Nonconformist?* Truly Sir said Mr. Henry, *you made me one; for you taught me those things that hindred me from Conforming.* In *May* 47, He was chosen from School to *Christ Church* in *Oxon*, *jure loci*, with four others, of which he had the second Place. He went thither in *December* following and was enter'd Commoner, Mr. *Underwood* being his Tutour. His Godfather the Earl of *Pembroke* gave him 10 *l.* to set out with. He apply'd himself vigorously to his Studys, and in the *March* following, was admitted Student of the House by Dr. *Hammond*, who was then Sub Dean. The Visitation of the University by order of Parliament follow'd quickly after. The Question which was then put to all, and to be answer'd in Writing, was this: *Will you submit to the Power of the Parliament in this present Visitation?* Mr. *Henry's* Answer was this: *I submit as far as I may with a safe Conscience, and without Perjury.* His Reason for the Salvo, was because

cauſe of his having taken the Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy at his Admiſſion. His Anſwer was allowed of, and he was continu'd in his Students Place. He made good Improvement in his Studies for his Time, took his Degrees when he was of a ſufficient ſtanding, and Preach'd his firſt Sermon at *South Hinceſey* in *Oxfordſhire*, in *January* 165⅗. He was choſen out of all the Maſters of that Year to be *Junior of the Act*, that is to Anſwer the Philoſophy Queſtions in *Veſperiis*, which he did with very great Applauſe, eſpecially for the very witty and ingenious Oration which he made to the Univerſity upon that Occaſion. And at the Act in 1654, he was choſen *Magiſter Replicans*, and anſwer'd the Philoſophy Queſtions in *Comitiis*, with a like Applauſe.

Serjeant *Puleſtons* Lady, of *Emerald* in *Worthenbury*, in *Flintſhire*, wrote to a Friend of Hers, Mr. *Francis Palmer* of *Chriſt Church* to recommend to her a Young Man to be in her Family, to take the over-ſight of her Sons, and Preach at *Worthenbury* on the Lords Days, with the offer of good Encouragement. Mr. *Palmer* propos'd it to Mr. *Henry*, who was willing to make an Eſſay for Half a Year, and accordingly remov'd thither in *September* 1653. When his Half Year was expir'd, he return'd to *Oxon*, but afterwards upon the earneſt Invitation of Judge *Puleſton*, and all the People of the Pariſh, he fix'd amongſt them. For Two or Three Years he kept his Students Place in *Chriſts Church*, attending the Service of it once a Year, diſpoſing of moſt of the Profits of it among poor Scholars. The Judge ſettled a 100 *l. per Ann.* upon him while he continu'd in *Worthenbury* (in lieu of the Tythe) free of all Encumbrance; and Charg'd it upon his whole Eſtate in thoſe Parts.

Being thus fix'd, he was ſolemnly Ordain'd to the Office of the Miniſtry, at *Prees*, on *Sept.* 16. 1657. After which, he was abundant in his Labours to win Souls. Beſides Preaching, he Expounded the Scriptures in Order, Catechiz'd, and Explain'd the Catechiſm. He ſet up a Monthly Lecture; and had alſo a Monthly Conference. He was very induſtrious in Viſiting the Sick, Inſtructing them, and Pray-

Praying with them. He Preach'd Funeral Sermons for all that were Bury'd, Rich or Poor, Old or Young; for he look'd upon it as an Opportunity of doing Good. He was very careful about the Lords Supper, ſo to manage his Admiſſions to that Ordinance, as that the Weak might not be Diſcourag'd, and yet the Ordinance might not be Prophan'd. His Carriage towards his Pariſhioners was very Exemplary: For he would condeſcend to the Meaneſt, and Converſe Familiarly with them: Bearing with the Infirmities of the Weak, and becoming all Things to all Men. From Firſt to Laſt, he for about Eight Years exercis'd his Miniſtry in this Place, and his Labours were ſignally ſucceſsful. The Opportunity he found he had of doing the more Good there, by having thoſe that were his Charge near about him, made him all his Days bear his Teſtimony to Pariſh Order, where it may be had upon good Terms, as much more eligible, and more likely to anſwer the End, than the *Congregational* Way of gathering Churches from Places far diſtant, which could not ordinarily meet to worſhip God together. He conſtantly laid by the Tenth of his Income for the Poor, which he carefully and faithfully diſpos'd of in the liberal Things which he devis'd, eſpecially the teaching of poor Children. He had frequent offers of other Places that were more conſiderable, but was not given to Change; and tho' the Family of the *Puleſtons* put on another Face after the Death of the Judge, and his Pious Lady, and grew very unkind to him, yet he reſolv'd to ſee his Call from thence Clear, before he would leave a Place where God had own'd and bleſs'd him.

When King *Charles* return'd, *Worthenbury* (which had in the *Interim* been ſeparated, and fix'd as a Pariſh by it ſelf (as it hath ſince been to Perpetuity, by an Act of Parliament, in 2. of *Will.* and *Mar.*) return'd to its Dependence as a Chappelry upon *Bangor*; and Mr. *Fogg* being Ejected thence, Dr. *Henry Bridgman* return'd to the Sequeſtred Rectory. Tho' he aſſerted his Right, and Mr. *Henry* was but as his Curate, yet he continu'd above a Year in the Enjoyment of his Liberty under him.

The

The Grand Queſtion then on Foot, was about *Conformity*. Mr. *Henry* us'd all Means poſſible to ſatisfie himſelf concerning it, by Reading and Diſcourſe: Particularly at *Oxford* with Dr. *Fell*, who was afterwards Biſhop there; but in vain, for his Diſſatisfaction remain'd. Being about that Time at *Cheſter*, he diſcours'd the Dean and Chancellour about the Matter. The great Argument they us'd to perſwade him to Conform was this; that elſe he would *looſe his Preferment*. And what (ſaid they) you are a Young Man; and are you wiſer than the King and the Biſhops? Upon which he left this Reflection in one of his Papers: *God grant I may never be left, to conſult with Fleſh and Blood in ſuch Matters*. He was preſented once and again at *Flint* Aſſizes for not reading the Common-Prayer, before there was any Obligation: So buſie were ſome to out-run the Law, and it was not without ſome Difficulty that he got off. And tho' he did get off, yet his Annuity from *Emeral* Family was with-held, becauſe he refus'd the Uſe of the Common-Prayer: But that which troubled him moſt under that Diſappointment was, that he was thereby hindred from doing Good in his wonted Manner. At length Mr. *Puleſton*, and Dr. *Bridgman* of *Bangor* having had a Diſpute about the Tithe of *Worthenbury*, came to this Agreement (by the Mediation of Sir *Thomas Hanmer*) on *Sept.* 11. 1661. That Dr. *Bridgman* and his Succeſſors ſhould have all the Tythe Corn and Hay of *Worthenbury*, (except the Tith Hay of *Emeral* Demeſn) if before the firſt of *November* following he Diſcharg'd Mr. *Philip Henry* from the Chapel of *Worthenbury*, without Suffering him to officiate there any more, in any Time to come. Hereupon Dr. *Bridgman* diſcharg'd him by a Writing under his Hand, which was Publiſh'd in the Church by one of Mr. *P*'s Servants on *October* the 27. Thus he ceas'd to Preach to his People there, but he ceas'd not to Love and Pray for them. He afterwards Compounded with Mr. *P*---- as to Arrears that were due for 100 *l.* tho' much to his Damage. He Preach'd ſome times occaſionally in divers Neighbouring Places, till *Bartholomew* Day 62. *The Day* (ſaith he in one of his Papers)

Papers) *which our Sins have made one of the ſaddeſt Days to* ENGLAND, *ſince the Death of* EDWARD *the* VI. *But even this for Good, tho' we know not how, nor which Way.* And he greatly pitty'd ſome, who by the urgency of Friends, and the fear of want, were over perſwaded to put a Force upon themſelves in their Conformity. For his Part he could not be ſatisfy'd to be Re-ordain'd, while he look'd upon himſelf as ſufficiently Ordain'd before: Nor could he Aſſent and Conſent to all and every thing in a Book, which he found liable to many juſt Exceptions. But one Thing was a great Comfort to him, *viz.* that as to Matters of doubtful Diſputation, touching Church-Government, Ceremonies, *&c.* he was unſworn either on one ſide or the other, and ſo was free from thoſe Snares and Bands in which ſo many found themſelves, both ty'd up from what they would do, and entangled that they knew not what to do. But tho' he was a Conſcientious *Nonconformiſt*, his Moderation was remarkable. In Church-Government, that which he deſir'd and wiſh'd for, was Arch-Biſhop *Uſhers* Reduction of Epiſcopacy. He tho't it lawful to join in the Common-Prayer in Publick Aſſemblies, and practis'd accordingly, and endeavour'd to ſatisfie others concerning it. The Spirit he was of was ſuch, as made him much afraid of Extreams, and more ſolicitous for nothing than to maintain and keep up Chriſtian Love and Charity among Profeſſors.

At *Michaelmas* 1662, he remov'd from *Worthenbury* to *Broad Oak*, where he had a comfortable Eſtate which came to him by Marriage, which was a great Support to him, and enabled him to relieve many that were in want. Here he for ſome Years went conſtantly on the Lords Days to the Publick Worſhip with his Family, at *Whitewell Chapel*, or *Tylſtock*, and Preach'd himſelf only occaſionally. He us'd to declare, he went to bear his Teſtimony to Publick Ordinances. In *October* 63, Mr. *Steel* and he were taken up and Impriſon'd, on pretence of a Plot; when he was Confin'd he wrote thus in one of his Papers: *It is ſweet being in any Condition with a clear Conſcience.* After ſome Days they were examin'd

min'd by the Deputy Lieutenants, Charg'd with they knew not what, and ſo diſmiſs'd upon their Verbal Security to be forth coming upon Twenty Four Hours Notice. In 65, Mr. *Steel* and He, were as an Affront made Subcollectors of the *Royal Aid*. In *September* the ſame Year he was again fetch'd Priſoner to *Hanmer*; and after ſome Days Confinement, none being able to prove any Thing againſt him, he was Diſcharg'd upon Recognizance of 20 *l.* with Two Sureties to be forth-coming upon Notice. When the Five Mile Act took Place, he remov'd for ſome time from his Family, but return'd in a little while in Peace. In 67 he remov'd with his Family to *Whitchurch*, where he attended conſtantly on the Publick Miniſtry, and in the Evening he would inſtruct his Family, and ſome of his Neighbours were allow'd to come in. And here it was that he firſt adminiſtred the Lords Supper, after his being Ejected. As to this he hath left a Paper under his Hand of this Tenour. *I am a Miniſter of Chriſt, and as ſuch I am oblig'd* virtute Officii, *by all means to endeavour the good of Souls. Now here's a Company of ſerious Chriſtians, whoſe Lot is caſt to live in a Pariſh, where there is one ſet over them, who Preacheth the Truth; and they come to hear him, and join with him in other Parts of Worſhip; only as to the Lords Supper they ſcruple the Lawfulneſs of the Geſture of Kneeling; and he tells them, his Hands are tied, and he cannot adminiſter it to them any other way; wherefore they come to me, and tell me, they earneſtly long for that Ordinance; and there is a competent number of them, and opportunity to partake; and how dare I deny this Requeſt of theirs, without betraying my Miniſterial Truſt, and incurring the Guilt of a grievous Omiſſion?*

In *February* 166$\frac{7}{8}$. Mr. *Lawrence* and He being at *Betley* in *Staffordſhire*, ventur'd one Lords Day with the Conſent of all concern'd to Preach in the Publick Church, the one in the Morning, and the other in the Afternoon. This Action of theirs was preſently after Reported in the Houſe of Commons by a Member of Parliament, with theſe Additions; that they tore the Common-Prayer Book,

Book, trampled the Surplice under their Feet, pull'd the Miniſter of the Place out of the Pulpit, *&c.* Reports which there was not the leaſt Colour for. This, with ſome other ſuch like falſe Stories produc'd an Addreſs from the Houſe to the King to iſſue out a Proclamation, for the putting the Laws in Execution againſt *Papiſts* and *Nonconformiſts*, &c.

In 68, he return'd with his Family to *Broad-Oake*, being deſirous to be uſeful to the Neighbours among whom God had given him an Eſtate. He was indeed generally Lov'd and Honour'd. In the common Concernments of the Townſhip and Country, he was a prudent Counſellor: And in Private Differences he was the common Arbitrator of thoſe Parts, and a ſucceſsful Peace-maker. References have ſometimes been made to him by Rule of Court, at the Aſſizes with Conſent of Parties. He was very charitable to the Poor, and full of Alms-Deeds; given to Hoſpitality, and very Tender and Compaſſionate towards Poor Strangers and Travellers: And all that he had and did, obſervably Proſper'd. In the Time of Trouble and Diſtreſs by the Conventicle Act in 1670, he kept Private, and ſtirr'd little Abroad, as loth to offend thoſe that were in Power, and judging it Prudence to gather in his Sails when the Storm was violent. Obtaining a Licenſe in 1672, upon the Kings Declaration for Indulgence, he Preach'd with open Doors to all that would come to hear him, and that *Gratis*. He Preach'd alſo many Lectures abroad in *Shropſhire*, *Cheſhire*, and *Denbighſhire*, laying out himſelf exceedingly for the good of Souls, and that for ſeveral Years ſucceſſively. In 1681. Mr. *Bury* of *Bolas* and He, keeping a Day of Faſting and Prayer in Private, upon Occaſion of an extream Drought, were diſturb'd by the Juſtices, who took the Names of 150 Perſons. By the Oath of Two Witneſſes, they Sign'd and Seal'd Two Records of Conviction: By one they Convicted the Maſter of the Houſe, and Fin'd him 20 *l.* and 5 *l.* more as Conſtable that Year, and with him all the Perſons whoſe Names they had taken 5 *l.* a piece; by another they Convicted the 2 Miniſters;

Mr.

Mr. *Bury* 20 *l.* and Mr. *Henry* 40 *l.* upon which Conviction they diſtrain'd upon Mr. *Henry*, and carry'd away 33 Loads of Corn cut upon the Ground, Hay, Coals, *&c.* which he bore with his uſual evenneſs of Mind, without being mov'd or diſturb'd by it.

In the ſame Year there was a Publick Conference between the Biſhop of St. *Aſaph*, Dr. *William Lloyd*, now Biſhop of *Worceſter* and ſome Nonconformiſt Miniſters. That Biſhop coming into thoſe Parts ſet himſelf with Vigour to reduce Diſſenters, and affected to do it in a reaſoning way: He Publickly Diſcours'd with the Quakers at *Lanvillin* in *Mongomeryſhire*. He had often Diſcours'd privately with Mr. *Owen* of *Oſweſtry*, and at length appointed him to give him the Meeting in the Town Hall of that Place, on *September.* 27. 1681, there to give an Account, *by what Right he Exercis'd the Miniſtry not having Epiſcopal Ordination.* He directed him alſo to procure what other Miniſters he could to aſſiſt him; but gave him but four or five days Notice. At the time appointed the Biſhop brought with him the Learned (I ſhould be glad to ſay and Charitable) Mr. *Henry Dodwell.* And Mr. *Owen* was Accompany'd by Mr. *Henry*, and Mr. *Jonathan Roberts* of *Denbighſhire*. Mr. *Henry* preſs'd much for the managment of the Diſcourſe in private before a Select number, but could not prevail, However his Lordſhip promis'd, that nothing that ſhould be ſaid by way of Argument, ſhould be any way turn'd to the Prejudice of the Diſputants, nor Advantage taken of it to give them trouble. There were preſent many of the Clergy and Gentry of the Country with the Magiſtrates of the Town, and a great multitude of People. The Diſcourſe began about two in the Afternoon, and continu'd till between Seven and Eight and Night Much was ſaid *Pro* and *Con* touching the Identity of Biſhops and Presbyters, the Biſhoping and Unbiſhoping of *Timothy* and *Titus*, the Validity of Presbyterian Ordination, *&c.* 'Twas manag'd with a great deal of Liberty, and not under the ſtrict Laws of Diſputation. The Biſhop manag'd his part of the Conference with great deal of Gravity, and Calmneſs, and evenneſs of Spirit. And as for Mr. *Henry*, he gain'd no

ſmall Reputation: For even they who were Adverſarys to the Cauſe he pleaded, tho' they were not convinc'd by his Arguments, yet by his Meekneſs and Humility, and that truly Chriſtian Spirit, which appear'd ſo evidently in the whole management, were bro't to have a better Opinion of him, and his way. The Conference broke off abruptly. Mr. *Roberts* whiſpering to Mr. *Henry* ſaid, *Pray let my Lord have the laſt word.* A Juſtice upon the Bench overhearing him, reply'd; *you ſay my Lord ſhall have the laſt word, but he ſhall not, but I will: We thank God we have the Sword of Power in our Hands, and by the Grace of God we'll keep it, and it ſhall not ruſt, and I hope every lawful Magiſtrate will do as I do: And look to your ſelves Gentlemen, by the Grace of God I'le root you out of the Country.* To which a forward Man in the Crowd ſaid *Amen, throw them down Stairs*: But the Mayor of the Town took order for their Safety. An admirable Method, this to be ſure for Conviction! The Biſhop after this Days Work often Correſponded with Mr. *Henry* by Letter, and would Converſe with him with great Openneſs and Freedom when he came into thoſe Parts; and told him, that he did not look upon him as σχιζάπτης, but only as παραυνάγωγος.

In 1682, he kept an open Meeting, the Magiſtrate Conniving. In 83. and 84. he Preach'd privately at home without Diſturbance. In 85, at the time of *Monmouths* Deſcent, he with many others was clap into *Cheſter* Caſtle. Mr. *Henry* rejoic'd in and accepted King *James's* Indulgence in 1687, tho' being ſenſible of the deſign of it, he could not chuſe but *Rejoice with trembling.* When King *James* afterward came in his Progreſs into that Country, to Court the Compliments of the People, he join'd with ſeveral others in and about *Whitchurch*, *Nantwich*, and *Wem* in an Addreſs to Him; the Purport of which was not to Sacrifice their Lives and Fortunes to him and his Intereſt, but only to return him Thanks for the Liberty given them, with a promiſe to demean themſelves quietly in the uſe of it. When the Commiſſioners came down to enquire after the trouble the Diſſenters had ſuſtain'd by the *Penal Laws*; and how the Money Levy'd upon them was diſpos'd off, Mr. *Henry* being

ſent to, declin'd giving any Information; and made this Anſwer: *that he had long ſince forgiven all the Agents, Inſtruments, and occaſions of his Trouble, and had purpos'd never to ſay any thing more of it.* In *May* 1688. He was nominated a Juſtice of Peace for the County, in the Commiſſion that came down, and had notice given him of it by Letter from the Clerk of the Peace: But he refus'd to Act. And inſtead of it, vigorouſly apply'd himſelf to his Miniſterial Work, in which he perſiſted to the laſt. He dy'd in Peace, *June* 24. 1696. *Ætat.* 66. And the loſs of him was univerſally Lamented. *Tony Wood* hath not a Word for him, tho' he was a noted *Oxonian.* I ſuppoſe it might be becauſe he could find nothing for his ſpiteful Teeth to faſten on.

Hanmere: Mr. *Richard Steel,* * M. A. of St. *John's* Colledge in *Cambridge*; a very valuable uſeful Man. A good Scholar, a hard Student, and an excellent Preacher. He met with much Trouble on the Account of his Nonconformity. Particularly in 1665, when he was ſetting out for *London,* he was by a Warrant from the Neighbouring Juſtices under colour of the Report of a Plot, ſtopt and ſearch'd; and finding nothing to accuſe him of, they ſeiz'd his *Almanack,* in which he kept his Diary for that Year: And it not being written very Legibly, they made what Malicious Readings and Comments they pleas'd upon it, to his great Wrong and Reproach: Tho' to all ſober People it diſcover'd him to be a Man that kept a ſtrict Watch over his own Heart, and was a great Husband of his time. Fixing afterwards at *London,* he became Paſtour of a Congregation: and dy'd *November* 16. 1692. *Ætat.* 64.

* *He hath publiſh'd ſeveral uſeful Treatiſes: As the Husbandman's Calling.* Oct. 1668. *A Diſcourſe of Uprightneſs: Shewing the Propertys and Privileges of an Upright Man.* Oct. 1671. *An Antidote againſt Diſtractions in the Worſhip of God.* Oct. 1673. *The Tradeſman's Calling.* Oct. 1684. *And a Diſcourſe of Old Age.* Oct. *He hath alſo a Sermon in the Suppliment to the Morning Exerciſe at* Cripple-gate *on the Duty's of Husbands and Wives towards each other. Another in the Morning Exerciſe againſt Popery, on the* Romaniſts *depriving the People of the uſe of the Cup in the Lord's Supper. A third in the Continuation of Morning Exerciſe. Qu. On the hindrances and helps to a good Memory in Spiritual things. And a 4th in the 4th Vol. on this Qu.* How may the uncharitable *and dangerous Contentions that are amongſt Profeſſors of true Religion, be allayed?*

Bangor: Mr. *Fogg* Senior; was Ejected here at the Kings Return: And thence forward to his Death was a poor Silent Nonconformiſt, but of a Bold and Zealous Spirit, giving good Counſel to thoſe about him. He dy'd in *April* 1676.

Mr. *Fogg* of *Harden* Caſtle, when he had been a Nonconformiſt Four Years fell in with the Publick Eſtabliſhment; and was afterwards Dean of *Cheſter*.

Reviewing this Account, I fear ſome of theſe Ejected Miniſters may be mention'd twice, which ſhall hereafter be carefully rectify'd: And at the ſame time ſome valuable Perſons are omitted, and ſhall therefore be here mention'd by themſelves. As,

Mr *John Collings*, who was not Incumbent any where when the Uniformity Act took place; but was Chaplain to General *Monk*, when he came out of *Scotland* into *England*, and was afterwards Miniſter of a Congregation in this City, and one of the Lecturers at *Pinners Hall*. He was a Man mighty in the Scriptures, one of a ſweet Temper, and very Charitable to all Good Men, without confining himſelf to a Party.

Mr. *James Janeway*. * His Father was an Ejected Miniſter in *Heriſordſhire*. He was Student of *Chriſt Church* Oxon: He liv'd privately for ſome time after he left the Univerſity: And when the times would allow it, ſet up a Meeting at *Redriff* near *London*, where he had a very numerous Auditory. He dy'd *March*. 16. 167¾. His Funeral Sermon was Preach'd by Mr. *Nathanael Vincent*, in which his Character may be ſeen at large.

* He hath Printed, Heaven upon Earth: Or the beſt Friend in the worſt times. *Oct.* 1670. The Life of his Brother, Mr. John Janeway. *Oct.* 1673. The Saints Encouragement to Diligence in ſervice, *Oct.* 1672. A Token for Children. 12*s.* 1671. And after his Death was Printed his Legacy to his Friends, &c. *Oct.* 1674. He hath alſo ſeveral Funeral Sermons in Print: And a Sermon in the Supplement to the Morning Exerciſe at Cripple-gate, on the Duty of Maſters and Servants.

Mr. *John Faldo*. He had been Chaplain in the Army, and was not in any Benefice when the Act of Uniformity took Place, but was Silenc'd by it, together with his Brethren. Sometime after, he was Paſtour

Paſtour of a Congregation in *London*, and dy'd in *Febr.* 1690. His Funeral Sermon was Preach'd by Mr. *Quick*. He was Congregational in his Judgment, but noted for his Moderation in the latter part of his Life.

Mr. *Thomas Brand*: Born at *Leaden Roothing* in *Eſſex*, *Anno* 1635. His Father was a Dignitary of the Church of *England*. He was bred at *Merton* Colledge in *Oxon*, and went thence to the Temple deſigning for the Law; but afterwards apply'd himſelf to Divinity, and became one of the brighteſt Mirrours of Piety and Charity, one of the moſt fervent uſeful Preachers the Age hath afforded, His Zeal was neither for nor againſt any Party, but for the vigorous promoting of the ſound knowledge of thoſe Doctrines wherein we are all agreed, and of that Holineſs which all commend but too few Practiſe A Man of great Moderation. One who was never without ſome Project for doing good; and could as ſoon ceaſe to live as ceaſe to attempt to be uſeful to Souls. He was bleſs'd with an Eſtate, with which he did good on Earth, and laid up a Treaſure in Heaven to a degree beyond moſt. He dy'd *December* 1. 1691. His Funeral Sermon was Preach'd by Dr. *Anneſley*, and with it was Publiſh'd a ſhort Account of his Life.

Beſides all theſe, there were a great many School-maſters Ejected by the ſame Act of Uniformity in ſeveral parts of the Kingdom; many of them were alſo Preachers, till that Act diſabled them. I have a few to Subjoin: but have reaſon to believe there were many more who are not come to my Knowledge.

Mr. *Thomas Singleton*, Maſter of *Eaton* School, who was afterwards a Celebrated School-Maſter for many Years, in or near this City. Mr. *Owen Price*, M. A. Maſter of the Free-School, near *Magdalen* Colledge in *Oxon*, who was afterwards very uſeful in the training up of Youth in *Devonſhire* and other Places. Mr. *Hunt* was Ejected from the Free-School at *Salisbury*, which was worth to him 200 *l. per Annum*. He was a great Philologer, and particularly skill'd in the Oriental Languages. In *Eſſex* there were caſt out, Mr. *Whiting* School-maſter of *Dedham*, and Mr. *Covel* of *Halſted*: Together with the School-maſters of *Maſh-*

bery, *Chigwell*, and *Lanedon-Hill*. Mr. *Waterhouſe* was caſt out from the School in *Ipſwich*: And Mr. *Lawrence*, and Mr. *Wilſon* from the School in *Yarmouth*. Mr. *Henry Montague* was Ejected from the School in *Canterbury*, and Mr. *George Collins* from that in *Chicheſter*. The three Schools of *Arundel*, *Hellingle*, and *Selſcomb* in *Suſſex*, were alſo depriv'd of Mr. *John Stafford*, Mr. *Stephen Martyn*, and Mr. *Richard Savage* Maſters. Mr. *Anthony Withers* was caſt out of the School at *Dorcheſter*. The Schools at *Newbery*, *Redding*, and *Wallingford* in *Berkſhire*, were at the ſame time left Vacant. Mr. *Pigot* was caſt out of the *School* at *Shrewsbury*; Mr. *Batchelor* from that time at *Coventry*; And Mr. *Hutchinſon* from another at *Mansfield*. And in *Glamorganſhire*, Mr. *Sheel*, School-maſter of *Cardiff*, and Mr. *Evan Llewelyn* School-maſter of *Swanzey*, were both Ejected.

This Act of Uniformity, which made ſuch an Alteration in all parts of the Nation by Ejecting ſo many valuable and uſeful Perſons, was paſs'd in a Heat, but its Effects have been laſting. Perſonal Piques too much influenc'd many of the moſt Zealous Promoters of it: But Poſterity, when Paſſion and Prejudice come once to be worn out, will rue the Conſequence. Some have applauded it is an Heroical Action: But it was a Prologue to a Tragedy, that hath not yet reach'd its final Period. Having Reaſon to reckon my ſelf a conſiderable Sufferer, tho' not then Born, I hope I may without Offence drop a Tear upon the remembrance of the Funerals of ſo many Worthies in our *Iſrael*, bury'd at once in a common Grave.

They were not a poor inconſiderable handful, a few Scores only of acceptable Miniſters, who were by this Act caſt out of the Church; but many Hundreds. 'Tis hoped henceforward we may be allow'd to ſay ſo. They did not throw themſelves out of Service, but were forcibly Ejected. They begg'd for Continuance with all imaginable Earneſtneſs, and urg'd unanſwerable Arguments in their Petitions; but were Repuls'd. They were not caſt out becauſe not needed to carry on the Work of the Goſpel: For there were, and ſtill are among us many deſolate Quarters, that are over-run with Ignorance and Profaneneſs: And

there

there was more to be done in the Land in order to general Inſtruction, Excitation and Reformation, than all their joint Labours would have fully ſuffic'd for; and yet they were Ejected. This was an Action without a Precedent; the like to which the Reformed Church, nay the Chriſtian World never ſaw before.

In the Ancient *Arrian* Perſecutions many Scores of faithful Orthodox Publiſhers of the Everlaſting Goſpel were Slain and Baniſh'd: In this caſe 2000 at once had their Mouths ſtopp'd even whileſt they were alive, and were doom'd to Silence in their own Native Country, and that by their Brethren, tho' their Labours were call'd for, and earneſtly deſir'd. 'Twas heretofore reckon'd a moſt horrid thing, and drew Tragical Exclamations from ſucceeding Hiſtorians, that between Three and Four ſcore Biſhops ſhould be ſent at once into the Iſle of *Sardinia* by the *African Vandals*: And ſo it really was, becauſe they were hereby Baniſh'd from their Flocks, which was an affecting thing, notwithſtanding they had the liberty of their Tongues and Pens ſtill left them: But in this caſe Thirty times as many were ſeparated from their loving and beloved Flocks, and that by thoſe with whom they join'd in Profeſſing the ſame Orthodox Faith; and tho' they were ſuffer'd to remain in the Land where they were Born and Bred, they were yet turn'd into ſo many Mutes, and laid aſide as uſeleſs Perſons. I have read of 200 Miniſters who *Anno.* 1549. Were Baniſh'd by *Ferdinand* King of *Bohemia*; and of great Havock made among the Miniſters of *Germany* a few Years after by the Imperial *Interim*: But both put together fell far ſhort of this Celebrated Act, not only as to the number of Perſons concern'd, but alſo as to the ſucceeding hardſhips which the Miniſters fell under. For in both theſe Caſes they had liberty to Preach the Goſpel elſewhere. But here was one Clog added to another, that the Embarraſſment might be the greater, ſo that the Silenc'd Miniſters had no room left for any ſort of uſefulneſs any where, but were bury'd alive. There was a Gap made in this our Land, upon the Settlement of the Proteſtant Religion, in the room of the Papal Superſtition: But it was nothing comparable to that

which was made among us upon the reſettling of Dioceſan Epiſcopacy. Formerly there were 80 Rectors of Churches, 50 Prebendarys, 15 Maſters of Colledges, 12 Arch-Deacons, 12 Deans, and 6 Abbots and Abbeſſes Ejected: But how much better were they ſpar'd, than 2000 Preaching Miniſters, who were unweary'd in their Endeavours to ſpread Knowledge, Faith and Holineſs? The tenderneſs us'd towards thoſe of the former ſort, to remove all grounds of Scruple or Diſguſt, that they might be tempted into the National Eſtabliſhment, is Evident and Obvious: But I need not ask whether the Poor Nonconformiſts met with the like Treatment. Upon the obſtinate Refuſal of the Former to comply, they were Ejected, and the ſafety of the State requir'd it, becauſe they own'd a Foreign Head. But the latter were caſt out by Men of the ſame Faith, meerly becauſe they differ'd in things own'd to be Extraeſſential, and deſtitute of any Intrinſick Goodneſs. After all, the former were treated with great Lenity and Mildneſs, as long as they liv'd quietly, and aim'd no higher than the Private Liberty of their Sentiment and Way: But were the Nonconformiſts worthy of any ſuch Favour? or rather were they not oppreſs'd to the utmoſt, on purpoſe that they might be driven to make an Intereſt for ſuch a Toleration, as ſhould open a Door to the common Enemy?

I know it has been pleaded that the Puritanical Party ſet the Pattern, by bearing ſo hard on the Sequeſtred Miniſters in the Parliament times. But whatever that Pattern was, we muſt go farther backward for the Original; and yet neither would I thence pretend to juſtifie any rigorous Methods, which Chriſtianity does neither require nor allow. But certainly they who ſo much exclaim'd againſt them, ſhould better *have known the Heart of a Stranger*, than to have imitated much leſs out done them, in Ejecting a number ſo very far Superiour; without any allowance towards their ſupport out of the Livings whence they were Ejected, when as the Parliament allotted a 5th part to thoſe who were Sequeſtred, whatever were the cauſe. Yea, tho' it were inſufficiency or Scandal: Many Things were done in the Parliament-

ment-Times, which thoſe who were Agents in them, liv'd afterwards long eno' to ſee Reaſon to wiſh undone: But yet when Matters were at the utmoſt heighth, many Epiſcopal Perſons kept their Places; Things in their own Nature indifferent, and acknowledg'd to be ſuch, were not Grounds of ſilencing and driving into Corners; nor were the ſtiffeſt of the high Church Party, (*Gunning* and others of his ſtamp) deny'd their Liberty, provided they gave the Publick, Security of their good Behaviour: The ſame Treatment as they had given to others, would by many who liv'd in thoſe Times have been reckon'd highly favourable, if compar'd with what they actually met with. And whereas ſome have urg'd the Treatment of the Epiſcopal Party in *Scotland*, ſince King *William*'s Happy Aſcent to the Throne, in a way of Vindication of their Carriage to thoſe of the oppoſite Stamp after King *Charles*'s Reſtauration, it is left to any Perſons to Judge, whether there be any thing Paralel in the Two Caſes, if it be but conſider'd that notwithſtanding *Presbytery* is the Government eſtabliſh'd by Law in *Scotland*, as much as *Epiſcopacy* is in *England*, yet upon their Late Settlement the Epiſcopal Miniſters there (excepting ſuch as were notoriouſly Scandalous, or had Livings from which *Presbyterian* Miniſters who were then Living had been Ejected) were allow'd the Enjoiment of their Places during Life, upon no harder a Condition than that of taking the Oaths to the Civil Government.

But to return; had theſe Ejected Miniſters, who were ſo hardly dealt with, been either univerſally or generally, Enemies of all Order and Regularity, it had been much more tolerable: When as there was ſo far from juſt Ground for ſuch an Inſinuation, that a Regular Diſcipline was what they Pleaded for, and Moderate Epiſcopacy was what moſt of them would have freely ſubmitted to. Whoſoever have Charg'd them as fond of Anarchy and Confuſion, knew not the Men or their Communication. Arch-Biſhop *Uſher*'s Platform (before Exhibited, *Pag.* 149.) they would have rejoic'd in; with a due Indulgence to thoſe of their Brethren, whoſe Latitude was not ſo great as theirs. Had they however been looſe in

their

their Morals, or ſcandalous in their Lives, their Treatment it muſt be own'd might have been fairly juſtify'd: But ſo far were they from that, that they were as Exemplary for ſtrictneſs as any in the Land. Had they been meanly qualify'd for the Miniſterial Work, the Church might have much the better ſpar'd them: But inſtead of that, we may ſafely defie their greateſt Enemies to produce in any Age or Countrey, Two Thouſand Men better qualify'd for Publick Miniſterial Work, and more diligent and laborious in it, more accepted and more uſeful, than theſe very Perſons who were Cloath'd with ſo much Contempt. Few Ages has produc'd more Eminent, Uſeful, Succeſsful, Preachers, than Mr. *Baxter* of *Kederminſter*, Mr. *Bowles* of *York*, Mr. *Newcom* of *Mancheſter*, Mr. *Reyner* of *Lincoln*, Mr. *Elkanah Wales*, Mr. *Hieron* of *Breadſal*, Mr. *Angier* of *Denton*, Mr. *Hughes* of *Plymouth*, Mr. *Ben* of *Dorcheſter*, Dr. *Manton* of *London*, Mr. *Allen* of *Taunton*, with many others. But perhaps they were intolerably Humourſome. This I know hath been ſaid by ſome. But why ſhould it be imagin'd, that for Humour-ſake they ſhould Sacrifice their all, part with their Lively-hood, and expoſe themſelves and their Families to Want and Beggary? Was not a comfortable Life as deſireable to them as to others? Can it be ſuppos'd, they were ſo Blind as not to be able to ſee where their own Intereſt lay, which is too powerful a Charm for the moſt to be able to make Reſiſtance? Were they not as capable of Preferments as their Neighbours? And why then ſhould they baulk them, and rather embrace Poverty and Diſgrace, and expoſe themſelves to Hardſhips and Severities, Things that could not in themſelves appear Eligible to any Man? Can any Account be given of this, if Conſcience did not ſway them? And ſhould they not then have been conſider'd?

Or ſuppoſe, that ſome in ſo great a Number were weak, and of but mean Endowments, there yet were others of conſiderable Parts and Learning: Witneſs Dr. *Bates*, Dr. *Owen*, Mr. *Corbet*, Mr. *Woodbridge*, Mr. *Charnock*, Mr. *Fairfax*, Mr. *Pool*, Mr. *Clarkſon*, Mr. *Truman*, and many others. If ſome had been

too

too rigorous and ſevere in former Times, there were others who had all along manag'd themſelves with great Temper and Lenity; as Dr. *Gilpin*, Dr. *Grew*, Mr. *Fairclough*, Father and Sons, Mr. *Warren*, Mr. *Ventris* of *Canterbury*, Mr. *Philip Henry*, and many others. And tho' ſome it muſt be own'd, were againſt the Royal Family, there yet were others who ſuffer'd for adhering to it; as the *Lancaſhire* Miniſters who were many of them Ejected for refuſing and writing againſt the *Engagement*, even when many of the Epiſcopal Party took it; and Mr. *Cook*, Mr. *Kerby*, and Mr. *Harriſon*, &c. who hazarded their Lives in Order to the bringing in King *Charles* II. And yet this Act made no Difference. It ſpar'd neither Age nor Parts, nor conſider'd any Service done, but levell'd all that lay in its way; and ſpake no other Language than either bow or break. Had it aim'd at hindring the doing Miſchief only, it might have been Vindicated: But under pretence of that, it hindred the doing Good, and that to many; to Hundreds and Thouſands of Souls; by Men whoſe Hearts were earneſtly bent that way, and deſir'd not to live for any lower Purpoſe. Muſt we not think that Piety was little ſet by, when grave and experienc'd Guides muſt be forc'd to quit the Churches, to make way for Raw unfurniſh'd Novices; when Men full of Love to God, and the Souls of their People, muſt yield to ſuch as minded Preferment more than real Religion? God forbid, this ſhould have been the Caſe generally: But that it was ſo in many Particular Inſtances is too notorious to be deny'd. Muſt we not ſay, that Mercy forſook the Earth, when ſo many of Liberal Education, were put to Dig, or Beg, or Starve? Were caſt out of their Freeholds, to Fence againſt Future Crimes? Were turn'd into the wide World without any Viſible Way of Subſiſtence? Any Thing that might have tended to their Relief or Eaſe was rejected as unſufferable. They were not only excluded Preferments, but cut off from all hope of a Lively-hood, as far as the Induſtry and Craft of their Adverſaries could reach. Not ſo much as a Poor Vicaridge, not a Blind Chapel, not a School was left them: Nay tho' they

they offer'd (as ſome of them did) to Preach for nothing, it muſt not be allow'd them. And what was all this for, but to promote *Uniformity?* A charming *Word!* (for the Thing it ſelf is yet to be ſo't for, even among themſelves, by any one that knows the Difference between Cathedrals and Pariſh Churches) A *Word* that muſt neceſſarily have a peculiar Force, when it could have ſo ſtrange an Influence. But certainly, 'tis an odd Method to go about to make all of one Mind, and Mode, and Way, by rending, dividing, and tearing Miniſters and People! What was the Aim of all, but to ſettle *Impoſitions?* Which in all Ages have been greedily ſwallow'd by Men of looſer Principles, while they have been ſnares to the moſt Conſcientious; who will look carefully about them, and are not for wriggling themſelves either in or out by Diſtinctions and Evaſions, (which yet they were as able to have fram'd as their Neighbours) but would do all in Simplicity and Godly Sincerity, without Equivocations or Reſerves: Thereby endeavouring to maintain and ſpread a Principle of Honeſty in the World.

The Publick Settlement not being clos'd with, a general Clamour was rais'd againſt theſe good Men, whoſe Deſire it was to ſerve God faithfully, and Live quietly by their Neighbours, as if they were not to be ſuffer'd to live upon the Earth. What was their Crime? Surely nothing that God had declar'd to be Sin; nothing but what was made a Crime by the Law of the State; and would therefore ceaſe to be ſuch at any Time, when that Law was remov'd: Nothing but what might have been ſafely tolerated, without Damage or Danger to Church or Commonwealth, as appears by the Event ſince a Legal Indulgence hath been granted them. But if refuſing to Conform to ſuch Impoſitions as did not appear to be within the Compaſs of the Commiſſion of the Impoſers was really Criminal, it could not be ſo in a very high Degree: And wherefore then was the Puniſhment ſo great? Would it be Wiſdom in the Government to threaten all thoſe that would not eat Rye-bread, all that would not Conform to any Common Faſhion, with being Impriſon'd or Baniſh'd?

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Should Mens Brains be knock'd out to kill a Flie on their Fore-head? Is this agreeable to the Rules of Proportion. Is it equitable, that for ſuch Things as however Faulty they may be, may yet leave a Man a good Chriſtian, and one of the beſt of Subjects, he ſhould be treated as if he had forfeited the Priviledges of his Birth, and his Intereſt in the Rights of Chriſtianity, nay, and Humanity too? But inſtead of yielding their Practiſe to be at all Criminal, it appear'd to them to be their Duty. They tho't witneſſing againſt Humane Uſurpations in Divine Things was a piece of neceſſary Fidelity to God. They apprehended the Law of God oblig'd them to preſerve the Purity of Chriſtian Worſhip. Suppoſe they were miſtaken in the Particular Application of this General Principle, did they thereupon deſerve to be puniſh'd, as if they had raz'd and deny'd the moſt Fundamental Articles of Faith? Was Poverty and Contempt, Confiſcation and Impriſonment, Rigour and Severity, the fitteſt, or likelieſt Means for their Conviction, or not rather a Snare to betray them to Act againſt their Conſcience? Did the Chriſtian Doctrine obtain in the World by thoſe Ways and Methods which were pitcht on for the fixing and ſettling of *Uniformity*? Was it agreeable to Chriſtian Charity to make the Terms ſtrait on Purpoſe that they might be ſcrupled, and then blame Men for their Non-compliance? Or to caſt them out of the Church, and then Excommunicate them for their Abſence? Was it good Policy in a New Settlement after Confuſion, to diſoblige and exaſperate a Body of as ſober Perſons as any in the Land, who are really its Strength, in order to the gratifying the looſer ſort, whoſe Principles and Practiſes weaken the Bands of Government, and open a gap for Confuſion? Or was it the moſt likely Way to keep out *Popery*, to weaken the Hands of a Number of its hearty conſcientious Adverſaries, and Sacrifice them to the Rage of the Emiſſaries of *Rome*, who therefore ſet themſelves moſt againſt them, becauſe they had no hopes of ever inducing them to any thing that ſhould look like an Advance towards the *Roman* Sea, or a Revolt to a Foreign Jurisdiction; to which ſome of their Bre-

Brethren appear'd much more inclineable? Again; did the Actors in this Affair do as they would be done by? Did they not bitterly complain in the Time of the *Interregnum* of the Severity of their Treatment; and that when they could not but be conscious to themselves of much greater Severity on their Part towards their Brethren formerly, in the High Commission Court, *&c.* when they had the Power in their Hands? *It is but like for like*, was a Plea in the Mouth of all forward Persons? But was not the Score paid before-hand by the Rigor of King *Charles* the First's Reign (to look no farther back) in Ecclesiastical Matters? And is it a becoming Thing, to have so many useful Persons avowedly sacrific'd to Revenge? Is this Passion so riveted, as to be become Hereditary? Does it run in the Blood, and descend with the Patrimony, as a necessary Attendant of that *clear and uninterrupted Ecclesiastical Succession*, that is, by some so much Celebrated? It cannot indeed be deny'd, but that all Parties among us when they have had the Ascendant, have born too hard upon those who lay at their Mercy: And it is much to be lamented. But is such Hereditary Revenge as *Hannibal's*, who was sworn at the Altar never to be Reconcil'd, a thing agreeable to Christian Principles, or becoming any Embassadors of the Prince of Peace?

But I cannot yet leave these *Confessors*. I move it to the Reader to review the List of them, observing what manner of Men they were, who were *the Triumphs and Spoils of Uniformity*. They were Men that would have been highly esteem'd and honour'd in the Primitive Church, for which they who bore so hard upon them profess so great a Veneration. They were Men of great Faith and Trust in God, and by their Integrity silenc'd many that apprehended Religion a Fancy. They rejoic'd in the Usefulness of their Brethren, while they themselves were Discountenanc'd. They Pray'd heartily for their Civil Governours, and all in Authority, while treated as Seditious Persons, and unworthy of any Favour. They were own'd of God in all their Troubles, carry'd through a great many Difficulties, gain'd upon many

many of their Enemies by their Patience and Quietneſs, and at laſt were taken under the Protection of the Government.

The Generality of them were Ejected in the moſt uſeful Part of their Lives, when they were fitteſt for Service; between the Age of Thirty and Fifty. In their Private Miniſtrations they did good to the Souls of many; this (Bleſſed be God) is too evident to be deny'd: How much good then might they have done, if they had but been kept within the Publick National Eſtabliſhment? And to whom muſt the Land aſcribe the loſs of their valuable Labours, but to the eager Eſpouſers of Rites and Ceremonies? What was the Iſſue of the heat of theſe Zealots? Did they gain their Point, and fix Uniformity? Or did they not rather run Things to that heighth, that Prophaneneſs had at length over-run us, and All that was dear and valuable to us was in Danger, when bare-fac'd *Popery* aſcended the Throne, trampling at once on our Religion and Liberties? And was it not then freely own'd, that *Papiſts* in Diſguiſe had all along blow'd the Coals, and done the hotteſt Part of the Service? Can this ever be forgot? Who can bragg or boaſt of their Gain in the Striſe for Uniformity? Were the buſie *Informers* belov'd and advanc'd? Or were they not generally infamous? And did not many of them come to a Tragical End? Or will it be found that they who were fierceſt when in Commiſſion of the Peace, in proſecuting the Poor *Diſſenters*, have proſper'd moſt in their Families and Eſtates? Or is the Memory of thoſe Stateſmen who were moſt Active in this Service, moſt grateful to true hearted *Engliſhmen?* Doth the Providence of God in this Reſpect deſerve no Remarks?

Did God diſown theſe Worthies, when the great Ones caſt them off? Let any Perſons obſerve and judge. They and their Families were ſupply'd, by an inviſible Hand. A noted Man among them, (who himſelf had a good Eſtate) reckon'd up as many who were Ejected within a few Miles round him, as with their Wives and Children made up above a Hundred, who were all turn'd out to the wide World, and Liv'd upon Providence: Concern-

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ing whom he obſerv'd, that tho' they were oft in ſtraits, yet they were not forſaken. Nay the ſame Perſon (when he had been Young, and then was Old) obſerv'd, that tho' many of the Ejected Miniſters were bro't very Low, had many Children, were greatly harraſs'd by Perſecution, and their Friends generally Poor, and unable to Support them, yet in all his Acquaintance he never knew, nor could remember to have heard of any *Nonconformiſt* Miniſter that was in Priſon for Debt. Providence was inſtead of Livings to thoſe, who left their Livings for the ſake of their Conſciences. They were driven firſt out of their Freeholds, and afterwards from all Corporations, on Purpoſe that they might be ſeparated from their kind Neighbours. Cautions were entred againſt them, in all ways of Livelyhood they were capable off; and yet they Liv'd comfortably, maintain'd their Families credibly; many of them bred up their Sons to the Miniſtry, in which they are now uſeful; and they Dy'd at laſt in Peace, and were laid in their Graves with Honour.

Did *Nonconformity* Die with them? Would to God it had, provided the Cauſes of it had been remov'd, by a Cordial *Comprehenſion:* Would to God it had, if there were nothing in it but Humour and Fancy, and Prejudice, as ſome will have it. But as long as it is bottom'd upon ſuch Stable Principles, as the ſucceeding Chapter will give an Account of; as long as ſuch a *Model* remains among us, as makes more neceſſary to enter into the Church, than is requiſite to come within the Gates of Heaven, it muſt be expected that *Nonconformity* will continue. And if we, who riſe up in the Room of thoſe who in ſo noble a Manner adhær'd to that Old *Puritannical* Principle (which was indeed that of the firſt Reformers) of *the Neceſſity of a farther Reformation in the Church, in order to the more General and Effectual reaching of the great Ends of Chriſtianity*; if we (I ſay) who riſe up in the room of thoſe who ventur'd All that was dear to them in bearing their Teſtimony to this Principle, rather than they would do violence to their Conſciences; do but imitate their Faith and Patience, Piety and Purity; do but partake of the

the ſame Divine Spirit whereby they were Acted; and have but the ſame Preſence of God with us, to Guide and Aſſiſt us, to Proſper and Succeed us, to Comfort and Support us; we are fearleſs of the Iſſue, we envy none their Preferments, we are ſatisfy'd in the Goodneſs of our Cauſe, We Queſtion not our being able to approve our Selves to God, our Sovereign, our Parliament, the Chriſtian World, our own Conſciences, and to all Impartial Judges.

CHAP. X.

The Grounds of the NONCONFORMITY *of the Miniſters who were Ejected. Their Vindication of themſelves, and ſuch as adher'd to them.*

IT is not to be ſuppos'd that Two Thouſand Men, pick them where you will, ſhould be all of a Mind. Among the excluded Miniſters there was a diverſity of Sentiments. Some could have gone much farther than others in Compliance with Authority: But as the Terms of *Conformity* were ſettled, they durſt not yield, ſome upon one Account, others upon another, and ſeveral upon many Reaſons at once, fearing they ſhould thereby have offended God. Many Eyes were upon them; their Refuſal was Publick; the Gap made by their Ejection wide and great; and the Conſequences very conſiderable. The Cenſures which were afterwards paſs'd upon them were harſh and ſevere; and at length it became Modiſh to run them all down, as a Pack of unreaſonable and humourſome Complainants. Poſterity muſt and will Judge in the Caſe, when Plaintiffs and Defendants are all in their Graves. For their Help and Aſſiſtance, I have here drawn up the Plea, of thoſe who were the Sufferers, which compar'd with the Arguments and Replies of the Aggreſſours, may help in paſſing an impartial Judgment. I de-

ſire only it may be obſerv'd, that the following Abſtract, contains the Reaſons of thoſe who were the moſt Moderate, and leaſt fond of Separation.

The Things impos'd upon them, if they would keep their Livings or Lectureſhips, or any Poſt of Service in the Eſtabliſh'd Church were theſe Five. They muſt be *Re-ordain'd*, if not Epiſcopally Ordain'd before. They muſt declare their *unfeigned Aſſent and Conſent to all, and every Thing contain'd and preſcrib'd in and by the Book of Common Prayer, and Adminiſtration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of* England; *together with the Pſalter, and the Form or Manner of Making, Ordaining and Conſecrating of Biſhops, Prieſts, and Deacons*, &c. to which was ſuperadded an equivalent Subſcription. They muſt take the Oath of *Canonical Obedience*, and ſwear Subjection to their *Ordinary*, according to the *Canons* of the Church. They muſt Abjure *the ſolemn League and Covenant*. And they muſt alſo Abjure the *taking Arms upon any Pretence whatſoever, againſt the King, or any Commiſſionated by Him*. Theſe Things were all ſtraitly enjoin'd, without any Thing to qualifie or ſoften them, or room for a Diſpenſation. So that if any Man ſcrupled but one Point, and could have comply'd in all the reſt, he was as certainly Ejected, as if he had ſcrupled all. And all of them were indeed ſcrupled by many, who weighing them maturely could not regard them (as Circumſtances ſtood) as Things indifferent, or barely inconvenient; but refus'd them as flatly ſinful, according to the beſt Light they could gain by their utmoſt Enquiries. He view them diſtinctly, in the Order in which I have mention'd them.

I. They muſt be *Re-ordain'd*, if not Epiſcopally Ordain'd before. This was plain in the *Act of Uniformity*, by which it was Enacted; that *from and after the Feaſt of* St. *Bartholomew* 1662, *no Incumbent, in Poſſeſſion of any Parſonage, Vicarage, or Benefice, that was not in Holy Orders by Epiſcopal Ordination, ſhould enjoy the ſame, but be* ipſo facto *depriv'd; his Eccleſiaſtical Promotions being void as if he were naturally Dead*, &c. Room indeed was left for receiving Epiſcopal Orders (if till then wanting) between the Time

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which the Act pass'd, and *Bartholomew* Day, *August* the 24th. But tho' there could have been a Compliance in all other Respects, if Episcopal Ordination were then found wanting, they were by the Act, *ipso facto* Ejected. This affected the far greatest Part of those who came into the Ministry, after that *Dioceſans* were put down in *England* by the Power of the Parliament. For they were Ordain'd by an Assembly of Senior Pastors, who were then in Possession of that Power: And tho' after due Examination as to their Qualifications, they were solemnly set apart to the Sacred Ministry by Fasting, and Prayer, and Imposition of Hands, and had the Blessing of Heaven for many Years attending their sacred Ministrations, they must yet now be doom'd to Silence, unless *Re-ordain'd* by *Dioceſans*.

This was what they could not submit to, because it would in their Apprehension, be a nullifying their pass'd Ordination. This seem'd not to them a light Matter, but very Momentous: In as much as the Peace of their own Consciences, the Credit of the Reformed Churches abroad, and the good and welfare of the People among whom they had labour'd, were all very nearly concern'd in it. Their Consciences would not allow them to play with Holy Things; in pretending to be *mov'd by the Holy Ghost, to take upon them the Office of a Deacon*, when they knew themselves already fix'd sufficiently in the higher Office of *Presbyters*. It appear'd to them a taking Gods Name in Vain, solemnly to Pray to him for what they were assur'd they had already; and to seem to be first invested with a sacred Authority, which they had receiv'd long before. Neither durst they pour such Contempt upon the Reform'd Churches abroad, as their Submission in this Particular would in their esteem have carry'd in it: By disowning them and their Ministers, who had no other Ordination, than such as that which they had before receiv'd. And withal they durst not invalidate their own past Ministrations, to the raising of endless scruples in such as had been under their Ministry. It was indeed urg'd by some for their Satisfaction, that the requir'd Episcopal Ordination was not intended

to invalidate their Paſt Miniſtrations, but to qualifie them for Service in the National, Eſtabliſh'd *Engliſh* Church: That the Ordinances they had before adminiſtred were allow'd to ſtand Good; for that they to whom they had apply'd the Seal of the Covenant in Baptiſm, were not requir'd to be Rebaptiz'd. And that the preſcribed Ceremony, by Impoſition of Epiſcopal Hands, might be regarded rather as a Recognition of their Miniſterial Authority, and Inveſtiture in it under the National Eſtabliſhment, than a Reordination. To which they eaſily anſwer'd; that as for the forbearing to Rebaptize ſuch as they had Baptiz'd before, it was no more than they would have done, where Children had in Extremity been Baptiz'd by meer Lay-men, nay, by any Dreaming Midwife, and therefore this was far from any Security with Reference to the Validity of their foregoing Actions as Miniſters, which referr'd to other Ordinances as well as that of Baptiſm. And as to the other Inſinuation, that their Submiſſion in this Particular might rather be regarded as a Recognition of their Miniſterial Authority than a Reordination; they anſwer'd it look'd like double Dealing: Inaſmuch as the ſignifying ſo much in expreſs Words was ſo peremptorily refus'd; the ſame Form muſt be us'd in their Caſe, as if they were then to be firſt entred into the Miniſtry, without the leaſt Variation; and their being then Ordain'd in the ſame Manner as if to be firſt entred into the Miniſterial Office, which requir'd by thoſe, who upon all Occaſions declar'd the being twice Ordain'd flatly unwarrantable. Whereupon they preſs'd them with this Argument: Either they were true Miniſters before in their own eſteem or not. If not, how could they venture upon a Recognition? And acknowledge their Antecedent Right, by confirming it with an additional Formality? If they did own them for Miniſters before, why ſhould they be for Ordaining them in the ſame Manner as they would have done if they had been no Miniſters, and ſo contradict their own profeſs'd Principle of the unwarrantableneſs of a double Ordination. But in ſome Caſes, to put the Matter beyond all Diſpute, an expreſs Renunciation of the former

ing Ordination by *Presbyters* was requir'd, before Episcopal Ordination could be had. To make it appear, this is no groundless Assertion, I have annex'd A formal Renunciation, that was requir'd in the Diocess of *Chester*, before Episcopal Orders could be obtain'd *. And 'tis reasonable to believe that this one Bishop had not a different Sense from the rest, tho' he acted more openly, while others were more upon the reserve. Being therefore Convinc'd that the requiring them to be Episcopally Ordain'd, who had been in a regular way Ordain'd by *Presbyters* before, tended (and indeed was by the generality Design'd) to nullifie their pass'd Orders, and invalidate their Consequent Ministrations, and and at the same Time to reflect on Foreign Churches, who have no Episcopal Orders, as destitute of valid Gospel Ministrations, they durst not submit to it.

* *Ego* A. B. *prætensas meas Ordinationis Literas a quibusdam* Presbyteris *olim obtentas, jam penitus renuncio, & dimitto pro vanis; Humiliter Supplicans quatenus Rev. in Christo Pater & Dominus, Dominus* Georgius *Permissione Divinâ* Cestr. *Episc. me ad Sacrum Diaconatûs Ordinem juxta Morem & ritus Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, dignaretur admittere.*

II. They were requir'd to Declare their *Unfeigned Assent and Consent to all, and every Thing contain'd and prescrib'd in and by the Book, Intitled, The Book of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, together with the Psalter or Psalms of* David; *and the Form or Manner of making, ordaining, and consecrating of Bishops, Priests and Deacons.* And they must also (and that *ex Animo*) Subscribe these Words: *That the Book of Common Prayer, and of Ordaining Bishops, Priests and Deacons, containeth in it nothing contrary to the Word of God; and that it may lawfully be us'd: And that they themselves would use the Form in the said Books prescrib'd in Publick Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments, and no other.*

Eleutherii (*i. e.* Hickmanni) *Apologia pro Ministris in* Anglia Nonconformistis, Page 14, 15. Baxter's *Plea for Peace*, Page 207. *His* English Nonconformity *Stated and Argu'd*, Page 23. *And* Troughton's *Apology for the* Nonconformists, *Page* 56.

The Act of Uniformity requir'd that this Declaration ſhould be publickly made by Word of Mouth by all that would keep their Places, on ſome Lords Day before *Aug.* the 24th. 1662. And by all that afterwards were preſented to any Eccleſiaſtical Benefice, within Two Months after they were in Actual Poſſeſſion of it. And the Subſcription was as peremptorily requir'd, as the Declaration. But they could not herein concur for Two Grand Reaſons.

1. Becauſe very few of them could ſee the Book, to all Things in which they were to Declare their Aſſent and Conſent, before the Time limited by the Act was expir'd. For the Common Prayer Book with the Alterations and Amendments, (for ſo they are call'd, how deſervedly I enquire not) made by the Convocation, did not come out of the Preſs till a few Days before the 24th of *Auguſt*. So that of the 7000 Miniſters in *England* who kept their Livings, few except thoſe who were in or near *London*, could poſſibly have a ſight of the Book with its Alterations, till after they had declar'd their Aſſent and Conſent to it. This was what honeſt Mr. *Steel*, and many other of the *Nonconformiſts* warmly complain'd of, in their parting Sermons, when they took their Farewel of their People at the Time of their Ejection. And whatever it might ſeem then, when Perſons were in a manifeſt Heat, at a diſtance it appears ſuch a hardſhip, as that it is rather to be wondred, that ſo many could Act in ſo weighty a Matter, upon an implicit Faith, than that ſuch a number ſhould in ſuch Circumſtances ſtand out. But,

2. When they had Opportunity to peruſe the Book, they met with ſeveral Things there, which after the ſtricteſt ſearch they could make, appear'd to them not agreeable to the Word of God: For them under this Apprehenſion (which it was not in their Power to alter) to have gone to declare their Satisfaction that there was nothing contrary to the Word of God, and nothing but what they could both Aſſent to (as true) and Conſent to, (as good and to be us'd) and to have ſubſcrib'd this with their Hands, had been doing Violence to their Conſcien-

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ces, and attempting at once to impose upon God and Man.

They could not but observe the Comprehensiveness of the requir'd Declaration: There must be not only *Consent* but *Assent* too; and that not only *to all in General*; but to *every Thing in Particular contain'd in and prescrib'd by the Book of Common Prayer.* Words could scarce be devis'd by the Wit of Man, more full; and more significant †, whereby they might testifie their highest Justification and Commendation of every Point and Syllable, every Rite and Ceremony, every Matter and Thing contain'd in the whole Book, and in every Page and Line of it. A Man might almost be tempted to imagine that the Framers of this impos'd Declaration and Subscription, had had this Book of Common Prayer dropping down among them immediately from Heaven, and that they look'd upon it as nothing else but a continu'd Oracle from First to Last: And that they were of the Mind of the famous Dr. *Swadlin*, who speaking of the *Publick Service* very roundly Asserts *, *That there was not a Tittle of it, but it was by the Dictate of the Holy Ghost.* That Gentleman was not only pleas'd to Assert this, but he tho't fit to prove it too. His Argument is so admirable for its Peculiarity, that I cannot forbear transcribing it. Of all the Offices in that Book, he fastens on that of *Matrimony*, and particularly on the first Prayer in that Office; which beseeches Almighty God to bless the Couple to be Married, as *Isaac* and *Rebecca*. Whence he thus Argues. *This Prayer was dictated by the Holy Ghost to the Composers of the Common Prayers, or made by those Composers without the Dictate of the Holy Ghost: But not by them without his Dictate; therefore by his Dictate to them. If by them, without him, then they would have made it according to Humane Reason, and so have said, Bless them O Lord, as thou didst bless* Abraham *and* Sarah, *or as thou didst bless* Jacob *and* Rachel; *and they had humane Reason for it. For* Abraham *was Gods first Friend,* Jacob *was Gods great Favourite. But says the Holy Ghost, not so, nor so: But let it be, bless them as* Isaac *and* Rebeccah. *And there is no Humane Reason for this, but a Di-*

† *A Letter from a Minister to a Person of Quality, shewing some Reasons for his* Nonconformity. *A loose Sheet,* Page 1.

* *See his Anniversary Sermons on the* 30th *of* January: *Particularly that An.* 1656.

vine Reaſon there is, and that is this; Abraham *had his* Hagar *in* Sarah's *Time, and his* Keturah *afterwards.* Jacob *had his* Leah, *his* Zilpah, *and his* Bilhah; *But* Iſaac *had none but his* Rebecca. *And therefore ſays the Holy Ghoſt, let it not be, Bleſs them as* Abraham *and* Sarah, *Bleſs them as* Jacob *and* Rachel: *For then People may be apt to think they may have many Wives at once, if not ſome Concubines: But let it be, bleſs them as thou didſt bleſs* Iſaac *and* Rebecca. *Let them know, one Man ſhould have but one Wife, eſpecially at one Time.* A little after, he adds; *certainly therefore, Bleſſed are they which Die in maintaining that Service-Book, which can without Contradiction, Father the Ceremonies of it upon the Holy Ghoſt.* This it muſt be own'd is plain Dealing. But the Poor *Nonconformiſts* had not that Spirit of diſcerning, which ſuch clear-ſighted Gentlemen were favour'd with. If they muſt have Forms of Prayer, they deſir'd they might be *according to Humane Reaſon*, and not father'd upon the Holy Ghoſt without better pretence to Inſpiration. Their ſeeing ſome make a plain Idol of the Common Prayer Book, rendred them the leſs fond of it. Such a Declaration as was requir'd of them concerning it, was in their Apprehenſion as much as could be deſir'd or done, concerning the Book of God, the Bible it ſelf. Yea they queſtion'd, Whether many a ſober Man might not have ſcrupled to declare ſo much concerning any Copy of the Bible now Extant in the World, there being hardly any one to be found, but what may have ſuch Faults and Slips, as may make an unfeigned Aſſent and Conſent to every Tittle, a Matter of rational Scruple. But as for the Book of Common Prayer, *&c.* They found ſuch Marks of Humane Infirmity, in the Frame and Contexture, and the Particular Offices of it, that they durſt not make the Subſcription and Declaration requir'd, till they could receive Satisfaction, with Reference to ſundry Exceptions they had to bring in, which appear'd to them of great Weight and Conſequence.

1. The

1. The Subſcription and Declaration requir'd, they found would take in the Doctrine of *Real Baptiſmal Regeneration*, and *certain Salvation*, Conſequent thereupon. And that whether the Perſons Baptiz'd, were qualify'd Subjects of Baptiſm, yea or not. It would be an Approbation of the Rubrick at the end of the Publick Office for Baptiſm, where 'tis ſaid, *it is certain by God's Word, that Children which are Baptiz'd, dying before they commit actual Sin, are undoubtedly ſav'd.* It would have been well if they had quoted the Place; for the Diſſenting Miniſters freely confeſs'd their Ignorance, that they knew of no ſuch Word in Scripture. It would alſo be an Agreement, to uſe conſtantly after Baptiſm that Thankſgiving; *We yield thee Hearty Thanks, moſt merciful Father, that it hath pleas'd thee to Regenerate this Infant with thy holy Spirit.* Now when they ſhould be oblig'd to Baptize all Comers, without a Liberty of refuſing the Children of Infidels, or the moſt Scandalous Sinners, (provided they had but Sponſours) to bleſs God preſently as ſoon as the Office was over, for Regenerating them by his Spirit; and lay it down as undoubtedly certain that they were ſav'd if they dy'd, this was what their Light would not ſuffice for; and therefore till then 'twas their undoubted *Duty* to avoid Concurrence. For who can ſo much as queſtion whether or no it would have been a Sin in them, to bleſs God with Confidence for what they did not believe was Real; and to lay that down as undoubtedly certain from Scripture, of which they ſaw not there the leaſt Foundation. They found the Children of the wickedeſt Parents, (of Whores and Adulterers living openly in all notorious Sin, and wholly without God in the World) Baptiz'd without Scruple: and many of them dy'd ſoon after Baptiſm: Now how could they pretend to be ſure by the Word of God, and paſt all doubt that all ſuch went to Heaven, when God ſo poſitively declar'd in the 2d Commandment, that *he would puniſh the Iniquities of the Fathers upon the Children, unto the 3d and 4th Generation?* This at leaſt might make the matter dubious to them. Suppoſe a Chriſtian King ſhould conquer a Country of *Pagans*, or *Mahumetans*, or *Jews*, or compel all their

their Infants forthwith to be Baptiz'd, and ſome of them immediatly expire, at leaſt before the Commiſſion of actual Sin, is the Salvation of all ſuch ſure, and paſt all doubt. and this to be made out, and cleared by the Word of God? Is it in the Power of Man to make Infants ſure and certain of Salvation? It is in the Power of Man to kill a poor Infant, and to chooſe his time for doing it. Many Whores murder their Babes before Baptiſm, and they might as well do it immediately after, and ſo aſſuredly (upon this Hypotheſis) ſend them to Heaven, whither they ſhall never come themſelves, without bitter and ſorrowful Repentance. And ſo might the aforeſaid King and Conqueror, (after he by Baptiſm had given them their ſure and unqueſtionable Paſſport for Paradiſe) even in Charity and Kindneſs immediately cut the poor Infants off, and ſo without any farther hazard, give them Poſſeſſion of eternal Bliſs. But our Miniſters could not tell how to apprehend that any Mortals had ſuch Power over Souls, as this would amount to.

It hath been pleaded by ſome in this Caſe to mollifie the Objection, that the aſſerting of a *Baptiſmal Regeneration*, was what was mainly intended; and that herein they had the Concurrence of many of the moſt Celebrated, Reformed Divines, and of many even of our own moſt admired Writers; to which they had this obvious Reply: That the Thankſgiving after Baptiſm, mentions *Regenerating with the Holy Spirit*; which carrys the matter farther than the Sign, and ſeems to denote the thing Signify'd, as actually given to each Baptized Perſon. Beſides the ſenſe of the Church in this Point is ſufficiently clear'd by the Office for *Confirmation*, in which the Biſhop who Officiates, in his firſt Addreſs to God, expreſſes himſelf thus. *Almighty and everliving God; who haſt vouchſaf'd to Regenera e theſe thy Servants by Water, and the Holy Ghoſt, and haſt given unto them forgiveneſs of all their Sins*, &c. This ſaid with Reference to all Comers, (as to which 'tis well known there is very little Care) gives ground to all concern'd to think themſelves ſufficiently Regenerated already, and to apprehend that the Church doth not think their aiming

ing at any farther Regeneration needful, when once they are Baptiz'd and Confirm'd. This was a thing that appear'd to our Miniſters of ſuch dangerous Conſequence, that they durſt not concur in it or any way approve it, for fear of Contributing to the hardening of a multitude of vain, looſe, careleſs, ſecure Creatures in a fatal Miſtake about the ſafety of their State; neither could they ſee how they could Anſwer for it to God another day.

The Letter from a Miniſter to a Perſon of Quality, ſhewing ſome Reaſons for his Nonconformity, page 3, 4. Corbets *Remains. page* 154. *Short Surveigh of the Grand Caſe of the preſent Miniſtry. page* 15. Baxter's *Nonconformity Stated and argu'd: p.* 48. *His Plea for Peace. page* 169. *His Defence of the Plea for Peace. page* 16, *and* 137, *&c. at Large.*

2. This Aſſent Conſent, and Subſcription, was among other things to the uſe of *Godfathers and Godmothers* in Baptiſm, to the Excluſion of Parents.

This they eſteem'd ſinful, not only becauſe it juſtled out the Parents right to devote their Children to God in Baptiſm, which is the thing upon which the Adminiſtration of that Ordinance to Infants was primarily Founded, but alſo becauſe it open'd a wide Door to the Profaning of one of the moſt awful Solemnitys of our Holy Religion. In as much as Godfathers and Godmothers are neither requir'd to be choſen with due Care and Caution; (and in the caſe of many Perſons, 'tis really impoſſible to procure any ſerious Undertakers;) nor are they tied to bring the Children of Chriſtians only, nor only ſuch as they take for their own, but without any difference may bring the Children of any Atheiſts or Seducers, Jews or Infidels, at pleaſure, without taking any further tho't or care about them. Withal theſe Godfathers and Godmothers perſonate the Child, as believing in Chriſt, and renouncing Sin; and that without any Authority for it, either from any Natural Right, or Poſitive Law. And the Ordinance of Baptiſm will ſeem to be put upon that inſufficient Bottom, by any one who ſedately compares the Office for that Purpoſe, with the Church Catechiſm. For the promiſe of the Godfathers and Godmothers, in the Childs

Childs name, is in both repreſented as the Foundation of Baptiſmal Dedication, and the Ground of the Claim of the Benefits and Bleſſings thence ariſing. Now our Miniſters ſenſibly found that this would not bear Scanning. In the Church way this Ordinance is ſo manag'd, as if the Godfathers Faith were Beneficial to the Child, and not the Parents: When as God requires no Faith or Repentance of Infants, but only that they be the ſeed of Penitent Believers, and devoted to him as ſuch; this alſo was an Offence to many. And then they found, that Godfathers and Godmothers were generally bro't to the Font, to avouch a great Untruth, and make themſelves obnoxious to Lying and Perjury in the Face of God and the Church. For Experience ſheweth, that what Appearance ſoever there is of Solemnity at the Engaging in ſuch a Promiſe, yet they never (or very rarely) perform it. Some of them never ſee the Child more, after the Chriſtning Day, nor ever enquire more after it. Yea, tho' they ſolemnly Engage on the behalf of the Infant, yet they hold themſelves really bound to nothing, but look upon all as a meer Ceremony and Complement. Suppoſe a Parent ſhould afterwards Challenge his Goſſips, and ſay; you promis'd when you ſtood Suretys for my Child at the Font, to call upon him to mind his Duty, to hear Sermons, *&c.* and to ſee him well inſtructed in the Rudiments and Principles of Religion; but you have not done it, and thro' your Neglect, he does not hear Sermons, he is not Catechiz'd, he does not renounce the Works of the Devil, but is in the high-way to ruin, notwithſtanding your Engagements: What would be the Anſwer of theſe Perſons to the Parents of the Child, but this? Should we look after him or you? Whoſe Child is he, yours or ours? He is your own proper Charge, notwithſtanding our ſtanding at the Font; he is committed to your Truſt, and therefore if he do otherwiſe than well for lack of your Care, the blame will be yours, and his Blood will be upon your Head as the only Criminals. And indeed hardly any thing can be more Obvious to Obſervation than this, that the blame is not laid upon Godfathers and Godmothers if Children be not well

well Diſciplin'd and Educated, neither do they blame themſelves, or ſhew any Conſcience in this matter, altho' 'tis evident, that if they perform not their Covenants to the utmoſt of their Power, they break their Faith. On which Accounts, they durſt not by any means *Conſent* to ſo Encourage ſo Corrupt a Cuſtom. *

* Baxter's *Nonconformity Stated and Argu'd. page* 57. *his Plea for Peace. page* 167. *His Defence of the Nonconformiſts Plea for Peace. page* 26. *The Letter from a Miniſter to a Perſon of Quality, ſhewing ſome Reaſons for his Nonconformity.* Corbets *Remains. page* 156. Baxt. 2*d. true Defence of the meer Nonconf. Ch.* 12. *page* 167.

3. This Aſſent, Conſent, and Subſcription, would have oblig'd the Miniſters to have deny'd the Ordinance of Baptiſm to ſuch as had not Sponſors, altho' they had a real Right to that Ordinance, and to be thereby Solemnly recogniz'd as Born Members of the viſible Church. Some have herein queſtion'd the Reality of the Obligation; but as far as appears, upon very weak Grounds. For the *Canon* Subſcrib'd, obliges in expreſs Words to uſe the Form preſcrib'd, and no other: And the *Rubrick* Declares there ſhall be for every Male Child to be Baptiz'd, two Godfathers and one Godmother; and for every Female, one Godfather and two Godmothers. Conſequently all that would Officiate in the Eſtabliſh'd Church, muſt by verbal Declaration and Subſcription, bind themſelves * to deny Baptiſm to all Children of Godly Parents, that have not Godfathers and Godmothers,

* *Some it muſt be own'd have hereby given themſelves a Latitude; but how far they could juſtifie it, would be a pretty cloſe Enquiry. I remember in Mr.* Henry's *Life, there is a Paſſage, which deſerves noting upon this occaſion. One of the Pariſhioners of Dr.* F. *of* Whitchurch, *deſired him to give way that his Child might be Baptiz'd by another without the Croſs, and Godfathers, if he would not do it himſelf. He refus'd both; and by a Letter return'd this Anſwer.* For my part (*faith he*) I freely profeſs my tho'ts that the ſtrict urging of indifferent Ceremonies, hath done more harm than good: and poſſibly had all Men been left to their Liberty therein, there might have been much more Unity, and not much leſs Uniformity. But what Power have I to diſpenſe with my ſelf, being now under the Obligation of a Law and an Oath? *And he Concludes,* I am much grieved at the unhappy Condition of my ſelf even

and other Ministers who must either loose their Parishioners Love if they do not comply with them, or else break their Solemn Obligations to please them; *This freedom and openness was certainly more honest tho' join'd with a seeming stifness, than Persons pretending to dispense with themselves, when under the most Solemn Bonds.*

even tho' the Parent be ready to do his own Part, Professing his Faith, Dedicating his Child to God, and promising a Religious Education.

Such an Agreement our Ministers apprehended sinful. They durst not causelessly deprive Souls of visible Christianity, much less Damn them for want of an Humane, unnecessary if not Corrupt Invention. They durst not make a Covenant to Rob Christ and the Church of Visible Members for nothing; and consign those over to the Un-covenanted Mercy of God, whom he (they well knew) was ready to accept for his: And so Concur in setting the Will and Advice of Man against Christ, who said, *Forbid them not*; and was angry with those, *who forbad them to come to him.* And it seem'd to them very odd that the same Persons should be so forward to deny Baptism to poor Infants for want of a Formality, when yet they apprehended it would give them a certain Assurance of Salvation, as hath been hinted before. One of them, thus Expresses himself upon this Matter. *Shall a Minister dare to withhold so much good from, and endeavour so much evil to the Souls of poor Infants in denying them their Christendom, meerly upon the account of some Accessorys, and scrupled Accidents invented and impos'd by Man, and not at all of the Essence of Baptism it self? Besides the impiety and irreligion of such a Process, the Minister (according to his own Faith) would be most Cruel and Unmerciful in so doing, and deserv'd if possible, to be unchristened himself again, and turn'd among Canibals, as one more deeply dipt and Baptiz'd in their barbarous inhumanity than any of themselves: and yet if he be a true Son of the Church, and punctually observe his prescribed Rule, he must not Baptize any Infant without Godfathers and Godmothers, whether it be sav'd or damn'd.* This was what our Fathers could not Swallow or Digest. *

* Baxter's *Nonconformity Stated and Argu'd. pag.* 69. *His Plea for Peace pag.* 174. *Defence of the Plea for Peace. pag.* 30.

4. This

4. This Aſſent, Conſent, and Subſcription, would oblige to ſign the Infants in the Adminiſtration of Baptiſm with the Tranſient ſign of the *Croſs*, and to deny Baptiſm to the Children of ſuch as refuſe it.

As for the uſing the ſign of the Croſs in Baptiſm, ſome were much more againſt it than others: But the generality of the Silenc'd Miniſters regarded it as a Sacrament ſuperadded to that which our Bleſſed Lord had inſtituted. For there is *an outward viſible Sign*; A Tranſient Image of a Croſs, made by one that acteth as a Miniſter of Chriſt, and receiv'd in the Forehead by the Baptiz'd. The *thing Signify'd* is both the work of Redemption purchaſing Grace, and the Grace given as the fruit of that Purchaſe. *Can.* 30. Thus Expreſſes it. *The Holy Ghoſt by the mouth of the Apoſtle did honour the name of the Croſs ſo far, that under it he comprehended not only Chriſt Crucify'd, but the force, effects, and merits of his Death and Paſſion, with all the Comforts, Fruits, and Promiſes which we receive or expect thereby. The Church of* England *hath retain'd ſtill the ſign of it in Baptiſm, following therein the Primitive and Apoſtolical Churches, and accounting it a lawful outward Ceremony, and honourable Badge, whereby the Infant is* DEDICATED *to the Service of him that died on the Croſs, as by the Words of the Common Prayer Book may appear.* Which Words are theſe: *We receive this Child into the Congregation of Chriſt's Flock, and do ſign him with the ſign of the Croſs, in token that he ſhall not be aſham'd to confeſs the Faith of Chriſt Crucify'd, and manfully to fight under his Banner againſt ſin the World and the Devil, and to continue Chriſt's faithful Soldier and Servant to his Lives End, Amen.* So that the thing ſignify'd, is Chriſt Crucify'd, with the Benefits of his Croſs. And the Image of the Croſs is appointed to work this Grace, by way of exciting Signification: And it is Expreſly made Man's Covenanting Sign, by which he bindeth himſelf to Fidelity; engaging, that *he will not be aſham'd to confeſs the Faith of Chriſt Crucified*, &c. All Covenant Duty that is requir'd on Man's Part is hereby promis'd: And the Canon declares it is a *Dedicating Sign.* So that it ſeemeth a Sacrament of Mans, added to that of Chriſt. And tho' it be a Bond only on Man's part, and have nothing

nothing in it of an Aſſurance on Gods Part, which is what hath been often reply'd; yet taken ſo, it ſeems no ſmall Reflection. For it looks as if Baptiſm as Chriſt had appointed it, were eſteem'd a Bond not ſufficiently firm and ſtrong, and therefore needed ſome Addition whereby Men might be tied the faſter to him, and bound the more firmly to their Duty. Our Fathers who knew any Thing of this kind would be reſented by an earthly Prince, could not underſtand upon what juſt Grounds we might preſume to make more bold with the great Law-giver in the Chriſtian Church. And tho' in the Form of Words us'd, the Sign of the Croſs is ſaid to be *in Token* he ſhall not be aſham'd to confeſs the Faith of Chriſt Crucify'd, yet the Generality are apt to underſtand it, as if it had been ſaid, that *in Vertue and Power of this Sign*, the Perſon Baptiz'd ſhould not be aſham'd to Confeſs the Faith of Chriſt Crucify'd, but ſhould fight manfully under Chriſts Banner againſt Sin, the World, and the Devil. Now they durſt not concur in giving even an Occaſion (knowingly) of ſuch a Miſunderſtanding to the Vulgar and Injudicious.

Tho' Chriſtians in the Primitive Times might make uſe of the *Sign of the Croſs*, yet the very ſame Reaſon which might put them upon that Uſe with a Reference to the *Heathens*, ſhould in the Judgment of the Silenc'd Miniſters, have mov'd us now wholly to diſuſe it, with Reference to the *Papiſts*. Profeſſors then Sign'd themſelves with the *Sign of the Croſs*, to diſtinguiſh themſelves from the *Pagans*, who ſcorn'd the Croſs, with every Sign and Token of it: And with Parity of Reaſon they tho't we ſhould now forbear ſo doing, to diſtinguiſh our Selves from the Idolatrous *Papiſts*; who ſuperſtitiouſly adore the Croſs, fooliſhly ſigning themſelves with it upon every Occaſion, thinking themſelves no good Catholicks without ſo doing, and putting no little Hope and Confidence in it to Free and Protect them from all Evil, and to furniſh and inveſt them with all Good. Now that they might Witneſs their Diſlike and Deteſtation of the Vanity of the *Papiſts* herein, they could not unfeignedly Aſſent and Conſent to the retaining of this Sign.

But

But their Offence at it was much the more heighthen'd, in that the Use or Neglect of it was not left to the Ministers Discretion, but whereſoever it was refus'd, Baptiſm was to be deny'd. For the Subſcription that was requir'd, expreſly oblig'd to *uſe no other Form* (therefore to be ſure not in the Office of Baptiſm) than that in the Book. And the Form of Baptiſm there inſerted, could not be us'd by one who omitted the Croſs. They could not herein agree, becauſe they found, that ſuch a Promiſe and Covenant as was requir'd, always to uſe that Sign in Baptiſm, was a conſenting to the altering the Terms of Chriſts Covenant, and Sacrament, and to contradict one of his Fundamental Laws. Baptize ſaith Chriſt, all that are made Diſciples; all that Repent and Believe. No ſaith the Convocation, Baptize none that are propos'd, tho' they have all that is neceſſary to make them Diſciples of Chriſt, unleſs they will take the Tranſient Image of a Croſs, for their farther Obligation. Here was a manifeſt Encroachment upon the Kingly Power of our Saviour, in making new Terms of Communion, which they durſt not concur in: A turning the Keys upon thoſe whom they knew Chriſt was ready to receive: And a poſitive rejecting ſuch as he requir'd them to Baptize. And this (as Light as others made of it) was in their Eſteem a Sin of an high Nature, and ſo would their Conſenting to it alſo *.

* Baxter's *Nonconformity Stated and Argu'd*, p. 72, 75. *His Plea for Peace*, page 116. *His Defence of the Plea for Peace*, page 39. *The Letter from a Minister to a Perſon of Quality, ſhewing ſome Reaſons for his Nonconformity.* Corbet's *Remains*, page 150. Troughton's *Apology for the* Nonconformiſts, *page* 35. Alſop's *Miſchief of Impoſitions*, page 86. Baxter's *Second True Defence of the Meer* Nonconformiſts, Chap. 10. p. 153. *Eleutherii* (*i. e.* Hickmanni) *Apologia pro Ejectis in* Anglia *Miniſtris*, page 102.

5. This Aſſent, Conſent and Subſcription, would oblige them to reject all ſuch from the Communion, as would not receive it Kneeling.

That it would have herein oblig'd them is plain, in that the Canon forbids Miniſters upon Pain of

Suſpenſion to give the Sacrament to any that do no
Kneel, which Canon explains the meaning of th
Rubrick in the Liturgy, and intimates that, *Give*
to them Kneeling, is equivalent to, *give it only to ſuc*
It was indeed Aſſerted by the Diſputants on th
Church-ſide at the *Savoy*, that the Liturgy *only re*
quird it ſhould be given Kneeling, but did not forbid th
giving it to others: But it was generally Contradicte
by the other Commiſſioners, and particularly thoſ
who were upon the Secret. And indeed this woul
be to ſet the Liturgy, and the Canons at Variance
whereas they are really all of a Piece.

Thus to exclude all that ſhould refuſe Kneeling
the Communion, was what they could not Conſen
to: Becauſe it was a making New Terms of Churc
Communion; a contradicting Chriſts appointe
Terms, which require all Chriſtians to receive eac
other in Love and Concord, and not to doubtfu
Diſputations *. A depriving Chriſt's Members
their Right; an Uſurpation upon Mens Conſciences
and a tearing the Church by dividing Engines.
ven thoſe of them who could not charge Kneeling
ſinful, and who could themſelves have comply
with it, were yet afraid of excluding others upo
ſuch an Account as that, by Reaſon it was far fro
being a neceſſary Matter. And withal, Perſo
might have very good Reaſon to be backward
yield to the altering of that Poſture that was us'd b
our Saviour in the Adminiſtration; and to be ſhy
ſeeming to ſymbolize with Idolaters, in uſing th
Poſture which is well known to be us'd by the *Pa*
piſts with an Intention of Adoration, as to the E
ments; which tho' diſclaim'd by the Church of *En*
land, is yet apt to be miſinterpreted. Suppoſe a M
ſhould upon ſearching Church-Hiſtory, find that t
Poſture of Kneeling at the Communion was ne
requir'd in the Church, till the Doctrine of *Tranſ*
ſtantiation was eſtabliſh'd; this alone (tho' he ſhou
have nothing farther to alledge) might be a va
Reaſon for his being ſhy of that Poſture: But
Miniſters to enter into any ſuch Combination, as
be oblig'd to tell ſuch a Man when offering him
to Communion; truly Sir, while you are under t
Scrup

* *See the Argument upon this Matter before produc'd in this Narrative*, p. 165.

Scruple, tho' I may Pity you for your Weakneſs, yet I can't own you for a Chriſtian, this they tho't hard: And the more ſo, in that equal Care was not taken to keep off from the Communion, Perſons evidently unqualify'd, and unworthy, either thro' Ignorance, or Immorality; unleſs by ſuch a Method as was likely to do more hurt than Good.

This of being bound to reject from the Communion ſuch as durſt not receive it Kneeling, was the only Point canvaſs'd in the *Savoy Conference*. The Miniſters aſſerted this to be ſinful: And they not only aſſerted it, but advanc'd in Proof of it ſuch Reaſons as theſe. Becauſe it would be an obliging them to deny People the Communion, on the Account of their not daring to go againſt the Practiſe of the Apoſtles, and the Univerſal Church for many Hundred Years after them; and the Canons of the moſt venerable Councils. Becauſe it would be an obliging them to deny the Communion, to ſuch as the Holy Ghoſt had requir'd them to receive to it. Becauſe it was an impoſing on the Church, Things antecedently unneceſſary, upon the higheſt Penalty; viz. excluding from Communion. Becauſe it was croſſing that great Rule of Charity, *I will have Mercy, and not Sacrifice*. And a uſing that Power to Deſtruction, which was given to be us'd to Edification *. [He that deſires to ſee theſe Reaſons purſu'd and drawn out, may Conſult Mr. *Baxters* Life in *Folio*, Page 346, 347. and 360, 361.]

* Baxter's *Nonconformity Stated and Argu'd*, pa. 149.

7. *His Plea for Peace*, pag. 182. Corbet's *Remains*, Broughton's *Apology for the* Nonconformiſts, *pag.* 37. *Eleutherii* (*i. e.* Hickmanni) *Apologia pro ejectis in* Anglia *Miniſtris*, pag. 1, &c.

6. This Aſſent, Conſent, and Subſcription, would be an Allowance and Approbation of that Aſſertion, that *Biſhops*, *Prieſts*, and *Deacons*, are Three Diſtinct Orders in the Church by Divine Appointment For in the Book of Ordination, which was as much to be Aſſented and Conſented to, as the Common Prayer Book it ſelf: It is aſſerted, *That it is evident to all Men diligently Reading the Holy Scriptures and ancient*

ent Authors, that from the Apostles Time, there have been these ORDERS *in Christ's Church, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons. as several* OFFICES. And indeed the whole Book of Ordination is bottom'd upon that Supposition as its Foundation.

Now many of the *Ejected* Ministers were Conscious to themselves, that they had diligently read the Holy Scriptures, and consulted Ancient Authors, and yet they could not see Evidence of Three ORDERS and OFFICES: And therefore to have yielded to that Declaration and Subscription which would have imply'd the contrary, had been gross Prevarication. They also tho't they had good Reason to believe, that *Calvin*, *Beza*, and many more of the first Reformers; and that such Men as *Blondel*, *Salmasius*, *Robert Parker*, *Gersom Bucer*, *Calderwood*, *Cartwright*, *John Reynolds*, *Ames*, *Ainsworth*, and many more such eminent *Protestants*, who had quite different Apprehensions of this Matter, had diligently read both the Scriptures and the Ancients, as well as their Neighbours. Neither could they see any Reason to be confident, that such Men *as Selden*, *Stillingfleet* (at that time when he wrote his *Irenicum*) Bishop *Edward Reynolds*, and many others who tho' the Scripture instituted no Particular Forms of Government, had been altogether unconversant either with Scriptures or Fathers. Nor did they think it necessary to run down such a Man as Arch-Bishop *Usher* as a Novice in either, tho' he often profess'd it his Sense, that Bishops, are not a different *Order* but a different *Degree* in the same Order.

Nay, they found that even the Church of *England* was formerly of another Mind, as may be seen in the Canons of *Ælfrick* to Bishop *Wulfine* *, which conclude that there were but Seven Ecclesiastical Orders, and that the *Bishops* and *Presbyters* are not Two

* Spelmanni *Concil. Vol.* 1. pag. 575, 576. *Septem Gradus, constituti sunt in Ecclesiâ. Primus* Hostiarius; *Secundus* Lector; *Tertius* Exorcista; *Quartus* Acolythus; *Quintus* Subdiaconus; *Sixtus* Diaconus; *Septimus* Presbyter. *Haud pluris interest inter Missalem* Presbyterum & Episcopum, *quam quod* Episcopus *constitutus sit ad Ordinationes conferendas, & ad visitandum seu inspiciendum curandumque ea quæ ad Deum pertinent, quod nimiæ credere*

but One. And Biſhop *Stillingfleet* prov'd as they tho't by ſufficient Evidence, that Arch-Biſhop *Cranmer*, and other Reformers of the Church of *England* were of that Mind; and held that there was no Difference in *Order* between a *Biſhop* and *Presbyter*, but only in Degree. With what Conſcience then could they have yielded to ſuch a Subſcription and Declaration, as would repreſent it as their Senſe, that *Biſhops*, *Prieſts*, and *Deacons*, were Three Diſtinct Orders all along in the Church, while they tho't they had good Reaſon to apprehend the contrary, and good Company in that Apprehenſion.

Multitudini, ſi omnis Preſbyter *hoc idem faceret Ambo ſiquidem UNUM tenent EUNDEMQUE ORDINEM, quamvis dignior ſit illa pars Epiſcopi. Non eſt alius* ORDO *conſtitutus in Eccleſiaſticis Miniſteriis*, &c.

Baxter's *Plea for Peace*, page 194.

Beſides theſe, there were other Things, which tho' by ſome poſſibly leſs regarded than the former, were yet ſuch as they could not Aſſent and Conſent to, without having Reaſon and Conſcience fly in their Face.

1. They could not Conſent to Pronounce all Sav'd, that are Bury'd except the Unbaptiz'd, Excommunicate, and Self-Murtherers. The Words in that Office for the Burial of the Dead are theſe: *For as much as it hath pleas'd Almighty God of his great Mercy, to take unto himſelf, the Soul of our dear Brother here departed*; and afterwards; *We give thee hearty Thanks for that it hath pleas'd thee to deliver this our Brother out of the Miſeries of this ſinful World.* And again; *That we may reſt in Him, as our Hope is, this our Brother doth.* This they could by no Means approve off. For tho' they own'd themſelves bound to judge according to the utmoſt Bounds of Charity concerning all, yea even thoſe with whom they would not change Souls, nor be in their Condition after Death for Ten Thouſand Worlds, yet poſitively and peremptorily without all Limitation or Diſcrimination, to ſay and vouch concerning every one whom they Bury'd, *That God in great Mercy has taken his Soul*; viz. *by Death out of the Body: And taken it to himſelf*; this was beyond their Faith, and they found nothing like it

in the Gospel, which speaks altogether in another Language to and of impenitent Sinners. It is past Contradiction, that Thousands are cut off by Death in the midst of their Sins, Drunkenness, Whoring, Swearing, *&c.* without any sign of Repentance from First to Last, so Living, and so Dying: Now, how can it be said, *That God took away such Persons out of this World by Death in Mercy, in great Mercy?* In as much as at the same Instant, they were taken away from all Possibility of Future Repentance and Amendment of Life. They tho't in such Cases it might rather be fear'd, *That God took them away in Wrath*; provok'd by the long Abuse of his Patience, and their own Impenitency. Yet nevertheless the Priest must not only say, that God took away all such Persons *in Mercy, in great Mercy*, but also positively affirm, *that God took them to himself*; i. e. into Heaven. Whereas the Scripture saith expressly, that neither Adulterers, nor Fornicators, nor Drunkards shall ever go to Heaven: Yet hereby must they have oblig'd themselves, in perfect Opposition, when they Bury'd any known Adulterer, Fornicator, or Drunkard; to declare and avouch that *his Soul was assuredly gone thither*. They could not see how Charity would excuse dangerous Errors and falshood. By this Means they saw they should be necessitated to Pronounce many *Sav'd* at the Grave, whom in their Pulpits and Writings they tho't themselves oblig'd to Condemn. They should hereby be in danger of speaking falsly for God, misrepenting his Word, and hardning the ungodly and prophane in their Hope of coming off Safe at Last, altho' they persisted in their dissolute and licentious Course. Now they durst not Damn a known Adulterer, Fornicatour, and Drunkard while he was Living, and yet save him when he was Dead. Nor yet again could they *commit his Body to the Ground, in a sure and certain Hope of a Happy Resurrection unto Eternal Life*. Which Words must necessarily be spoken with Reference to the Person then Interred, inasmuch as they are the Continuation of the foregoing Declaration: *viz. Gods taking his Soul to himself*. Besides it follows (which puts it out of Doubt) in the last Collect or Prayer, *That when we shall depart*

depart this Life, we may reſt in him, (viz. Chriſt) *as our Hope is this our Brother doth.* Now they tho't it were eaſie to fore-ſee ſundry Caſes, in which they would be ſo far from having *any ſure and certain Hope of a Happy Reſurrection, unto Eternal Life and Salvation,* that there would rather be *a ſure and certain fear of a doleful Reſurrection unto Eternal Death and Damnation.* And withal, it ſeem'd to them to be but a wild and fanciful ſort of Charity in theſe Men, that they ſhould have ſuch hopes as to Perſons Dying under ſuch groſs Sins, as Murder or Adultery, Rebellion or Blaſphemy without Repentance, while yet many of their Conſciences were too tender to allow the Office to *Diſſenters,* becauſe they were hopeleſs Schiſmaticks.

A Letter from a Miniſter to a Perſon of Quality, ſhewing ſome Reaſons *for his* Nonconformity. Baxter's *Nonconformity Stated and Argu'd.* page 83. *His Plea for Peace,* page 187. Corbet's *Remains,* page 161.

2. They could not Conſent to a falſe Rule for finding out *Eaſter* Day. In the Common Prayer Book there is a Rule for finding out the moveable Feaſts and Holydays. *Eaſter Day* (on which the reſt depend) *is always the firſt Sunday after the firſt Full Moon, which happens next after the One and Twentieth Day of* March: *And if the Full Moon happens upon a* Sunday, Eaſter *Day is the* Sunday *after.* The frequent falſity of this Rule, may be ſeen by conſulting the Common Almanacks; and by comparing it with the Table that follows afterwards in the Common Prayer Book, to find out *Eaſter* Day for ever. So that here was a Book to be Aſſented and Conſented to, that was inconſiſtent with it ſelf. How could they *Aſſent* and *Conſent to all, and every thing contain'd* in this Book, when they found in it among other Things a Table and a Rule that claſh'd, one determining this to be *Eaſter* Day, and another another Day. If the Rule be true, the Table is falſe. If the Table be true, the Rule is falſe. And they tho't it a grievous Caſe, that they muſt be turn'd out of their Livings, becauſe they could not Aſſent to both; tho' in many Years, they were directly contrary to each

other. Tho' this in it self was but a Trifle, yet for Persons to be oblig'd to Consent to that as true, which in many Cases they knew to be false, was no small hardship.

Baxter's *Nonconformity Stated and Arg'd*, page 81. *His Plea for Peace*, page 160. *His Defence of the Plea for Peace*, page 81. *The Peaceable Design: Being a Modest Account of the Nonconformists Meetings, with some Reasons for their Nonconformity*, Oct. 1675. page 26, 27.

3. They must Consent to read Apocryphal Lessons in the Publick Churches, which they could not Agree to, because of such fabulous Legends of *Tobit* and his *Dog*; *Bell* and the *Dragon*; *Judith* and *Baruch*, &c. These they found were not only to be read wholly and intirely, Morning and Evening Two Months together, but all of them also under the Title and Notion of *Holy Scripture*. For so in the whole Lump together they are stiled in the Order, without any Note of Discrimination to make a Distinction between one and the other. In the mean while in the same Order (as appears by the Kalender) some Books of the Sacred Canon are wholly left out, and never to be read; some of them within a very little; some of them but half to be read, and many of them Mutilated and Curtail'd as to several Chapters.

This was what they could not by any Means approve of. For tho' they could freely own there were many valuable Things in the Apocryphal Books with all their Faults, yet could they not have such a Degree of Respect for them as to think them fit to be read in Churches in the Room of the Holy Scriptures. They were herein confirm'd by finding even the most celebrated Bishops and Doctors of the Church owning there were many Relations inserted in them, that were False and Fictitious. And they were afraid of contributing to the misleading of a great many weak and ignorant People, (of which there are but too many in the Nation) to fancy them of equal Authority with the Holy Scriptures; of which there is therefore the more Danger; because in

in the Order of reading the Leſſons, the Title of Holy Scripture, and Old Teſtament is given to the *Apocrypha* *.

* Baxter's *Nonconformity Stated and Argu'd*, page 86. *His Plea for Peace*, page 166. Corbet's *Remains*, page 139. *The Letter from a Miniſter to a Perſon of Quality, ſhewing ſome Reaſons for his* Nonconformity. Troughton's *Apology for the* Nonconformiſts, *page* 31. *Eleutherii* (*i. e.* Hickmanni) *Apologia pro ejectis in* Anglià *Miniſtris*, page 50, &c.

4. They muſt Conſent to the Miſtranſlation of the *Pſalter*.

The *Pſalter* is particularly mention'd in the Verbal Declaration requir'd of every Incumbent. It muſt be Aſſented and Conſented to, as having nothing in it contrary to the Word of God. To this they could not agree, becauſe they found ſeveral Miſtranſlations in the Old Verſion of the *Pſalms*; which was indeed more accommodated to the *Septuagint* than to the Original *Hebrew*. In *Pſ.* 105. 28. Our Pſalter reads the Words thus, *and they were not obedient to his Word:* Our Bible reads them, *and they rebelled not againſt his Word.* Thus therefore they Argu'd. One Particular contain'd in the Book of Common Prayer is the Tranſlation of this Text. But if the Tranſlation be true in the Pſalter, it is falſe in the Bible: And if it be true in the Bible, it is falſe in the Pſalter. How could they give their *Aſſent*, that they *rebelled*, and *rebelled not*? 'Tis the like in ſome other Caſes. Now they could not approve of that Pſalter as entirely agreeable to the Word of God, in which they found ſundry plain Miſtakes.

5. They muſt Aſſent and Conſent to St. *Athanaſius* his Creed. In which Creed there is this Expreſſion, *which Faith except every one do keep whole and undefiled; without Doubt he ſhall periſh Everlaſtingly.* This to our Fathers ſeem'd very harſh. Tho' they approv'd of the Creed in general as heartily as their Brethren, and eſteem'd it an excellent Explication of the Doctine of the Trinity, yet could they not look upon themſelves as ſo far call'd to Judge other Men, as to conclude, all certainly Damn'd for ever, that are not ſo well ſkill'd in that Myſtery, as not to believe

lieve every Word there written. One of the Articles of this Creed is this; *The Holy Ghost is of the Father, and the Son.* In this Article the *Greek* Church hath differ'd from the *Latin*, and held that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father only. And it is by Consequence imply'd, that the *Greek* Church must be held undoubtedly Damn'd, which was an uncharitable Censure, in which they durst not Concur. Withal, some of the Ejected Ministers, (as well as many of those who Conform'd) considering the goodness of God, *&c.* were of so large and extensive a Charity, as to apprehend that whosoever walk'd sincerely up to his Light, with a general Repentance for his unseen Errours, was in a state of Acceptance with God, by Vertue of the Covenant made with fallen *Adam*, and *Noah*, *&c.* Now such, tho't it unreasonable to be forc'd to renounce so much Candour as this amounted to, till they saw more Reason alledg'd than they could meet with, on the behalf of this Principle; *That whosoever did not punctually believe the* Athanasian *Creed must undoubtedly Perish.*

* *The Peaceable Design*, page 14, 15. Baxter's *Nonconformity Stated and Argu'd*, page 145. *His Plea for Peace*, page 191. Corbet's *Remains*, page 145.

6. They must Assent and Consent to this Rubrick, at the End of the Office for *Confirmation*, that *none shall be admitted unto the Holy Communion, until such Time as he be Confirm'd, or be ready and desirous to be Confirmed.*

Now tho' many of the Ejected Ministers were very desirous to have Confirmation restor'd, and tho't it would be exceeding useful, if manag'd with a becoming Gravity and Seriousness, yet to deny Persons the Communion for refusing to be Confirm'd in the Episcopal way, was what they knew not how to justifie. They found it was a thing scrupled by many Persons: And were their scruples just or unjust, while the same Persons were willing to own their Baptismal Covenant understandingly and seriously before the Church, and their own Pastors, and to know those that Labour'd among them, and were over them in the Lord, and esteem them in Love for their Works sake, and to be at Peace amongst themselves, they durst not for their scrupling this *Diocesan* Ceremony cast them from the Communion of the Church of Christ. And therefore they durst not

not declare their Approbation of the Order that requir'd it, nor Aſſent and Conſent to it, nor Subſcribe that it is not contrary to the Word of God *.

* Baxter's *Nonconformity Stated and Argu'd*, page 97. &c.

Theſe were the Reaſons which they Alledg'd, and Printed, and Publiſh'd, for their refuſing that *Aſſent*, *Conſent*, and *Subſcription*, to the Book of Common Prayer, and all, and every Thing therein contain'd, which was a ſecond Thing ſtraitly requir'd by the *Act of Uniformity*.

III. They were alſo requir'd to take the Oath of *Canonical Obedience*, and ſwear Subjection to their *Ordinary*, according to the *Canons* of the Church.

In the Form of Making, Ordaining, and Conſecrating Biſhops, Prieſts, and Deacons, this Queſtion is requir'd to be put to Prieſts and Deacons at the Time of their Ordination. *Will you reverently Obey your* Ordinary, *and other chief Miniſters, to whom is committed the Charge and Government over you; following with a glad Mind and Will their Godly Admonitions, and ſubmitting your ſelves to their Godly Judgments?* The Anſwer to be return'd is; *I will ſo do, the Lord being my Help.* An Oath alſo is adminiſtred to the Ordained of this Tenour; *I* A. B. *Swear that I will yield True and Canonical Obedience to the Biſhop of* N---- *and his Succeſſours in all Lawful and Honeſt Things.*

Herein they could not Comply, for the Reaſons following.

1. Becauſe as all Obedience hath an Eſſential Relation to the Laws and Mandates of thoſe whom Perſons are bound to Obey, ſo the Canons of the Church, ſettled in its ſeveral reſpective Convocations, are the ſtated Laws of the Eccleſiaſtical Government: And therefore the Oath of Canonical Obedience, which hath a Reference to theſe ſtated Laws or Canons of the Church, appear'd to them, to carry in it a plain Obligation to comply with them, and Submit to them, in their ſtated Practiſe, where they had not a Diſpenſation And tho' the Obedience, that is in this Caſe ſworn, be limited to *Things Lawful and Honeſt*, yet is it evidently ſuppos'd and taken for Granted, that the Canons which are in Force, do require no other than ſuch Things, without leaving Perſons at Liberty which Canons they'll obey, and which they'l

they'l refuſe: Which was a Latitude which they had not found any Biſhop in the Land free to allow to any of their Clergy. So that tho' in the Oath there be a Limitation in Words, yet they plainly ſaw it was only to be extended to *Future Commands*, while an Obligation to comply with the Things *antecedently* requir'd by the *Canons* as *Lawful and Honeſt*, was ſuppos'd and taken for granted: For certainly the Church Repreſentative in its ſeveral Convocations, could not by thoſe who profeſs ſo great a Reverence for all its Dictates, be ſuppos'd to require Things of any other Stamp or Character. Now peruſing the *Canons*, they could not be ſatisfied that many of the Things therein requir'd, deſerv'd that Character: Nay they were not convinc'd, but that many things by thoſe *Canons* requir'd to have been the Matter of their conſtant Practiſe, would to them have been *Unlawful* and *Diſhoneſt*; and therefore they durſt not come under any ſuch enſnaring Obligation.

Whether they had any Reaſon or not for thus ſcrupling Conformity to the *Canons*, according to the Demand of this Oath of *Canonical Obedience*, let any impartial Perſons Judge, when I have briefly ſet before them the *Canons* to which they ſcrupled to yield Conformity, with their Objections againſt them.

By the Fourth Canon, *Whoſoever Charges the Book of Common Prayer, with containing any Thing in it, that is Repugnant to the Scriptures, he is to be* ipſo facto, *Excommunicated, and not reſtor'd but by the Biſhop of the Place, or Arch-Biſhop, after his Repentance, and Publick Recantation of ſuch his wicked Errour.*

They could not bind themſelves to Conform to this *Canon*, becauſe tho' it ſhould be allow'd to be an Errour to bring ſuch a Charge againſt the Book of Common Prayer, yet could they not ſee that it muſt therefore be an Errour of that Magnitude and Wickedneſs, as to deſerve *Excommunication*. If all, that have worſe Errours than that can be ſuppos'd to be, muſt be preſently Excommunicated, the Church would remain but thin. Beſides they could not but eſteem it a great abuſe of *Excommunication*, to have it Thunder'd out againſt any Perſons before they were

were heard to ſpeak for themſelves, or told of their Sin and call'd to Repentance. *Excommunications* of this Kind they durſt not Publiſh when Commanded, for fear of offending Chriſt, and injuring his Servants: And therefore they durſt not Promiſe or Swear that they would do it. And as for thoſe who would throw the blame in ſuch a Caſe upon the Command of Superiours, they appear'd to them to open a Door to the Execution of any Injuſtice or Villany in the World, ſuppoſing Authority ſhould interpoſe with a Command *.

By the Fifth Canon, *All thoſe are to be* ipſo facto, *Excommunicated*, &c. *who affirm any of the Thirty Nine Articles agreed upon in Convocation in* 1562, *to be Erroneous, or ſuch as he might not with a ſafe Conſcience ſubſcribe to.*

They could not bind themſelves to Conform to this *Canon*, for the ſame Reaſons as they ſcrupled Conformity to that foregoing. And withal, they found the Words of ſeveral of the Articles liable to Exception; and ſome of them of ſmall Moment and Dubious; they could not ſee the Warrant of that Authority aſcrib'd to the Church in the Twentieth Article. *They knew of no Charter Chriſt had given to the Church to bind Men up to more than himſelf hath done.* Neither could they eſteem every Thing that is true an Article of the Creed, or neceſſary to Church-Communion, ſo that all that Diſſent muſt be preſently caſt out. Beſides they found Biſhop *Jeremy Taylour* overthrowing the Ninth Article about *Original Sin*; and Dr. *Hammond* Refining upon the Fourteenth Article, and denying the Seventeenth; in which they had many Followers, who were all by this Canon to be *ipſo Facto* Excommunicated. Which was a Thing in which they durſt not Concur, as eaſily foreſeeing, that this would make the Articles an Engine of endleſs Strife and Diviſion †.

By the Sixth Canon, *All thoſe are* ipſo facto *to be Excommunicated that ſhould affirm that the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of* England *are Superſtitious, or ſuch as being Commanded by Lawful Authority, Men who are zealouſly and godly Affected, may not with a good Conſcience approve and uſe them, or as Occaſion requires Subſcribe unto them.*

In

* Baxter's *Nonconformity Stated and Argu'd*, page 106. &c.

† Baxter's *Nonconformity Stated and Argu'd*, page 109. &c.

In this *Canon* the Church seem'd to them to assume to it self a most Exorbitant Power, by laying so great a Stress upon every one of its Ceremonies, as presently to Excommunicate Persons, that should but represent any one of them as unwarrantable. Much more, could not have been said as to the Ten Commandments, or any Articles of the Creed. But besides, the Ejected Ministers did esteem the Things above-mention'd to be unwarrantble, and therefore could not agree to Excommunicate themselves, and such as concurr'd in the same Sentiments and Apprehensions with them.

* Baxter's *Nonconformity Stated and Argu'd*, page 111.

By the Seventh Canon, *All those are* ipso facto *to be Excommunicated, that should affirm that the Government of the Church of* England, *by Arch-Bishops, Bishops, Deans, Arch-Deacons, and the rest that bear Office in the same, is Repugnant to the Word of God.*

Tho' some of the Silenc'd Ministers could have gone farther than others in submitting to *Diocesan Episcopacy*, yet take that Form of Government in the Compass of it, according to this Canon, and they found it full of Corruption. The Pastoral Power, which was lodg'd by Christ in the Ministers of their respective Congregations, was overthrown; and the *Power of the Keys* put into improper Hands: And that Bishops should govern the Church by others, in a secular Manner, even by Lay-men, who do that in their Name which they know nothing of; could not in their Judgment be reconcil'd with the Word of God. And therefore they durst not bind themselves to *Excommunicate* all such, as should pass but such Censures upon the Frame of the Ecclesiastical Government, as it really deserv'd. †.

Idem, Ibid. page 112.

By the Eighth Canon, *All those are* ipso facto *to be Excommunicated, who should affirm that the Form and Manner of Making, and Consecrating Bishops, Priests, or Deacons, containeth any Thing in it repugnant to the Word of God.*

Tho' it should be suppos'd there were nothing amiss in this Book of Ordination, yet the Belief of its Innocency could not in the Esteem of the Silenc'd Ministers be justly deem'd a Matter of that Moment, as to be necessary to Salvation; or that Persons

Perſons ſhould be caſt out of the Church for the want of it. They could not therefore take an Oath, whereby they ſhould enter into a Combination of that Nature, as ſhould make them liable to be charg'd with the unhappy Conſequences *.

By the Ninth, Tenth, and Eleventh Canons, *Such as ſeparate themſelves from the Communion of the Church of* England, *and ſuch as own thoſe ſeparate Societies to be true Churches, are all to be Excommunicated, and only reſtor'd by the Arch-Biſhop.*

* *Idem, Ibid.* page 114, &c.

Canons of this kind they durſt not ſwear Subjection to, becauſe they tho't them very uncharitable. If a weak miſtaken Chriſtian may be a true Chriſtian, tho' faulty; they could not ſee why a miſtaken Congregation of Pious Perſons, might not be a true Church, tho' faulty. Suppoſing it granted, that they who ſeparated from the Church of *England*, and ſuch as adher'd to them, really were in an Errour, yet could they not ſee how their Errours could be look'd upon as comparable to thoſe of the *Papiſts*, who yet are ſo far favour'd by many of the Prelatical Party, that the *Roman* Church they belong to, is own'd to be a true Church. Neither can it with any ground be affirm'd, that the Ignorance, Errour or Corruption of ſuch Separatiſts is half ſo great, as is diſcernable in the *Muſcovites*, *Greeks*, *Abaſſines*, *Coptics*, *Jacobites*, *Neſtorians*, and *Armenians*; who yet are commonly confeſs'd to be true Churches. The greatneſs of the Errours of thoſe that ſeparate from the Church of *England*, cannot make them ceaſe to be true Churches, when Churches much more Erroneous, are own'd to be true. Neither can their being gather'd and maintain'd without the Conſent of the Ruler, preſently incapacitate them from being true Churches: For he that would condemn them upon that Account meerly, muſt with the ſame Breath diſown all the Churches of Chriſt, which were in the World for ſome Hundreds of Years: who were all in Common in that Condition. The Silenc'd Miniſters tho't it very fit to leave thoſe to themſelves, who were ſo confin'd in their Charity; as thinking it their Duty to embrace all thoſe as Brethren who *fear'd God, and wrought Righteouſneſs;*

teousneſs; and to eſteem all thoſe as true Parts of the Church of Chriſt, among whom there was the true Chriſtian Faith and Worſhip, how different ſoever their Particular Sentiments or Modes might be, or what failures ſoever might be amongſt them, that were conſiſtent with an honeſt, upright Heart and Life *.

* *Idem, Ibid.* page 116.

By the Twenty Seventh Canon, *No Miniſter is wittingly to adminiſter the Communion to any but to ſuch as Kneel*, &c.

To this they durſt not ſwear Subjection, for the Reaſons mention'd before, under the Head of *Aſſent* and *Conſent*.

† *Id. Ibid.* page 117.

By the Twenty Eighth Canon, *Miniſters are requir'd to refuſe Communicants coming from other Parishes.*

To this they could not ſubmit, becauſe in ſome Caſes the receiving of Communicants from other Pariſhes might be a Duty. As particularly, if the Incumbent of a neighbouring Pariſh were Vicious or Scandalous, or Divine Ordinances were ſo manag'd, as is inconſiſtent with the Edification of the Pariſhioners. For them in ſuch Caſes to have refus'd to receive Perſons to Communion with them, would in their Apprehenſion have been groſly uncharitable *.

* *Id. Ibid.*

By the Thirty Eighth Canon, *A Miniſter repenting of his Subſcription, or afterwards omitting any of the preſcribed Forms or Ceremonies, is firſt to be ſuſpended, and then Excommunicate, and then depos'd from the Miniſtry.*

This they apprehended might in many Caſes be to Conſent to caſt a Man out of the Church, for being Conſciencious: To which they were afraid to ſubmit, leaſt they ſhould contribute to the ſilencing ſome of thoſe who as much deſerv'd Encouragement as any Perſons whatſoever †.

† *Id. Ibid.* page 118.

By the Fifty Seventh Canon, *All that go for Baptiſm for their Children, or the Communion for themſelves from their own Pariſh, becauſe the Miniſter is no Preacher, to another Pariſh that hath a Preaching Miniſter, are ſuſpended, and after a Month to be Excommunicated.*

To this they could not Submit, becauſe they apprehended there was much more need of driving the People to Preaching Miniſters than from them. And tho' they did not eſteem the Sacraments Null, when Adminiſtred by ill quallify'd Miniſters, yet they could not but look upon it as Sinful, either to harden an Ignorant and Scandalous Perſon, that had intruded into the Office of the Miniſtry in his Prophaneneſs, or to encourage People that need better, in being contented with ſuch a Miniſter. *Id. Ibid.* page 119.

By the Fifty Eighth Canon, *Every Miniſter ſaying the Publick Prayers, or Miniſtring the Sacraments, or other Rites of the Church, was requir'd to wear a decent and comely Surplice with Sleves, to be provided at the Charge of the Pariſh, and that under Pain of Suſpenſion.*

The Surplice as a *Symbolical Veſtment*, was what they found many Learned and Excellent Miniſters had in former times been againſt: and it was ſo ſmall a matter, of ſo little real Neceſſity or Uſe, and the great things to be Ey'd in the Exerciſe of a Goſpel Miniſtry, depended ſo little upon it, that even thoſe who would rather have ſubmitted to it, than have been depriv'd of the Publick Exerciſe of their Miniſtry, yet durſt not Concur in the Suſpenſion of others, who were more Scrupulous of it than themſelves, upon that Account; as they muſt have done, if they had Subjected themſelves to this Canon. *Id. Ibid.* 121.

By the Sixty Eighth Canon, *Miniſters are requir'd to Baptize all Children without Exception, who are offer'd them for that Purpoſe.*

Tho' ſome of the Silenc'd Miniſters were much ſtraiter in their Notions about the *qualify'd Subjects of Baptiſm* than others, yet they were generally againſt ſubmiſſion to this Canon, becauſe not convinc'd that the Children of all Comers, (as of Atheiſts ſuppoſe, Infidels, Jews, Hereticks or Blaſphemers; who might upon occaſion, be offer'd as well as others) were ſo far in the Covenant of Grace, as to have a right to a Solemn Inveſtiture in the Bleſſings of it. And till they were convinc'd of this by clear Proof, they deem'd it too great a Domination over Mens Faith, to command Obedience in this Point upon pain of Suſpenſion. And they Apprehended ſwearing Obe-

dience herein, to be a consenting in effect, to the Profaning of one of the most Sacred Institutions of
Id. Ibid. our Religion.

By the Seventy Second Canon, *Ministers were debarr'd the Liberty of keeping private Fasts upon any Occasion, or so much as being present at them, without exposing themselves to Suspension the 1st. time, Excommunication the 2d. time, and Deposition the 3d. time.*

The Silenc'd Ministers for their Part, could not but esteem those to be unworthy of that Sacred and Honourable Function, who were not to be trusted to Fast and Pray with their People, as Occasions might require, while the Law was open, to punish all Abuses. And taking this to be a part of their Office, they could no more renounce it, than the Liberty of
Id. Ibid. Preaching the Gospel, when and where the Neces-
page 122. sities of Souls requir'd it.

By the 112th Canon, *The Minister jointly with the Parish Officers is requir'd, every Year within Forty Days after Easter, to Exhibit to the Bishop or his Chancellour the Names and Surnames of all his Parishoners, which being of the Age of Sixteen Years, did not receive the Communion at Easter before.*

With this Canon, agrees the Rubrick which is inserted in the Common Prayer-Book, at the end of the Office for the Communion; which requires *every Parishioner to Communicate at the least three times in the Year, of which Easter to be one.* And if they refuse after Presentation, they are to be Excommunicated, and are liable to be confin'd in Jail till they die, by vertue of the Writ, *de Excommunicato Capiendo.*

In this the Silenc'd Ministers durst not Concur, for fear of the Consequences. If indeed they could have had any hopes of forcing their Parishioners by a Jail out of Ignorance, Unbelief, and Ungodliness, they have tho't it a very charitable Work: But while the due and necessary Qualifications were wanting, they did not know but in forcing them to the Sacrament they might force them upon Sacriledge and Profaneness, to their Damnation and Ruin. Withal, they knew this to be a Course, whereby they should distract those Persons with Terrour, who are Conscious of their unfitness; or those Melancholy Christians

who under Temptations, Tremble for fear of taking their own Damnation. In a Word, they were convinc'd this would fill the Church with such as ought rather to be kept away; occasion the casting of Holy Things to Dogs; prevent all possibility of Discipline, and be a Bar to that Purity, which is a great design of Christianity. *

Omitting the rest, the three last Canons, related to the Autority of Synods: And by them *all were to be Excommunicated, who should affirm that a Convocation Summon'd by the King's Authority, was not the true Church of* England *by Representation: or that the Absent as well as Present, were not to be subject to the Decrees of such an Assembly, in Causes Ecclesiastical, when ratify'd by the King's Authority: or that their Canons and Constitutions were despicable*, &c.

These Canons, they could not oblige themselves to submit to, because of the uncertainty, and Dubious and Disputable Nature of the matters contain'd in them, which they (upon that Account) could not apprehend to be fit Grounds of so high a Censure as *Excommunication*. That a Convocation was the *true Church of* England *by Representation* seem'd to the Silenc'd Ministers very justly questionable, not only because the Laity (whom they tho't a part of the Church) were altogether excluded, but also because the Clergy were far from being therein fairly represented. * As to the

* Baxter's *Nonconformity stated and argu'd.* pag. 147. Corbet's *Remains.* page 150.

* *The worthy Bishop of* arum *in his late* Reflections on a Book concerning the Rights of an nglish Convocation, *page* 10. *Justifies their Demur as to these Canons n this Respect, when speaking of a Convocation, he hath this remarkable Concession:* It cannot be call'd a true Representative of the Church, tho' e be now a Legal one. In the Lower House, there are of the Province *f Canterbury*, 20 *Deans* or more who pretend to sit there; there are many *Proctours* from *Chapters, and* 60 *Arch-Deacons*, and about 38 *Clerks* chosen by the Clergy. So that the *Deans* and *Chapters*, who had heir Authority at first by Papal Bulls, and have now their Exemptions and Jurisdictions continu'd to them only by a Proviso, in the Statute of 25 *Hen.* 8. have more Interest in the Convocation than the whole body of the Clergy. These are all made, either by the King r by the Bishops. The 60 *Arch-Deacons* are all of the Bishops Nomination, and their Authority is of a late Date, and but a Humane Constitution. All this is besides the Interest that the Bishops have in making the Returns of two only out of all those who are chosen in the several *Arch-Deaconries* of their Dioceses; so that the inferiour Clergy can in no

ſort be ſaid to be equally repreſented there. *What pleaſure ſoever ſome angry Zealots might take in*

Force of the Canons of ſuch Convocations upon abſent Perſons as well as preſent, they apprehended that it depended upon the Parliament, whoſe Ratification they look'd upon as neceſſary, in order to their having any force or Significance at all. But tho' they ſhould be miſtaken in Points of this Nature, which they tho't had not been ſo ſtrictly enquir'd into, but that they would very well bear Canvaſing, † it ſeem'd to them ſtrangely and needleſsly ſevere, that an Ex-

any thing that might bear hard upon ſo great an Ornament of their Church, there are no unprejudic'd Perſons, but think his Lordſhip deſerves much better Treatment, than Canon 139. *If executed, would afford him.*

† *Either they were herein in the right, or it hath been to very little purpoſe, that we have had ſo many Writings, (and many of them bulky too) lately Publiſh'd upon this matter, and that with warmth and eagerneſs. And really it ſeems to diſintereſted ſtanders by, pretty remarkable, that after ſuch ſtiffneſs in aſſerting the Churches Authority, as to Eccleſiaſtical matters, it ſhould at laſt remain a Controverſy where this Autority is to be lodg'd. 'Tis in the King ſays Dr.* Wake, *as it was heretofore in the Chriſtian Emperors, and indeed in all Chriſtian Princes, till the Papal Uſurpation. The ſame ſays Dr.* Kennet: *I beg your Pardon Gentlemen ſays Mr. A. that is a Method that would ſubvert the Fundamental Rights and Liberties of the Church and Clergy of England. It would bring in Slavery into the Church, which will quickly ſpread it ſelf into the ſtate too. A Convocation hath an inherent right of framing Eccleſiaſtical Canons, as it is an Eccleſiaſtical Synod. Each party hath conſiderable Abettors, and the lane Gentleman who undertook the Defence of the inherent right of the Convocation, hath ſince receiv'd conſiderable Preferment, as a reward for his Service. Hereupon the Lord Biſhop of* Sarum *in his Reflections, page* 7, 8 *Makes this Obſervable remark.* It has paſſed (*ſays he*) generally among the Clergy, that Eccleſiaſtical matters could only be judg'd by Perſons deriving their Power immediately from God: And as the Clergy have their Commiſſion from him, ſo it was a received Doctrine that the King likewiſe had his Power from God; and that therefore the Church was to be Govern'd by the King and the Convocation. And the Book of Canons being ratify'd only by the Regal Authority ſeems to give ſuch Authority to this, *that a Man ought to be mild corrected*, if it ſhould prove to be a miſtake. It could never be tho Parliaments were *jure Divino*; ſo it was a Conſequence ſuitable their Principles, who put our whole Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitution on the bottom of a Divine Right, to ſhut this within the Hands of thoſe who they believ'd acted by a Divine Commiſſion. I (*ſays he*) was new of this mind. I always tho't that the King was no other way *Head of the Church*, then as he was the Head of the State, with whom the Executive Power is lodged, and who is the Head of the Legiſlative

communicat

communication must presently be Thundred out against them. And as to the Credit and Reputation of the Canons of any such Ecclesiastical Synods or Convocations, they could not help conceiving that that depended more on their Agreeableness to the Word of God, than on the Commendations given them by the Enacters and their Admirers. But that the Church to whom our Saviour had so often recommended

in Conjunction with the great Body of his Parliament.

But this Author knows

how much the Doctrine he advances was condemned, and by whom, not long ago: Therefore a little more Temper were but Decent, if he tho't fit to find fault with it. *And a little before, speaking of Mr.* A's *Maxim, that* the Supremacy is not singly in the King, but is lodg'd with the whole Legislature, *he thinks fit to make this Declaration*; I confess I was always of this mind; but I remember among whom this passed, not long ago, for little less than Heresy. *Now 'tis left to any one to Judge, whether it is not odd and unaccountable, that we should have had so fierce a Contest here in* England, *ever since the Reformation about the Ecclesiastical Authority, and that among them who have been scruing it up to the utmost hight and vigour against their poor Dissenting Brethren, (who could not see things in their Light.) there should after all be a stiff Contention where it is to be lodg'd? Doth it not fare with this* Ecclesiastical Autority *here in* England, *as with the pretended* Infallibility *in the* Roman *Church? The* Papists *will have it that they have an* Infallibility *among them some where, but where to lodge it they cannot agree: some will have it lie in the* Pope, *others in a General Council, and others in both jointly. So our Doms will have it, that there is a mighty* Ecclesiastical Autority, (*to decree* Rites *and Ceremonies, and settle and promote Uniformity,* &c.) *somewhere or other amongst them; but where to lodge it, they are not to this day agreed. Some place it in the King, others in a Convocation, and others in the three Estates of the* Realm, *Kings, Lords and Commons, with or without a Convocation. And have not Sentiments in this respect as much vary'd in our Church, with Times, Seasons and Circumstances, as they have in the* Roman *Church, about their Darling Infallibility? And is it not manifestly hard that Canons should remain in force, where by those are to be Excommunicated, who are not clear about the Autority of a Convocation, when 'tis even at this day acknowledg'd by* Contenders *on both sides, that the Rights and Powers of an* English *Convocation have been but little enquir'd into? Doth not that enquiry which hath been so warmly pursu'd, naturally lead to a further enquiry into the true Nature, and Extent of that Ecclesiastical Autority, which our Blessed Lord the great Lawgiver of his Church hath lodg'd in any hands whatsoever besides his own? For might it not as easily be suppos'd much should have been taken upon trust, and many mistakes committed, about the nature and extent of such Power, as about the hands in which it is lodg'd? Could we but see as much pains taken upon this head, as there has been upon*

mended Mildneſs and Gentleneſs, ſhould be but a Word and a Blow, and come with the higheſt Cenſures where perhaps there might be only a miſtake but no Malignity, this the Silenc'd Miniſters eſteem'd not only acting without a Warrant, but unſuitable to a true Chriſtian Spirit, and therefore could not ſwear Submiſſion.

the other, we could not but hope for a good Iſſue. Till then we think both our

Fathers and we are very fairly juſtifiable in refuſing Submiſſion to Canons, in framing which it is queſtionable whether the Actors did not over-ſhoot their Autority. However to uſe the Biſhop of Sarum's *Phraſe, we cannot but think* that a Man ought to be mildly Corrected, (*not* Excommunicated) *for being Cautious and wary in things of ſo dubious a Nature, tho' it ſhould appear, upon a particular Canvaſſing of his Sentiments, that he was under a miſtake.*

Baxter's *Nonconformity Stated and Argued. pag.* 123.

It hath been pleaded by many, that the Oath of *Canonical Obedience*, doth not oblige to approve of all that is in the *Canons*. To which they Anſwer'd, that in their Judgment, the caſe of a Miniſter, was much the ſame as that of a Juſtice of Peace. Tho' a Juſtice of Peace be not bound by his Oath to approve of every Law of the Land, yet he is bound to Execute all of them by his Place, when he is call'd to it. * So alſo a Miniſter taking the Oath of Canonical Obedience, is bound to Execute the *Canons*, and particularly thoſe Canons where Excommunication is denounc'd, when call'd upon by his *Ordinary*. It hath been farther Pleaded, that many of theſe Canons are diſus'd, and ſo Vacated; like many Laws of the Land that are grown out of uſe. To which, the Reply is eaſie: That many of the Canons before Mention'd and Objected againſt, cannot be ſo much as pretended to be diſus'd; and many of them were much leſs diſus'd at that time when the Miniſters were Ejected, than they have been at ſome times ſince: But ſtill ſo long as there is neither any Publick Declaration given that might help to diſtinguiſh among thoſe Canons (which were all enacted by the ſame Autority) which were yet binding, and which Superannuated; nor a liberty of judging in the Caſe left to private Miniſters, ſo long this Plea appears without any Force

Id. Ibid. pag. 33.

Force. For let any of them appear ever ſo much diſus'd, if the *Ordinary* thinks fit to interpoſe with his Autority for the reviving them, the Oath obliges to Submiſſion.

2. Another Capital Reaſon why they Scrupled at taking the Oath of *Canonical Obedience*, was becauſe they found the Epiſcopal Government manag'd by Chancellours Courts, (which were kept in the Biſhops name indeed, while they in the mean time were not ſuffer'd to act in them) where Lay-men Exerciſe the *Church Keyes*, by Decretive *Excommunications* and *Abſolutions*. They found the word *Ordinary* mention'd in the Oath, would admit of divers Senſes. That it not only meant the Biſhop of the Dioceſs, but the *Judges* in their Courts. This is the Senſe given by *Couſins* in his Tables, and by all Civilians. And as for the *other chief Miniſters* added in the Oath, to whom Subjection was to be Sworn, they ſaw not how leſs could be thereby meant, than all the *Arch-Deacons*, *Officials*, *Commiſſarys* and *Surrogates*, with the reſt of the Attendants upon thoſe Courts.

The Silenc'd Miniſters durſt not bind themſelves by Oath to a Submiſſion of this Nature, for fear of Concurring to overthrow the *Paſtoral Office*. They could not think the Adminiſtration of the Sacraments proper and peculiar to Paſtours, if the Keys were not ſo too. * For the moſt proper Uſe of the Keys is in a way of Judging who is to be admitted to Sacramental Communion, and who debar'd it. If only delivering the Elements, and not judging to whom, be proper to the Paſtour, then is he to ſee with other Mens Eyes. Now it was their fixed Apprehenſion, that in a matter of ſo great Moment and Conſequence, it was their Duty to ſee with their own Eyes, and not Act blindfold: And that our Lord Jeſus Chriſt had inveſted all that were Paſtours, with that meaſure of Power which was Neceſſary, in order to the ſecuring the direct ends of their Office. Such Power its true might be abus'd, and therefore they were not (as ſome have charg'd them) againſt being Accountable in caſe of ſuch an Abuſe: But then they at the ſame time apprehended that an Appeal in ſuch a Caſe, would be much more properly Lodg'd with a Synod,

Id. Ibid. pag. 34.

(whose having a fixed President or Bishop would not have disgusted the Generality of them, especially if he were chosen by the Synod it self) or with a Meeting consisting partly of Ministers, and partly of Deputies from the Neighbouring Churches, than with a set of wrangling Lawyers, whose concern in such matters they look'd upon as irrational as well as unscriptural; and whose Management of them was more likely to be Calculated for their own Profit, rather than the Credit of Religion, and the Purity of the Church.

As for the Provision made by the *Rubrick* before the Office for the *Communion* in the Common-Prayer Book, *viz. That when a Minister keeps any Persons from the Sacrament, he should within Forty Days give an Account to the* Ordinary, *that he might proceed against them according to the Canons*; they could not acquiesce in it, because dissatisfy'd as to the Grounds upon which these *Ordinarys* (whethey they were meer Lay-men, simple Presbyters, or Diocesans) appropriated the Cognizance of Matters of this Nature to themselves, which in the Judgment of common sense was more proper for those that had the Opportunity of Personal Inspection, than for meer Strangers. They were also confirm'd in their dislike of this Method of Procedure, because of the Difficulty, Tediousness, Vexatiousness and Expensiveness of it; because of the number that must be accus'd if the *Canons* were follow'd; because of the great hindrance it would be to them in their Ministerial Work; and in a word, because of the impossibility of keeping up any *Real Discipline* in such a way. In which they were much Confirm'd by Observation and Experience. *

* *The Church Party themselves have not been insensible of Corruptions in this Respect. Among others,* Bishop Burnet *at the close of his excellent History of the Reformation, Notes* that there was one thing (*we could heartily wish there were no more*) yet wanting to compleat the Reformation of this Church, whis was the restoring a Primitive Discipline against Scandalous Persons, the Establishing the Government of the Church in Ecclesiastical Hands, and taking it out of Lay-hands, who have so long profan'd it, and have expos'd the Autority of the Church, and the Censures of it, chiefly *Excommunication*, to the contempt of the Nation; by which the Reverence due to Holy Things, is in so great a Measure lost, and the dreadfulest of all Censures, is now become the most Scorned and Despised *Abridgment. pag.* 367.

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And as to the ſubmitting to the Determinations and Injunctions of theſe *Ordinaries*, in which they had not by this Oath and Covenant ſo much as a Judgment of Diſcretion left them, they durſt not engage, or bind themſelves, for fear of approving Sacrilegious Prophaneneſs. For if it be ſo for meer Lay-men uncall'd and unqualify'd, to uſurp the other Parts of the Paſtoral Office, particularly the Adminiſtration of the Sacrament, (as it is generally eſteem'd) then they conceiv'd it muſt be ſo too, for them to uſurp the Power of the Keys. And if the Biſhops took it for Uſurpation in *Presbyters*, to take upon them to exerciſe Power in this Caſe, as ſuppoſing it Proper and Peculiar to themſelves, they could not ſee, why they ſhould not judge it much more ſo in Lay-men.

As for Excommunications and Abſolutions they look'd upon them as very weighty Matters, and durſt not agree to trifle in them. If the Biſhops could truſt their Conſciences with their Chancellours, and leave them to paſs Sentence in their Names, without ever hearing or trying the Cauſes depending; and ſuffer them to Excommunicate Perſons for them, tho' they knew not on whom they paſs'd that heavy Cenſure, nor why they did it, it was to themſelves; as the Miniſters could not underſtand it, ſo neither could they help it; and they were not reſponſible for it: But when they bro't theſe Matters home to their own Door, and requir'd of them, that they alſo ſhould truſt their Conſciences in the ſame Hands, they deſir'd to be excus'd, till they were better ſatisfy'd in the Point. They could not yield to Receive and Publiſh their Excommunications blindly, leaſt they ſhould be chargeable with their Irregularities and Abuſes; and be the Inſtruments of moleſting, worrying, and ruining, as Religious Perſons perhaps as any in their Pariſhes. Nor durſt they Conſent to Publiſh the Abſolutions of notorious Debauchees, who have given (it may be) no other Proof of Repentance of their Crimes, beſides Paying the Fees of the Court. Theſe Things they well knew expos'd the Cenſures of the Church to Scandal and Contempt,

tempt, and therefore they were unwilling to give an helping Hand *.

* *Id. Ibid.* page 105.

And to take such an Oath as this of *Canonical Obedience*, and make such a Covenant, with a Reserve to themselves, afterwards to demur upon the Commands of the *Ordinary*, when agreeable to the standing Rules of the Ecclesiastical Administration; or make light of the *Canons*, which were design'd to be the standing Rules of their Obedience, before they were repeal'd or superseded; they could not look upon as any other than egregious Dissimulation: And therefore they tho't it much safer to wave this Oath altogether, and keep themselves free from any such ensnaring Bond.

IV. They were also requir'd to Abjure the *Solemn League and Covenant*. For the Act for Uniformity, oblig'd all Ecclesiasticks before the Feast of St. *Bartholomew* 1662, to Subscribe a Declaration in these Words. *I* A. B. *do Declare, that I do hold there lies no Obligation upon me or any other Person from the Oath commonly call'd the Solemn League and Covenant, to endeavour any Change or Alteration of Government, either in Church or State: And that the same was in it self an unlawful Oath, and impos'd upon the Subjects of this Realm, against the known Laws and Liberties of this Kingdom.*

Tho' many of the Ministers who were Ejected had not taken this *Covenant*, and more of them were all along against the imposing it, yet would not their Consciences allow them to yield to such a Renunciation as this, for which a Paralel can hardly be found in any Age. They were convinc'd, that altho' a Vow should be sinfully impos'd and sinfully taken, it yet binds in a Matter that is lawful and necessary; and they found this was the Determination of the most celebrated Casuists. Part of this Covenant they were convinc'd was both lawful and necessary, and therefore they could not declare Persons free from all Obligation by it, without violating the Rights of Conscience. Every Mans endeavouring in his proper Place and Sphære to alter Church-Government, as far as he was convinc'd of its being faulty, appear'd

peat'd to them a Matter of Duty; and a thing to which that Covenant ſo far oblig'd all that took it, as that all the Princes and Prelates in *Chriſtendom*, could not give a Diſpenſation in the Caſe. But for every one in Holy Orders to determine for all in Three Kingdoms that took the Covenant, that they were no way oblig'd by it, they eſteem'd an unpreſidented Inſtance of Aſſuming. They remembred that King *Charles* himſelf had taken it in *Scotland*, with all poſſible Appearance of Serioufneſs and Solemnity; and durſt not therefore hazard that Kings Soul by concurring in ſo Lax a Publick Caſuiſtical Determination, as ſhould Confirm him in the belief, that he was oblig'd to nothing by the *Covenant*, as far as what it contain'd was Lawful: Nor could they ſee how they ſhould have been able to anſwer it to God if they had. It was pleaded, the *Covenant* was againſt the Laws of *England:* Be it ſo; yet they could not find it ſo much as pretended, it was againſt the Laws of *Scotland:* And therefore tho' it had been own'd, that it had not oblig'd Men here in *England*, yet they could not ſee what Warrant they had to determine, it ſhould bind none in the Kingdom of *Scotland*. But in ſhort, they durſt not run the Hazard of tempting the King himſelf, and Thouſands of his Subjects in the Three Kingdoms, to incur the Guilt of *Perjury*; or of hardning them under that Guilt; by declaring they were no way oblig'd by Covenanting, what could not be made appear to be unlawful. The Miniſters would have been free, to have ſubſcrib'd, that the Covenant bound no Man to be falſe to the Government they were under, or Rebellious againſt the King, or to endeavour to alter our Monarchy, or deprive the King of any of his juſt Rights and Prerogatives; they would have given their Hands, that they would never endeavour to change any Part of Church-Government which Chriſt had inſtituted for Continuance, or which had a tendency to contribute to Purity, Peace or Order; nay, they would have abjur'd all Attempts to introduce any ſort of Change in the Eccleſiaſtical Settlement in a Tumultuous and Illegal Way: But farther

ther they durſt not go; for fear of contributing to a National Guilt *.

* Baxter's *Nonconformity Stated and Argu'd*, page 125. *His Plea for Peace*, page 208. Corbets *Remains*, page 167. Troughton's *Apology for the Nonconformiſts*, page 58. *The Short Surveigh of the Grand Caſe of the Preſent Miniſtry*, page 23.

V. Beſides the Oath of *Allegiance and Supremacy*, all in Holy Orders were by the Act of Uniformity oblig'd to Subſcribe another Political Declaration or Acknowledgment of this Tenour; *I* A. B. *do Declare, that it is not Lawful upon any Pretence whatſoever, to take Arms againſt the King; and that I do abhor that Traiterous Poſition of taking Arms by his Authority againſt his Perſon, or againſt thoſe that are Commiſſionated by him.*

Tho' the Silenc'd Miniſters were as Free as any for the Oath of Allegiance, and ready to give the Government any Aſſurance that could reaſonably be deſir'd of a peaceable Subjection, yet they were not for Making, and Subſcribing this Declaration, for fear of contributing to the betraying the Liberties of their Countrey. For being ſenſible, that it was very poſſible for the Law, and the Kings Commiſſion to be contrary to each other, they eſteem'd it the Duty of *Engliſh-men* as free People, to adhere rather to the former than the latter; but could not diſcern how the ſo doing could be reconcil'd with this Declaration. They were told, that a *Writ* being upon a Publick Occaſion ſued out, and coming to the *Sheriffs* Hands; if any Perſons ſhould oppoſe the Execution by the Kings Perſonal Command or Commiſſion, and the *Sheriff* ſhould raiſe the *Poſſe Comitatus* upon them, he herein Acted by the Kings Authority. For, *by the Kings Authority is all one as by the Law, or in the Name of the King, according to Law.* Seeing therefore the Sheriff of a County might Act againſt Oppoſers in ſuch a Caſe, notwithſtanding their Commiſſion, the Law bearing him out, they could not ſee upon what Grounds the Poſition deſign'd to be renounc'd by this Declaration, could be repreſented as *Traiterous*, and to be *abhorr'd*. They could not ſee why a Nation ſhould be ſo ſolicitous about Laws for its

its Security, if a Chancellour who keeps the Kings great Seal be above them all, and may by ſealing *Commiſſions* caſt them off at Pleaſure. Withal, to exclude all Exceptions, in ſuch a Declaration as this, by a Clauſe of that Nature, *not on any pretence whatſoever*, ſeem'd to them to be a Deſtruction of Property, a ſacrificing all that was dear and valuable to the Will of the Prince, and the Luſts of his Courtiers, by diſabling Men to defend their Lives, Liberties, and Eſtates, when Attack'd by ſuch as pretended to be Commiſſionated. It ſeem'd to them very harſh, that upon Suppoſition the *Papiſts* ſhould either by Power or Surprize have gotten the King at any Time into their Hands (as the Duke of *Guiſe* once dealt with the *French* King) and have prevail'd with him for fear of his Life, to grant Commiſſions under his Hand and Seal deſtructive to the Church and State, that the Nation here-upon muſt be inevitably ruin'd, and King and Kingdom loſt by ſuch Commiſſions, which none ſhould dare to oppoſe: This appear'd to them ſo groſs that they could not ſwallow it. They were ſo weak as to eſteem *Self-Defence* a Part of the Law of Nature; and to think that the Body of a Nation have by that Law a *Self-defending Power* againſt their notorious aſſaulting Foes: But it was their Comfort under this their Weakneſs, to have ſo good Companions, as the Noble Old *Greeks* and *Romans*, Philoſophers, Oratours and Hiſtorians; the Ancient Biſhops of the Church, and Chriſtian Clergy in the Primitive Times; the *Popiſh* Caſuiſtical Writers, and the moſt celebrated Writers of Politicks whether *Papiſts* or *Proteſtants*; the moſt celebrated Modern Hiſtorians, Civilians, and Canoniſts; particularly ſuch Men as *Thuanus*, *Gothofred*, *Barclay*, and *Grotius*; together with ſuch eminent Perſons even in the Church of *England*, as Biſhop *Bilſon*, Biſhop *Jeremy Taylor*, and Mr. *Hooker*, herein concurring in the ſame Opinion with them; and they had more Modeſty than at one daſh to run down all theſe as deceived and in the wrong. And in reality, after all the Clamours

* Baxter's *Nonconformity Stated and Argu'd.* page 134. *Short Surveigh of the grand Caſe of the preſent Miniſtry*, page 20. *The Peaceable Deſign, or Modeſt Account of the* Nonconformiſts *Meetings*, page 39, &c.

of

of their insulting Brethren, they were very well satisfy'd that they who were most forward for this Declaration, and most fierce and eager in running down and exposing those who scrupled it, would not keep to it, if at any Time they found Things were come to Extremity; as the Event verify'd. For after all the Noise that was made in all Parts of the Nation, of the Traiterousness of the Position, of taking Arms by the Kings Authority, against his Person, or those Commissionated by him; and of the unlawfulness of doing so in any Case whatsoever, a Time at length came upon the Landing a certain Person call'd the Prince of *Orange*, when in Order to the securing Religion, Liberty, and Property, all Ranks and Qualities both of Clergy and Laity, finding room for a particular Exception, (where they would before allow of *no Case whatsoever*) ventur'd to join with a Foreign Prince whom they had call'd in to their Assistance, against the Person of their Sovereign King *James*, and those who were Commissionated by him. And as for the poor Ejected Ministers, who endur'd such hardships for refusing this Declaration, they came off with this Honourable Testimony from Impartial Spectatours, which will be given them by Posterity, tho' it should be grudg'd them by the Present Age, that by that Refusal of theirs, they in their several Places and Stations help'd as much as in them lay, to Pave the Way for that Late Glorious Revolution, to which we owe all our Present Happiness, and all our Future Hopes; while the Promoters of this Declaration and all that adhær'd to it, could contribute nothing in the Case, without bidding Defiance to their most darling Principle; the Principle which for Twenty Years together had made the Pulpits Ring, and the Press Groan.

It must be own'd that these Two Last Points, of Renouncing the Covenant, and Subscribing the Political Declaration against taking Arms *in any Case whatsoever*, have not for some time been insisted on, with such as enter the Ministry in the Establish'd Church. The former was fix'd by the Act but till 1682, and then it drop'd of Course. The Latter continu'd till our Late Revolution, and then (as it was high Time) was superseded. For

For ſuch Reaſons as theſe, the Miniſters who were Ejected durſt not comply with the Act of Uniformity, and fall in with the National Eſtabliſhment. Hereupon they have been generally aſpers'd, and blacken'd with all imaginable Freedom. But this muſt be acknowledg'd after all; that if they err'd in this Matter, it was for fear of erring; and therefore they deſerv'd Reſpect rather than Reproach, becauſe they acted like Men of Integrity, according to the Light they had. Some of them were more influenc'd by ſome of theſe Conſiderations than others were; but all put together gave them abundant Satisfaction in quitting their Livings, when they found they could not keep them with the Peace and Safety of their Conſciences. Tho' in reality it is own'd by the beſt Caſuiſts, that if but one Thing which after Search and Enquiry they apprehended to be ſinful, had been made neceſſary to their continuing in their Places, they had been bound to have left them. Here were a great many Things, which they ſaw not how they could yield to, without Sin: And therefore they forbore. There were none of them, but would have yielded to what would have been ſufficient to have made them Miniſters, in the Apoſtles Days or after: But the Yoke now impos'd was ſo heavy, that neither they nor their Fathers were able to bear it; and tho' their Fathers had been for many Years complaining, yet was it made heavier now, than ever it was before.

Reaſons of the ejected Miniſters, for continuing in the Miniſtry.

So that hence-forward the Church Doors were ſhut upon them with Contempt, and others fill'd their vacant Pulpits: And they were left to ſpend their Time in Solitude and Retirement, preparing themſelves for another World, as being of no farther Uſe in this. They were much perſwaded to lay down their Miniſtry, when they were deny'd the Liberty of exerciſing it publickly; but the Generality of them, could not be ſatisfy'd upon many Accounts. They fear'd the Guilt of perfidious-breaking their *Ordination Vow*, by which they oblig'd themſelves to the diligent Performance of their Miniſtry. They were afraid of the Sin of *Sacriledge* in alienating Perſons who were Conſecrated to God. It had to them a very

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ry ſtrange Appearance, that their Brethren ſhould ſo much aggravate the Sacriledge of alienating conſecrated Utenſils and Lands, when they at the ſame Time were ſo forward to alienate conſecrated Perſons, and diſcover'd ſuch an Approbation of it: When as in their Apprehenſion the Lands and Goods, were but to ſerve the Perſons, who were employ'd in the Divine Service. Many of their People claim'd the Continuance of their Relation and Miniſtry, and having given up themſelves to their Conduct in Divine Things, beg'd they would not Deſert them: They profeſs'd they could not truſt their Souls to the Paſtoral Guidance and Care, of a great many of thoſe who were plac'd in the Churches in their Stead; and declar'd, that if they ſhould forſake them, they would Charge them with neglect of their Souls, whoſe Care they had undertaken. So that they fear'd the Sin of Unfaithfulneſs, Cruelty, and Unmercifulneſs, and incurring the Guilt of ruining Souls by ſtopping their own Mouths. The Magiſtrates Authority was indeed againſt them; but they found themſelves under a ſolemn Obligation to an higher Authority to fulfil their Miniſtry as they were able, when ſought to for help; for neglecting which, they could not diſcern how the Command of the Magiſtrate could furniſh them with a juſt Excuſe. Should they have been commanded to forbear feeding their Children, or relieving the Poor and Diſtreſs'd, they ſhould have fear'd being Charg'd with Murdering them, if they Dy'd thro' their Neglect: And in like manner they were apprehenſive of their being chargeable with the Conſequences of neglecting to promote the good of Souls in a Miniſterial Way, ſhould any periſh and be loſt, whom they were able to have aſſiſted and inſtructed. The Curſe and Doom of the unprofitable Servant that hid his Talent *Mat.* 25. much affected them; and they could not bear the tho'ts of expoſing themſelves to a like Treatment. Withal, they found the Neceſſities of the People in moſt Parts of the Nation great, notwiſtanding the legal Proviſion for them; many Miniſters in the Publick Churches having more Souls to look after than ſeveral would be ſufficient for: And at the ſame Time without being at all Cenſorious, it was too evi-

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dent to them, that ſundry of them were inſufficient and unqualify'd. And making the beſt of things, they found that Populous Cities, and the ignorant Parts of the Country, needed more help, than the Pariſh Miniſters did, or could afford them. They were withal affected with many Paſſages of Sacred Scripture; ſome of which intimate the Duration of the Miniſterial Office, where there is once a Conveyance: *Mat.* 5. 13, 14, *&c.* *Mat.* 28. 19, 20. *Eph.* 4. 10, *&c.* 1 *Tim.* 4. 15, 16. *Mat.* 24. 45, 46, 48. And others of them plead for the Neceſſity of Preaching. even when the Magiſtrate forbids: As *Acts* 4. 19. 5. 28. 1 *Cor.* 9. 14, 16. *Acts* 4. 29. 2 *Tim.* 4. 1, 2. 1 *Tim.* 6. 13, 14. *&c.* And they found it was their Duty, to Pray for the ſending in of Faithful Labourers, *Mat.* 9. 38. *Luke* 10. 2. And could not but think the ſending up of ſuch a Requeſt to God a mocking of him, while ſuch as they were, ceas'd to Labour, who had been call'd and qualify'd, own'd and Succeeded. In ſhort, maturely weighing the whole matter, they after the narroweſt ſearch, apprehended it an indiſpenſible Duty lying upon them as Men and Miniſters, by the Obligation of God's Law of Charity, and by the binding Force of their own Vows at their ſelf Dedication to the Service of God in his Houſe, to do their beſt in the Exerciſe of all their Talents, Humane, Chriſtian, and Miniſterial, to ſeek to ſave Peoples Souls; and therefore to Preach or Teach and Exhort them, in the manner that appear'd to them moſt conducible thereunto. They could not ſee whence either Civil Magiſtrates or Biſhops had any Power to Doom them to utter Silence, ſo long as they could not Prove upon them, either Apoſtacy, Hereſy, or Perfidiouſneſs, or any thing inconſiſtent with the publick Peace. And therefore perſiſting in that Work which God and the neceſſities of Souls call'd them to, they tho't Patience their Duty, as to all ſufferings they might meet with: In which reſpect they endeavour'd to Arm themſelves as ſtrongly as was poſſible. *

* Baxter's *Nonconformity Stated and Argu'd. pag.* 156. *His Plea for Peace. pag.* 229. *His Apology for the Nonconformiſt Miniſters in* 410. *where the whole matter is diſtinctly canvaſs'd. His Sacrilegious Deſertion of the Holy Miniſtry rebuk'd,* 08. *and* Allen's *call to* Archippus. *Qu.*

Reasons of the Laity for their Nonconformity.

Thus Determining to continue in their Ministry, with Satisfaction they were in the way and discharge of their Duty, they wanted not for Hearers and Adherents. Many Arguments and Insinuations indeed were us'd to divert the People from at all regarding these rejected Ministers: But their Esteem for them was too deeply Riveted; and the grounds of their dissatisfaction too palpable, and the care taken to remove the grounds of their Objections too Superficial; for them to be much mov'd with their Assaults. Many of the People had found Benefit by the Labours of these Ministers before they were Ejected, and thereupon tho't themselves oblig'd to stick to them. Finding them cast off without having any suitable Crime alledg'd against them, they tho't it Inhumane and Barbarous to desert them. Nay being (some of them) Convinc'd of the Justice of the Cause they were engag'd in, *viz. The pressing a farther Reformation in Ecclesiastical Matters, as Necessary in order to the more general reaching of the great ends of Religion*: They tho't it their Duty in their Place to Espouse the same Cause, and adhere to the same Principle, in Opposition to those who reckon'd the Church so Perfect as to need no Amendments. And finding that it was the Duty of their Ministers tho' Silenc'd by the Magistrates, to continue in the Exercise of their Ministry, they were convinc'd they were oblig'd therein to support and encourage them. Neither could they forbear preferring the Labours of those Ministers, the suitableness of whose Gifts, and whose readiness to watch for their Soul they had Experienc'd, before others that came in their Places, to whom they were Strangers, and as to whom they were at the best in great uncertainty.

They could not see how the Presentation of a Patron and the Institution of a Bishop could make it the absolute Duty of all in a Parish, presently to Acquiesce in a Minister's Conduct in Holy Things. They may indeed Legally Entitle him to the *Tythe and Maintenance*, but cannot make him a Pastor to any one without his own Consent. Parish Order they tho't had its Advantages, and was to be preferr'd when more weighty Reasons did not offer. But they could not see any thing in it of an absolute Neces-

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ſity. Neither could they reconcile the Suppoſition of ſuch a Neceſſity, (tho' ſettled by the Law of the Land) with the inviolable Rights of Humane Nature; which leave a Man as much at his Liberty to chooſe * a Paſtour for his Soul, as a Phyſician for his Body, or a Lawyer for his Eſtate. And therefore as they tho't it would be hard for the Magiſtrate to ſay, you ſhall have this Phyſician or none; when perhaps another may better hit their particular Conſtitution: Or you ſhall have this Lawyer or none; when it may be they know another who was much fitter to have the Management of their Concerns: So did they alſo reckon it a ſtraining the Point too high, for the Civil Magiſtrate, (and much more the Biſhop) to ſay, you ſhall have this Man or none for your Paſtour, when it was ſo very Poſſible for them, to know another Miniſter, who might be unexceptionable, and much more ſuitable to them, in the ſeveral Reſpects in which a Miniſter's help was needful to them. This appear'd to them to be a Contending with them for a Right which God and Nature had given them; and therefore they were for ſeeing Good Reaſon for it before they would part with it. †

* *This Principle only tending to that neceſſary Liberty which is a matter of natural Right, infringes not the right of* Patronage, *which duly bounded, muſt be own'd to have its conveniencys too. For as Miniſters or Biſhops may Judge who is fit to be by them Ordain'd and let into the Miniſtry, ſo may Magiſtrates and* Patrons *judge and chooſe who of theſe Miniſters ſhall have the publick places, Maintenance and Countenance, and yet people ſtill keep their right of chooſing who ſhall be their* Paſtours. *If the* Patron *offers an unfit Man, and the people refuſe him, he may offer others. If they continue to diſagree; the matter is eaſily Accommodated, by letting the* Patron *chooſe who ſhall have the place and Tythes, and the* People *who ſhall be their* Paſtour. *If they go to another* Pariſh, *the inconvenience is not great. If a number of them join together in chooſing a* Paſtour, *living peaceably and quietly, there is no harm in it. The* Patron *has his right in preſenting the Perſon that has the publick Maintenance. The* Pariſh Miniſter *has his right; for he hath what publick Maintenance is Legally fix'd to the living; which is as much as the Biſhops Inſtitution, and* Patrons *Preſentation could entitle him to. And at the ſame time alſo the people have their right, which is paying the Tythe Legally due to the* Pariſh Miniſter, *to chooſe whom they will for their* Paſtour, *without injuring Biſhop,* Patron, Pariſh Miniſter, *or any one elſe.*

† Baxter's *Nonconformity Stated and Argu'd pag.* 163. &c.

Many of them Apprehended that the Method of the National Eſtabliſhment broke in upon Oeconomical Government. The Maſter of a Family is an Emblem of a Prince in the State. Some Branches of his Power and Autority, are evidently Superiour. The Parental Autority, is the greateſt that Nature gives. We may ſuppoſe it to reach a great way when we conſider that it is deſign'd to ſupply the place of Reaſon; whereas in the Exerciſe of a Princes Autority, he is ſuppos'd to have Subjects, that uſe their Reaſon, and muſt be dealt with accordingly. Now in any thing like an Impoſition of a Paſtour upon them, the Diſſenting Laity Apprehended their Right as Parents, and Husbands, and Maſters, &c. was invaded either by Prince or Biſhop, that pretended to impoſe a Paſtour, upon thoſe who by God and Nature were put under their Care. Whoſe Intereſt and Power in my Family, and with Reference to my Wife and Children, can be ſuppos'd earlier and greater than mine? And who more concern'd in the Inſtruction they receive than I? Why then ſhould I let another impoſe a Paſtour upon them, which more belongs to me certainly than to any one elſe, if they are not competent Judges for themſelves: But if it become not even me, (and could not be Juſtify'd) for me to tell my Wife or Children that are come to Years of Diſcretion, you ſhall have this Man for your Miniſter or none; you ſhall either Worſhip God here or no where; how can the Magiſtrate have ſuch an Autority? How came the Biſhop by it? If neither Prince nor Biſhop may chooſe for my Children a Tutour, a Trade, a Phyſician, or Dyet or Cloathing, or impoſe Husbands or Wives on them without my Conſent: How ſhould either of them, come by a Right to impoſe a Miniſter upon them without my Will and Choice? Eſpecially when his Management of Holy Things, is a matter of ſuch vaſt Importance and wherein their Salvation and my Intereſt are ſo nearly concern'd? The Inſufficient Anſwers uſually return'd to ſuch Queries, confirm'd many of the Laity in their inclination to Nonconformity. *

*Id. Ibid. pag. 169.

The want of *Diſcipline* in the Church, was another conſiderable Plea they urg'd. And in this they but follow'd the Old *Puritans*, and their Pious Progenitours, who have in this reſpect been calling for greater care and ſtrictneſs, ever ſince the Reformation of the Church and Land from Popery. Upon ſearch they found that God had deſign'd the Church to be as it were the Porch of Heaven; A Society gather'd out of the World, Sanctify'd to him, and to be more fully prepar'd for Glory. And therefore he would have none in it, but ſuch as Profeſs Faith and Love and Holineſs, and Renounce a Fleſhly and Senſual, Worldly and Profane Life: that the Paſtours were to Judge who were to be taken in, and who caſt out; and all the Members in their Places bound to preſerve their own Purity, and that of the Society which they belong to. The National Conſtitutton appear'd to them to be Calculated to another Deſign. The Ignorant, Ungodly Multitude are forc'd into Communion while Palpably unfit: Theſe become the Strength and Major Part: And are Oppoſite to this Diſcipline, becauſe it would Reſtrain and Curb them, and tho' it could not better their Hearts, would yet Oblige them in many Reſpects to amend their Carriage. The Miniſters are incapable of doing any thing towards it, the Power being wreſted from them; which Power in its Execution is lodg'd in Hands that manage it Careleſly and Profanely; to the Screening of ſuch as ſhould be cenſur'd, and the cenſuring of ſuch Pious Perſons as ought to be encourag'd. This was what the Old *Puritans* groan'd under; and yet they were againſt a Separation, as long as there was any hope of Amendment; but finding the ſtiffneſs of the Biſhops and their Adherents after King *Charles*'s Reſtauration, in ſticking to their Old Methods without any Alteration; nay finding the ſame Diſpoſition at the beginning of King *William* and Queen *Mary*'s Reign, when they were ſo urgently Preſs'd to make good their Promiſes made under their foregoing Diſtreſs and Fears; that they ſtill applauded their Conſtitution as ſo Compleat and Perfect as that it needed no Amendments; they ſaw no ground of Hope remaining that ever any ſuch thing as a Regular Diſcipline would willing-

ly and out of choice be bro't in, nay not tho' the better sort of Governours in the Church, were for it. And therefore they Apprehended themselves oblig'd publickly to bear their Testimony against that fatal Neglect: And that the rather, because they found that Neglect Acknowledg'd even in the Common Prayer Book, notwithstanding there has been no Provision made of suitable Remedy. For at the beginning of the *Commination*, there is this Confession: *That in the Primitive Church there was a Godly Discipline; such persons as were Notorious Sinners being put to open Pennance, and Punish'd in this World, that their Souls might be sav'd in the Day of the Lord: And that others Admonish'd by their Example, might be the more afraid to offend. And that in stead thereof,* UNTIL THE SAID DISCIPLINE MAY BE RESTORD AGAIN, WHICH THING IS MUCH TO BE WISH'D, *its tho't good the General Sentences of God's Cursing against Impenitent Sinners, should be read*, &c. They apprehended therefore, that even the Common Prayer Book it self, (tho' in this Respect it did but set up the Shadow instead of the Substance,) justify'd their insisting upon the Restauration of that *Discipline*, which it own'd to be lost, and the Recovery of which it represented as a thing highly desireable. And they tho't that the inserting this Confession and Wish, was a plain Evidence that the first Compilers of the *Common Prayer*, intended a farther Progress, and a fuller Reformation than those who come after them would give way to: and that the Yearly Repetition of this Confession and Wish in the Publick Churches, was a Plain and Publick Condemning themselves for stopping short, and crying up that as Perfect, which they who were the first Managers of it, were so modest as to own to have been Defective.

Id. Ibid. page 176.

Many of the Laity, were also afraid of Sinning, in Baptizing their Children with *Godfathers and Godmothers*. They were ready to Devote their Infants to God by Baptism in the way that he had appointed; and to promise to train them up in his Fear: But this would not do. Now they durst not put others upon Covenanting for their Children, with whom they had no Concern; or desire them (with an appearing Solem-

Solemnity) to Promiſe, what they knew they meant not to Perform; or make Promiſes which their Children when they grew up would not be bound or obliged by: They tho't their Childrens Right to Baptiſm, depended upon *their* Intereſt in the Divine Covenant, and property in their Children; and tho't the bringing in middle Perſons, who were to be ſubſtituted in their Room, was a fixing the Ordinance upon a falſe Bottom. And whereas ſome (who were for putting on the appearance of Moderation) would tell them that they might if they inſiſted upon it, be allow'd to give up their own Children, they tho't it could not fairly be reconcil'd with the Conſtitution, when they found it ſo poſitively declar'd by the whole Convocation in 1603 in their 29th Canon, *that no Parent ſhall be urg'd to be preſent, nor* be admitted *to Anſwer as Godfather for his own Child.* And therefore finding their Children ſo peremptorily excluded from Baptiſm, without an Humane Addition which they could not underſtand, and were uneaſy under, they tho't themſelves at Liberty to make their Application to ſuch Miniſters to Baptize their Children, as were free to do it, without any ſuch needleſs or diſſatisfying Impoſition. *Id. Ibid. page* 186.

Withal, many of them had Baptiſm refus'd their Children, unleſs they'd ſubmit to the *Sign of the Croſs*. This they eſteem'd an unwarrantable Addition to Chriſt's Inſtitution. They were afraid of Encouraging Church Corruptions by yielding to it. They knew no Right the Church had to make New Terms of Communion, or require their Submiſſion to ſuch an Humane Invention And therefore they left thoſe who would rather leave their Children without the Seal of the Covenant, than admit them to it, without ſuch an unprofitable Ceremony: and adher'd to thoſe who were ready to admit their Infants into the Viſible Church of Chriſt, upon his own Terms. *Id. Ibid. page* 187.

As for *Kneeling at the Communion*, ſome of the Laity queſtion'd the Lawfulneſs of it: And while they did ſo, durſt not yield to it, for fear of injuring their Conſciences. And yet knowing it to be a great Sin to live in the total Neglect of that Holy Ordinance, they apprehended it their Duty to join in with thoſe,

of whom they might receive it in a Table Posture. Others not apprehending Kneeling at this Ordinance a thing in it self Unlawful, could (to testifie as much, and to show their Charity to the establish'd Church under all its Corruptions) sometimes yield to receive in that way, who yet could not be satisfy'd to do it constantly, least they should be chargeable with not bearing their Testimony against Terms of Communion of Humane Invention, which they esteem'd a great Duty.

Id. Ibid. *page* 193.

And it also much Prejudic'd many Understanding Persons against the Church Party, to find Oaths made so light off, and to observe a greater stress so commonly laid upon their Ceremonies, than upon Knowledge or Faith, or real Holiness. They found themselves wretchedly Hamper'd and Ensnar'd by Fetters of the Clergies making. If they were intrusted in any Corporations, they must for a long time be forc'd to swear that there was no Obligation at all, from the Oath call'd *the Solemn League and Covenant*, either on them or any other: This seem'd to them a Proclaiming of Perjury Lawful, as to that part of the Covenant which was unquestionably Lawful; as the renouncing of Schism, Popery, Profaneness, &c. They were sadly pester'd with the *Corporation Act*, *the Vestry Act*, *the Oxford Act*, *the Militia Act*. (which were all Fram'd by the ruling Clergy and their Patrons) whereby an Oath was impos'd upon them not to endeavour any Alteration of Government in the Church, to bind them to rest contented with what they could not but esteem Corrupt: And they must also swear an Abhorrence of taking Arms against any Commission nated by the King, which they knew not but in time they might be oblig'd to, by his breaking the Original Contract with his People; which was afterwards actually found to be our Case. Multiply'd Burdens of this Nature, made the Clergy esteem rigid Taskmasters. And when there was any Effort made for Relief, to hear it become the common Cry O the *Church*, the *Church* is in Danger; as if the whole Tabernacle totter'd upon the touching of the least Pin. And at the same time observing that they who could not bate an Ace in the Ceremonial Part, were ye

read

ready eno' many times to make considerable Abatements, in those things in which lies the main of Real Religion; and that they who were so fond of their Constitution, had so little Charity left for those whose Sentiments differ'd from theirs; and were ready to question the validity of their Ministry and Ordinances, nay and even the Possibility of their Salvation too, if they question'd but the *Jus Divinum* of Bishops: such Observations as these made many of the Laity think, that there was no small Danger of Encouraging them in their Rigours, and assuming Pretensions, by an Adherence and Submission to them.

Things being in the Posture, that hath been thus briefly represented; the National Constitution being so contriv'd as to keep out many both Ministers and People, who were truly Conscientious, upon such Accounts as those mention'd; it was a very natural Question, what must they do? Without the Cross and Sponsors there was no Baptism to be had; without Kneeling no Communion; without Submitting in many Parishes to unqualify'd Guides, there was no room left by the Law, for Ministeral Instruction, and Pastoral help; and were the things requir'd own'd to be in themselves Lawful, there was no falling wholly in with them, without Practical submitting to a pretended Autority of making new Terms of Communion, which was more than could be made appear, our Blessed Lord had entrusted any Mortals with: How then must they steer? Must they sit still, without any Ordinances at all? Or must they go against their Consciences that they might enjoy them? Must they be content to be depriv'd of the necessary Means of Salvation? Must they live like Pagans till they got rid of their scruples? That certainly would be unbecoming Christians; and unaccountable in such as know the worth of Souls, and the weight of things Eternal. And if not, then they must take fitting Opportunities of Worshipping God according to their Consciences, in a freedom from insnaring Impositions; being careful in the mean time to maintain Love and Charity, towards those from whom they differ'd.

See this Branch of the Argument handled at large in Mr. How's *Letter to a Person of Quality, who took offence at Dean* Stillingfleets *Sermon.*

And

And this was the Course they accordingly took; having sometimes the Smiles, and sometimes the Frowns of the Government; being sometimes tolerated, and sometimes abridg'd; till at last the fruitlesness of Rigour and Severity being generally evident, they were taken under the Publick Protection, and had their Liberty allow'd them by the Three Estates of the Realm, King, Lords, and Commons.

In the mean while, among other Charges that were bro't against them, none made more Noise than that of *Schism*. Both Ministers and People upon the Account of their separate Assemblies, were cry'd out upon from Press and Pulpit as dangerous *Schismaticks*, and under that Notion bro't under a Popular *Odium*, and laden with unspeakable Reproach. A great Dust was rais'd, with which the Eyes of many were too much affected, for them to discern distinctly the Merits of the Cause in Debate. This hath been an usual Method, and is no new Invention. A Member of their own, the Ingenious Mr. *Hales* of *Eaton* (who by a good Token hath had a great many hard Words for his Pains) told them long ago, that *Heresie and Schism are Two Theological Scare-Crows, us'd by those that seek to uphold a Party in Religion, to terrifie their Opposites*. However they weigh'd the Matter, consider'd the Grounds of the Charge bro't against them, found themselves Innocent, and made their Appeal to the Unprejudic'd and Impartial, in divers *Apologetick* Writings.

Moderate Nonconformists *no* Schismaticks.

They pleaded that their Practise was not what the Scripture calls *Schism*. As *Schism* is there represented, it lies not so much in variety of Opinions, or different Practises, Modes or Forms, or different Places of Worship, as in a want of true Love and Charity. For as *Heresie* is oppos'd to the *Faith*, so is *Schism* oppos'd to *Love*; and both *Heresie* and *Schism* are distinguish'd by those Things to which each of them is oppos'd. This they evidenc'd by a distinct Consideration of the several Passages of Scripture, where *Schism* is mention'd; which do all of them so evidently Point at *Uncharitableness* as the discriminating Badge of *Schismaticks*, as gave them abundant Satisfaction they were Free from guilt in this Respect,

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tho' ſeparating of Commnnion, ſo long as they took Care not to violate that Love and Charity which ought to be among Chriſtians. He that is Converſant with Scripture may eaſily obſerve, that there may be *Schiſm*, or a Schiſmatical Spirit working in a Church, where there is no Local Separation; and there may be a *Separation* and yet no *Schiſm* on the Part of them that Separate: Nay, that there can be no *Schiſm* in Scripture-Account, where there is not an uncharitable Alienation of Chriſtians Hearts from each other, becauſe of their differing Apprehenſions about leſſer Things of Religion. This being the true Scripture Notion of *Schiſm*, they tho't it very evident, that ſome on each ſide in this Debate, may be under Guilt; but that all on neither ſide were fairly chargeable: Particularly, that all thoſe who ſeparate from the Church of *England* are not juſtly chargeable in this Reſpect, there being many among them, who tho' they'l freely give their Brethren of the Eſtabliſh'd Church the Preference in many other Things, will yet vye with them, for a free, large, and extenſive Charity.

Paſſing from the Scriptures to the Primitive Fathers, they found many of their Exclamations againſt the Sin of *Schiſm* very warm and ſevere; and perhaps it may be made appear that ſome of them, might lay more ſtreſs (in their Repreſentation of the Thing they ſo heavily Cenſur'd,) on the bare Separation, and leſs on an uncharitable Spirit and Temper, than we can diſcern in Scripture, which was their proper Standard, as well as ours: But be that as it will, the Poor Branded *Diſſenters* have not ſtuck to own, that the heavy Cenſures of the Primitive Fathers, were better grounded than our Modern Invectives; and they give this Reaſon for it, which deſerves to be conſider'd; *viz.* Becauſe the Church in thoſe Times made no other Terms of Communion, than Chriſt had made to her Hands: Whereas 'tis now quite otherwiſe. And yet they found even as ſevere a Perſon as St. *Cyprian*, declaring that *a conſcientious People ought to ſeparate themſelves from a ſcandalous and wicked Paſtour*; whence they inferr'd, that there may be ſome juſt grounds of Separation, even in the Senſe of the Fathers:

Fathers: And that even where there may be the tru Faith, and acceptable Worſhip; where all Sacre Ordinances may be validly adminiſtred, and nothin that is neceſſary to Salvation be wanting: And con ſequently *Separation* even from a true Church, whe Ordinances are valid, and nothing neceſſary is wan ing, is not in their Eſteem, (if they are conſiſten with themſelves) preſently *damnable Schiſm.*

They farther Pleaded, that their Separation wa not *Choſen* and *Voluntary*, but *Forc'd* and *Conſtrain'd* They were caſt out of the Church by their Impoſi ons, and Excommunicated by their *Canons:* O which Account many of the *Laudenſian* Faction, eve to this Day deny them Chriſtian Burial; (as th Charitable Mr. *Robert Burſcough* of *Totneſs*, an others.) They were Free to hold conſtant Commun on with the Eſtabliſh'd Church, upon thoſe Ter which Chriſt had made neceſſary either to viſible real Chriſtianity, or to the Exerciſe of the Miniſtry but were rejected with Scorn without farther Compl ance, in Things which after the utmoſt Search, th could not find the Word of God would Warran So that they did not throw out themſelves, but we rejected: They did not voluntarily ſeparate, but we forc'd to it: They were Paſſive, and not Activ And having Petition'd, and Expoſtulated, Pray' and waited for a long Time to little Purpoſe, th could not ſee any remaining Duty lying upon the but to provide for the Neceſſities of their Souls, a the Worſhip of God, in the beſt Manner they coul with Safety to their Conſciences; maintaining Lo and Charity towards thoſe who rejected them; a waiting patiently till they ſhould become ſenſible their unbrotherly Treatment of them, and open Door for their Reſtauration.

They farther Pleaded, that if there were a *Schi* among us, it moſt properly lay at their Door, w laid the Foundation of it by their ſcrupled *Impoſi ons*, and might remove it, and prevent the Diſm Conſequences they ſo much complain off, by leavi the Things that are ſo ſtraitly enjoin'd, in their pr per Natural Indifference. They found that the ma inlet of all the Diſtractions, Confuſions, and Divi

ons of the Chriſtian World, hath been the adding other Conditions of Church-Communion than Chriſt hath done. They could meet with no Charter that he had given to any Perſons, whether they were cloth'd with a Civil or an Eccleſiaſtical Authority, containing any Power of making ſuch Impoſitions. They durſt not therefore encourage ſuch Pretenſions. If they would drop them, the *Schiſm* would vaniſh. If they were fonder of them than of Peace and Unity they tho't it a Sign that they hardly believ'd themſelves, when they ſpake ſo warmly upon the Conſequences of a *Schiſm*, they could ſo eaſily put an end to. And whereas ſome have Pleaded, it was not in the Power of the Church to make ſuch an Alteration. The Anſwer is eaſie; 'twas in their Power at King *Charles*'s Reſtauration: The King and Parliament then did nothing in Eccleſiaſtical Matters, without the Concurrence and Influence of the Biſhops, and the Convocation. 'Twas alſo in their Power, when King *William* aſcended the vacant Throne, he prepar'd Matters for them, propos'd the Alteration to them, and urg'd it upon them, but to little Purpoſe. The Carriage of the Clergy in thoſe Two Junctures is a plain Indication of their not being enclin'd to that Alteration, which might put a Period to that *Schiſm*, about which they make ſuch a Noiſe. We can't therefore have ſo bad an Opinion of them, as to ſuppoſe they ſpeak as they mean, when they repreſent the Tragical Conſequences of a ſuppoſed *Schiſm*, which they might ſo eaſily have prevented and remedy'd, but would not. But however 'tis as to that, the Poor *Diſſenters* tho't that the Ingenious Mr. *Hales*'s Maxims, were ſo clear and undoubted, as to be Self-evident; and they found themſelves thereby fully juſtify'd. They were theſe: That *where Cauſe of Schiſm is neceſſary, there not he that ſeparates, but he that is the Cauſe of the Separation is the Schiſmatick.* And, *when either falſe or uncertain Concluſions are obtruded for Truth; and Acts either unlawful, or miniſtring juſt ground of Scruple are requir'd of us, to be perform'd; in theſe Caſes Conſent were Conſpiracy, and open Conteſtation, is not Faction or Schiſm, but due Chriſtian Animoſity.* For that *it is alike unlawful to make Profeſ-*

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ſion of known or ſuſpected Falſhood, and to put in Practiſe, unlawful or ſuſpected Actions. And they were the more Confirm'd in their Adherence to theſe Principles, by finding the moſt eminent Divines of the Church, forc'd to make uſe of the ſame Maxims, upon like Grounds, in their noble Defence of the Reformation, againſt the *Romaniſts*: And indeed it ſeem'd to them remarkable that they which were reckon'd by the Clergy, the moſt ſucceſsful Weapons againſt the poor *Diſſenters*, ſhould be the ſame that are us'd by the *Papiſts* againſt the *Proteſtant* Reformation.

Upon the whole, if there be a Real *Schiſm* between the Church Party and the Moderate *Diſſenters*, they have all along tho't that any Impartial Perſon muſt judge, that it muſt be charg'd upon the Impoſition of Terms of Communion, without any Obligation in Conſcience to make that Impoſition, ſo much as pleaded or pretended from the Nature of the Things impos'd; rather than on the refuſing Compliance with ſuch Impoſitions, under a Profeſſion that ſuch a Compliance, would be againſt the Light of their Conſcience, and the beſt Underſtanding they could attain of the Mind and Will of God in the Scriptures. They tho't that the Grounds of their Diſſatisfaction above-mention'd, fully prov'd that their Separation was not ſinful; and therefore they apprehended it ſhould be their great Care and Endeavour to manage it ſo peaceably and charitably, as that it might not become *Schiſmatical.*

He that would ſee this Matter fully canvaſs'd, may conſult Corbet's *Point of Church Unity and Schiſm diſcuſs'd.* Baxter's *ſearch for the* Engliſh *Schiſmatick.* Owen's *brief Vindication of the* Nonconformiſts, *from the Charge of Schiſm.* Alſop's Melius Inquirendum, *Part* 2. *Ch.* 2. page 209. Wadſworth's *Separation no Schiſm.* Henry's *Brief Enquiry into the Nature of Schiſm: And* Tongues *ingenious Defence of that Enquiry.*

Their Occaſional Communion with the Eſtabliſh'd Church Defended.

A main Expedient which was pitch'd upon by the moſt Moderate for this Purpoſe, was the Communicating *Occaſionally* with the Eſtabliſh'd Church, altho' they at the ſame Time held more *Stated* Communion, with ſeparate Worſhipping Aſſemblies. Hereby they tho't they ſhould ſhow their Love and Charity unto thoſe from whom they ordinarily ſeparated;

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and yet at the same Time should show their firm Adherence to their Fundamental Principles, of keeping the Ordinances of Christ, as he had appointed them without Additional Terms of Communion; and of pursuing in their respective Places and Spheres a farther Reformation than has as yet been reach'd among us, in Order to an Happy Settlement. But taking this Method, they have had the common Lot of those who in any Case have been for keeping within a due Mediocrity; they have been eagerly Assaulted by those, who have been addicted to Extreams on either Hand of them, and run down as utterly inexcuseable because of their Moderation. They have let Things work, in hope, that Time with Observation and Experience would open a way for the Conviction of their warmest Censurers; till at length they have been trampled on, as if they had nothing to say in their own Defence.

They have been represented as Hypocrites and inconsistent with themselves, in practically owning the *Lawfulness* of the Terms of the Establish'd Church, by Communicating *Occasionally* with it; while they have pleaded the sinfulness of those Terms, in Bar to *Constant* Communion. But herein there will not appear the least inconsistency, to one that observes that the Terms of Communion with the Establish'd Church are not pretended to be sinful *absolutely*, but only *respectively*: It is not pleaded, that they are of the number of the Things that are so *Sinful*, as that they can in no Case be *Lawful*, but among Things that are either *Sinful* or *Lawful* according to Circumstances. And indeed most (not to say all) Humane Actions, depend more upon Circumstances than we commonly Observe. Tho' no Action can be done, but it must have Agent, Object, Manner, End, Time, Place, and other Circumstances attending it; yet it may be consider'd without considering at the same Time any, or all of these: And if we attend carefully we shall find, that the very same Action as to the Matter of it, is made morally Good or Bad, according as the Agent is proper or improper, the Object suitable or unfit; and the like. Thus plentiful Eating and Drinking may be morally

rally Good in ſome Circumſtances, as well as good upon a natural Conſideration; when yet to do ſo every Meal, or very frequently would be very bad, 'twould be Intemperate and Dangerous in Point of Health. So alſo Faſting is laudable and praiſe-worthy, when ſo manag'd as that it furthers in the Divine Service; but very prepoſterous and pernicious, when ſo oft repeated, as that the Body is macerated, and the Spirits depauperated, and the Perſon concern'd unfitted for the Service either of God or Man.

Circumſtances give Actions their Moral Goodneſs or Badneſs. 'Tis ſo in this Caſe. The very ſame Terms of Communion, which are unwarrantably impos'd by the Church of *England*, may be comply'd with *upon Occaſion* lawfully, by thoſe who would Act irregularly and ſinfully, ſhould they fall in with them for a Conſtancy. The Action of Communicating is the ſame indeed in Subſtance at one Time as at another, and the Matter of that Action hath no Moral Evil in it; ſo that a fit and juſt Occaſion may therefore tender it fit and laudable; and yet the Conſtancy of that Action may by ſuperadded Circumſtances be made apparently Evil. To thoſe who take Things in groſs, ſuch an Action as Communicating, appears the ſame Thing done now and then, or for a Conſtancy: But if they would give themſelves leave to think ſoberly, they'd ſoon ſee a great Difference.

The Action is the ſame, and not the ſame. The ſame in one Reſpect, but not in others. The ſame as to the Subſtance or Matter; but not as to attending Circumſtances. Communicating *conſtantly* under ſuch Impoſitions as are in the eſtabliſh'd Church, is an Action cloath'd with ſuch Circumſtances, as make it highly different from Communicating *occaſionally*. The one doth practically Pronounce the Action conſider'd materially to be (what indeed it is) *Lawful*: The other does repreſent the ſame Action as *eligible*, nay *preferable*; which is contrary to the inward Senſe of the moſt Moderate among the *Diſſenters*. Neither will the Private Expreſſion of a different Senſe,

a ſufficient Guard againſt ſuch Publick, and more forcible Language of continu'd Practiſe. The one does practically Aſſert the Liberty with which Chriſt hath made us Free, in Oppoſition to rigid Separatiſts: The other Practically betrays our Liberty, in Compliance with rigorous Impoſers. The one diſcovers this to be our Senſe; this Worſhip is in the main Sound, tho' Irregular and Defective: The other on the Contrary, ſeems to intimate as if Divine Worſhip were not acceptable without ſuch ſuperadded Formalities. Occaſional Communion manifeſts, that in our Apprehenſion the Additions to Divine Worſhip that are bro't into the Church of *England* are not deſtructive of the Eſſence of Worſhip: Conſtant Communion would repreſent Chriſts own Inſtitution as defective, and not orderly or decent without them. The former condemns the uncharitably Cenſorious, when the other would appear to acquit Eccleſiaſtical Aſſumers. The former ſhows our Charity towards thoſe whoſe Sentiments and common Practiſe differs from ours; the Latter would be a confining our Charity to a Party, and a Practical diſowning and condemning all other worſhipping Aſſemblies. This latter Conſideration appears to be of great weight; in that conſtant Communion with the Eſtabliſh'd Church, is by its greateſt Advocates intended to be excluſive of Communion with all others: And therefore that Church has provided (by *Canon* xith) That if any one ſpeak of ſeparate Congregations, as true Churches, they ſhall be Excommunicate, *&c.* Now theſe Modetate *Diſſenters* have all apprehended, that ſhould they thus confine their Communion within the Limits of that Party, (or indeed of any, other Party of Chriſtians in the Land) and avoid all other Chriſtian Aſſemblies and Places of Worſhip, as eſteeming them no true Churches, they ſhould prove themſelves deſtitute of a Chriſtian Spirit, whatſoever Church they might pretend to belong to. Now where lies the inconſiſtency in the Caſe, when we don't Aſſert the Terms of Communion in the Eſtabliſh'd Church to be ſimply

ſinful, (*i.e.* tha it tis ſinful to do the things themſelves that are requir'd) when yet we aſſert it to be ſinful to bind up our ſelves by thoſe Terms: Whereby we ſhould be oblig'd to do continually, what we have only liberty to do more rarely, and upon fit Occaſion.

They have been farther call'd upon to conſider the Streſs laid in Scripture upon *Peace* and *Union*, which is ſo great, as ſeems to require the Sacrificing of any Pleas to things that are ſo valuable, ſo Truth and Holineſs be but ſecur'd and they have been over and over told that they appear not to have the due regard thereto, while they cannot Sacrifice to them ſo much as their own greater particular Satisfaction. To which they have an eaſie Reply. They have as great a regard to *Peace* and *Union* as their Brethren; and ſhow it by their readineſs to go as far in order to them, as they can conceive they Lawfully may; which they do by occaſionally Communicating with them; but as for Conſtant Communion they therefore only refuſe it, becauſe it is in their Apprehenſion unlawful to them, for the Reaſons above ſpecify'd, notwithſtanding that the occaſional be Lawful. We may Lawfully for the ſake of Peace and Quietneſs put up Injuries and Affronts: Nay, it is a certain Duty; and yet to do ſo for a conſtancy and in all Caſes, were ſo far from being Lawful, that it would be a ruining our ſelves, and a contributing to the overthrow of Common Right and Juſtice. Tho' I may be allow'd, nay requir'd, to Sacrifice my own private Rights in many Caſes, to the Common Peace, yet I muſt not endanger a Publick Miſchief, or Ruin, for fear of a little preſent Diſturbance. What were this, but as if for fear of diſturbing a Peccant Humour in the Body, we ſhould ſuffer it to proceed uncontroul'd, till it prov'd Fatal? And certainly the Offence taken by Bigots, at the aſſerting againſt them a truly Chriſtian Liberty, is no better than a Peccant Humour; not indeed to be needleſly enrag'd; and yet much leſs to be quietly ſuffer'd to become predominant. As for the more Moderate Diſſenters, they are therefore againſt a practical abetting of Impoſitions, as being the great Engine of Diſturbance and Diviſion. They

are heartily deſirous, if it be poſſible, and as much as in them lies to live peaceably with all Men: And for that very Reaſon would not willingly be found Combating thoſe whom they cannot convince. They are free to acknowledge, that to an offending Brother, gentler Methods and Time is due; and much more to a Church that needs Reformation: But the waiting time ſeems to be now over, when the Practiſe of ſuch things as needed Reformation is heighten'd into declared Purpoſes, of perpetual adherence. Have not theſe things been endeavour'd to be riveted by a Solemn Oath never to endeavour (no not each Man in his place) any alteration in the Church? Have not thoſe who would have continu'd in the Church, complying as far as they could without Guilt, been Ejected for that very Reaſon, becauſe they would do all they could to better it, and leaſt they ſhould? And was it not the declared Senſe of the Body of the Clergy after the late happy Revolution, that no Amendments were needful or deſireable, or to be yielded to? To what purpoſe then is it to wait any longer? Hath not that Method been try'd long eno' without Succeſs?

Should any think that by going off totally from the Diſſenters, to a full and ſole Communion with the Church of *England*, they might Contribute ſomething towards diſpoſing Mens minds, and paving the way, to the deſir'd Alterations; they would do well to conſider that they have very little Reaſon to hope to gain that Character and Reputation with the high Church Party, as ſhould make them of any Significance, unleſs they would Counter-act the very deſign of their yielding ſuch a Compliance. Before they could Inſinuate themſelves into any good Eſteem, they muſt pretend their Preference of what they think but tolerable, and therefore would go into the Church that they might Contribute to its Amendment in, Nay they'l find it will be expected they ſhould ſhew a Hatred and Contempt of what they think preferable, and would go into the Church to make way for. In a word, they would not be able to make their way to the doing the good they aim at, but by Speaking and Acting Contrary, both to

ſincerity, and to the very end they propoſe to themſelves. For if they who have always adher'd to the Eſtabliſh'd Church, are ſuſpected when moderate, and exploded when appearing to deſire or endeavour any Reformation; it is but conſentaneous to Reaſon to expect, that they who come off to it, muſt be much more ſo.

Upon the whole, the moderate Diſſenters think they have ſufficiently acquitted themſelves as lovers of *Peace* and *Union*, by ſhowing their readineſs to do any thing in order to it, which they can conceive they Lawfully may do. Nay they think they have herein out-done, their Brethren of the Eſtabliſh'd Church, who might have ere this remov'd the hindrances of *Peace* and *Union*, without any Danger of Sinning, but would not. Notwithſtanding their continu'd Refuſal, they yet ſhow their Peaceable Diſpoſition, by Communicating occaſionally with them; and cannot conceive that even the God of Peace and Order does allow Chriſtians to follow External Peace and Order, to the great and apparent Prejudice of inward Peace, and general Purity; and therefore they dare go no farther.

They have been further Charg'd as being herein wanting in their Duty to the Civil Magiſtrate; but in their Apprehenſion very undeſervedly, ſince upon the ſtricteſt Enquiry they cannot find themſelves in this reſpect juſtly Blameable. They are ready to Demonſtrate their regard to Civil Governours by Submiſſion to what they ſhould leſs chooſe, nay to what would be to them a Hardſhip: But in what is in their Judgment (after the utmoſt Search) ſinful, they dare not comply; as looking upon themſelves countermanded by a Superior Autority. This Article of the Controverſie hath been manag'd very Wordily; but after all that has been ſaid, they are fully ſatisfy'd in this, that Obedience to the Magiſtrates in conſtant Communion with the Eſtabliſh'd Church, cannot be made appear to be a Duty, any further than the thing it ſelf is Evidenc'd to be Lawful. 'Tis commonly aſſerted, that we have more certainty that we are bound to obey Autority in all Lawful things, than we have that what is requir'd

us is Unlawful. Be it ſo, yet the certainty of its being our Duty to obey Autority in all Lawful things can no farther affect our Conſciences, than as we have Evidence that what is requir'd is in its attending Circumſtances Lawful. Be this Principle undoubted and confeſs'd; yet that it is rightly apply'd, and cogent or binding in the preſent Caſe, can be no clearer or ſurer to us, than 'tis clear and ſure that the things requir'd are Lawful. Should Parents upon their own Judgment, or any Siniſter Conſiderations, plead their Autority with a Child for his Marrying a *Papiſt*, urging his Obligation to obey them in all things Lawful; if he in the mean time but doubts the Lawfulneſs of complying with them in this matter, he hath a ſufficient Counterplea, *viz.* that the thing requir'd appears not among thoſe Lawful things: and yet he may comply ſo far, as Civil Occaſional Converſe with *Papiſts*, may be manag'd without Dangerous Temptation. Tho' a Son in ſuch a Caſe were not able to Demonſtrate the unlawfulneſs of entire Compliance with his Parents Commands, yet it were ſufficient that they could not clear to him the Lawfulneſs of ſo doing; ſince 'tis upon that Suppoſition only that the Argument hath any force in it. And it is the ſame alſo in the preſent Caſe.

They have been alſo charg'd as *Temporizers*, in Communicating Occaſionally with the Eſtabliſh'd Church, becauſe it was Neceſſary to Self-Preſervation when the Laws againſt Diſſenters were rigorouſly Executed, and hath been Neceſſary to the holding any Poſt in the Government, ever ſince the Sacramental Teſt. To which they have this to ſay, that let Men make what Clamours they pleaſe, whoever will fairly conſider Matters will find, that it is not a matter of Policy, but plain Duty, to do what we Lawfully may do in all its Circumſtances, in Order to Self-Preſervation, and the preventing ruin; and alſo in order to the more general Uſefulneſs. What is indeed unlawful may not be done; but what is in all its Circumſtances Lawful, ought to be done in ſuch a Caſe; and that Occaſional Communion is of the number of ſuch Lawful things, hath been all along held by the more moderate Diſſenters. This

Opinion of theirs was not taken up with the Sacramental Teſt, but was own'd long before by many of their moſt noted Miniſters, and moſt Intelligent Adherents: And having declar'd that for their Opinion, and regulated their Practiſe by it, from the beginning of their Nonconformity, they could ſee no Reaſon why the ſuperinducing ſuch a Teſt, ſhould make any Change or Alteration, either in their Principle, or Correſpondent Practiſe. And whereas they have upon this Account been cenſur'd as guilty of Carnal Policy, it will appear to any impartial Obſervers, one of the falſeſt and moſt ſenſeleſs Charges in the World. For had the more moderate Diſſenters any Self-Intereſt to ſerve and purſue ſeparate from the common Good, they muſt have been wretchedly overſeen if they had not taken a quite different Method: For their particular Intereſt hath been far from being ſerv'd by this Means, nor was there any likelyhood it ſhould. They might with much greater eaſe make and hold faſt their Party, by ſuggeſting an utter unlawfulneſs of Communicating at all with the Eſtabliſh'd Church, than they can convey the Diſtinction to common Capacities, by which they muſt defend themſelves, and engage the Adherence of others in a conſtant Communion, in their ſeparate Aſſemblies, while they profeſſedly allow them an occaſional one elſe-where. For the minds of Men are generally for taking things in Groſs, and accounting them altogether good, or altogether bad, and are impatient if not incapable of attending to thoſe differencing Circumſtances, which render an Action that is the ſame for Subſtance, one while and in this reſpect Lawful, and another while, and in another reſpect unlawful. And in being willing for the ſake of Truth and Charity to run this Apparent hazard, they have all along tho't they have been ſufficiently clear'd from this Imputation.

They have been alſo warmly Aſſaulted upon the Head of *Scandal*; and told by ſome, that their occaſional Communicating with the Eſtabliſh'd Church which they tho't Lawful, led others in imitation of them, to ſuch a compliance as they judg'd ſinful. Their Reply was not to ſeek. Were occaſional Com-

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munion abſolutely indifferent; had they not been oblig'd to it, for the Teſtification of their Charity, and other binding Reaſons, they were not then to uſe their Liberty, for fear of miſguiding others by that Practiſe, which they might without Sin have altogether omitted: But when what they did as Duty, and with all that Guard which the diſcharge of ſuch Duty would allow, is miſconſtrued, 'tis not a Scandal given, but only taken. They were alſo told by others, that this Liberty they took in Communicating Occaſionally, was matter of Scandal to many in the Church of *England*, who were hereby confirm'd in their way, and led to think that their Impoſitions were juſtify'd by their thus abetting them; and they ſelf-Condemn'd, by not falling heartily in with them. In which caſe they had this to ſay for themſelves; that the largeſt Charity is alwas liable to the moſt Miſconſtructions: and that when they only diſcover'd their ſenſe of the bare Lawfulneſs of Communicating with them, while their Stated Separation, with their ready Defence of it (when call'd) ſhow'd they were far from apprehending it preferable; if this ſhould be interpreted as an Encouraging them, it would be thro' a faulty want of Conſideration, and the blame muſt lie at their own Door. And when they were told by others that they ought to mind the Apoſtles Charge, and *mark thoſe who cauſe Diviſions*, their Practiſe anſwer'd for them, that it was their great endeavour to keep from Extreams, and mark uncharitable Dividers on both hands of them; that ſo by carrying it with as Diſintereſted an Integrity as was Poſſible, between the furious Biggots on both ſides, they might both *ſave themſelves from the untoward Generation wherein they liv'd*, and do what they could to pave the way for that *Coalition of the more moderate of all ſorts*, which was the thing that from firſt to laſt appear'd to them *moſt deſireable*, and which (they yet conceive) *will at laſt be found Neceſſary to our common Security*.

CHAP. XI.

Mr. BAXTER'S *Settlement in* LONDON. *The Occasion of his Separation from his Beloved People at* KEDERMINSTER. *His Carriage to them after he left them. His Labours in* LONDON, *till he was Silenc'd.*

The State of Affairs, when Mr. Baxter came to London.

WHile Mr. *Baxter* continu'd in a Private Corner of the Country his Name grew Famous all over the Nation: And when he was afterwards more in general view, by being fix'd in the City, which is the common Center of the Land; He kept his Reputation, and his usefulness was the more Extensive. He came to *London* at the time when all things tended toward a mighty Change. Protectour *Richard* was depos'd, and the Government that Succeeded, was very Precarious and Changeable. Some tho't the Obligation to *Richard* was not dissolv'd, nor could be till another Parliament; or till he had made a fuller Renunciation of the Government. Most were weary of the frequent Changes they had past thro': All had great Expectations from the Approaching Parliament. The King's return was what was generally desir'd; and that even by those, who had but a Melancholy Prospect of the Consequences of such an Alteration: For they could see no hope of a Settlement any other way. The minds of People were in no small Commotion, thro' a variety of clandestine Rumours: Politicians were busily at Work to quiet and satisfie them. They procur'd several Letters to be written from *France*, full of high Elogiums of the King, and Assurances of his firmness in the Protestant Religion. Among the rest one was written by Monsieur *Gaches*, a famous Preacher at *Charenton* to Mr. *Baxter*, declaring that the King was present at Divine Worship in the *French* Church at *Roan* and *Rochel*, tho' not at *Charenton*. These Letters were Printed, and satisfy'd many. The

The New Parliament was no ſooner met, than they appointed a Solemn Day of Faſting and Prayer, in order to a general Humiliation for the Sins of the Land, and to invoke the Divine Bleſſing on their Conſultations. Mr. *Baxter* was one who Preach'd before them upon that Occaſion. It was upon the laſt of *April* 1660. In that Sermon, Speaking of the Differences then on Foot, and the way to heal them, he told them that *whether they ſhould be Loyal to the K. was no matter of Difference; in that all agreed; it not being poſſible that a Man ſhould be true to Proteſtant Principles, and not be Loyal; as it was impoſſible to be Loyal upon Popiſh Principles.* And as for matters of Church Government, he told them *it was eaſie for moderate Men to come to a fair Agreement; and that the late Arch-Biſhop of* ARMAGH *and he, had agreed in half an Hours Diſcourſe*, &c. the Papiſts were angry at his Charge, tho' he cited *Canon* the third of the *Lateran* Council under Pope *Innocent* the Third, which was a full Juſtification of his Aſſertion. The very next Morning after this day of Faſting, (May the 1ſt) the Parliament voted home the King, *Nemine Contradicente.* About the ſame time, there was a Day of Solemn Thanksgiving in the City, for *Monk's* Succeſs, *&c.* and Mr. *Baxter* Preach'd before the Lord Mayor and Aldermen at St. *Pauls*, and he endeavour'd to ſhew the value of that Mercy, ſo as to ſhew alſo, how Sin and Mens Abuſe might turn it into matter of Calamity: and what ſhould be right Bounds and Qualifications of that Joy. Dr. *Morley* being often free in his Diſcourſe for Peace and Union, Mr. *Baxter* obtain'd a Meeting with him, and had an Hours Diſcourſe upon that Subject. The Doctor ſpake much of Moderation in the General, but would not parly upon any particular Terms of Peace. He ſpake much for Liturgys, and againſt Extemporary Church Prayers: and at length declar'd that the *Janſeniſts* were numerous among the Papiſts, and many among the *French* inclin'd to Peace, and that to his Knowledge, if it were not for the Hinderances which *Calvin* had laid in the way, moſt on this ſide the *Alpes* would come over to us; by which what he aim'd at was eaſily diſcover'd. When the King was come home, Mr. *Baxter*

His Preaching there upon publick Occaſions, &c.

Baxter Preach'd once before him as his Chaplain and often waited upon him with the reſt of the Miniſters, as has been before Related; uſing his utmoſt endeavours to keep things from coming to extremity; in which tho' he Succeeded not to his Deſire, he yet had the Satisfaction of the diſintereſted Sincerity of his Aims and Intentions.

§. *His ejection at* Kederminſter, *and endeavour to have continu'd there.*

§. King *Charles* had not been long in *England*, before the Old Sequeſtred Vicar of *Kederminſter*, (who was yet living) was reſtor'd to his Parſonage. He had before remain'd unmoleſted. And tho' the Parliament had made an Order that no Sequeſtred Miniſter ſhould have his fifth part, unleſs he remov'd out of the Pariſh where he had been Miniſter, yet did Mr. *Baxter* never remove him out of the Vicaridge Houſe, no nor once came within the Doors of it; ſo far was he from ſeizing it as his own, or removing him out of the Town. But he liv'd in Peace and Quietneſs, and without Scandal and Offenſiveneſs. He never diſcover'd any uneaſineſs till the times chang'd, & then was as Aſſuming, as before he was Submiſſive. The Sequeſtration continu'd in the hands of the Towns-Men. They gather'd the Tythes and Profits, and thus diſpos'd of them. Mr. *Baxter* had *90l. per Annum*. The Old Vicar 40. *6l.* Yearly went to the Lord for Rents: There were alſo ſome other Charges; and the over-plus was given to Mr. *Baxter's* Aſſiſtant. When the Vicar was reſtor'd, Mr. *Baxter* would gladly have been his Curate; for he was ſo ſenſible of his own inſufficency that he always kept one; but even this could not be granted. Being often with my Lord Chancellor after the King's return, he when he refus'd the offers of a Biſhoprick, begg'd his Lordſhips Favour about a Settlement at *Kederminſter*. Sir *Ralph* Clarke was the great Obſtacle; who once freely told him that if he would Conform, no Man in *England* was ſo fit to be there as he; but if he would not, no Man ſo unfit. Once meeting Sir *Ralph* in Biſhop *Morley's* Chamber, he deſir'd to know if he had any thing againſt him, that ſhould make him ſo much oppoſite to him. His anſwer was, that it was becauſe he would not give the Sacrament to any Kneeling; and that of 1800 Communicants, he had not above 600 for him

and the reſt were for the Vicar. Mr. *Baxter* reply'd that he himſelf knew that he invited him to the Sacrament, and offered it him Kneeling, and that under his hand in Writing: and that openly in his hearing in the Pulpit, he had promis'd him and all the reſt, that he never had nor would put any Man from the Sacrament on the Account of Kneeling, but leave every one to the Poſture they ſhould chooſe. And that the Reaſon why he never gave it to any Kneeling was, becauſe all that came would Sit or Stand, and thoſe who were for Kneeling would not come, unleſs he would Adminiſter it to them on a day by themſelves, when the reſt were not preſent: and he had no mind to be the Author of ſuch a Diviſion, and make as it were two Churches of one. And that the Conſciouſneſs of Notorious Scandal which they knew they muſt be accountable for, made many Kneelers ſtay away. And as to the ſecond Charge, he begg'd leave of the Biſhop to ſend by the next Poſt, to know the minds of the People; for that if he found what was alledg'd was true, he ſhould take it a Favour to be kept from them. This being underſtood by the People of *Kederminſter*, they in a days time gather'd the hands of 1600 of the 1800 Communicants, and the reſt were ſuch as were from Home. This Subſcription he a few days after ſhow'd Sir *Ralph* before the Biſhop, and they were both of them thereupon ſo much the more againſt his Return to them. However, my Lord Chauncellor wrote to Sir *Ralph* about the matter, and told him that it would be a thing grateful both to his Majeſty and himſelf, for Mr. *Baxter* to be reſettled among that People according to his Deſire, and offer'd that whatever Annual Allowance ſhould be agreed upon for Mr. *Dance* the Old Vicar, ſhould be paid by his own Steward by Quarterly Payments, till he was otherwiſe provided for to his Satisfaction. But it was a meer Compliment, and had no Effect. Not long after he went himſelf into *Worceſterſhire*, to try whether it were poſſible to get any honeſt Terms from the Vicar, that he might Preach to his former Flock. But when he had Preach'd twice or thrice, he deny'd him Liberty to Preach any more. He offer'd

fer'd him to take the Lecture only which he wa
bound to allow him under a Bond of 500*l.* but h
refus'd it. He offer'd to be his Curate, which also wa
refus'd. He offer'd to Preach for nothing, but coul
not be accepted. At length he only begg'd leave onc
to Administer the Sacrament to the People, and Preac
his Farewel Sermon to them, but could not obtain
The Vicar acted herein according to the Direction
his Superiours. Going afterwards to the Bishop,
altogether deny'd him the Liberty of Preaching
his Dioceſs. He offer'd him to Preach only on th
Creed, the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Command
ments; and only to ſuch as had no Preaching; bu
could not have Liberty. The Biſhop told him th
he would take care the People ſhould be no Looſe
but ſhould be taught as well as they were by him
And for a while he procur'd the moſt acceptable Pe
ſons he could get to keep up the Lecture, till the ſma
neſs of the Audiory furniſh'd him with an Excuſe f
putting it down. One day Biſhop *Morley* took th
pains to Preach to them himſelf; and vehement
invey'd againſt the People as Presbyterians, and
gainſt Mr. *Baxter* their Miniſter, but with little A
ceptation or Succeſs. A while after the Dean, D
Warmeſtry did the like, and ſpent three Hours up
the People to cure them of their Admiration of M
Baxter, and within a Month, he repeated his L
vective, taking a great deal of pains to perſwade the
that they were Presbyterians and Schiſmatical, a
led to it by overvaluing Mr. *Baxter*. Their Lectur
ran much in the ſame Strain generally, which i
ſtead of winning upon the People drove them fro
the Lecture, and then they accus'd them as deſerti
it; and ſo put it down. For their Stated Preach
the Biſhop ſet up one of the beſt parts he could g
but he was quickly weary, and went away; then
put in one that had been a Schoolmaſter in the Neig
bourhood, who died in a little time. Then he p
in a Young Man, who ſought to win upon the Peo
by kind and gentle Uſage, and applauding Mr. *Bax*
The People were glad of one that had ſome Chari
And yet were not either by roughneſs or gentlen
to be won upon to the Love of Prelacy.

Wh

When he parted from his Dear Flock, which was ot without mutual Grief and Tears, he left Mr. *ddwin* to live privately among them, and over-ſee em in his Stead, and viſit them from Houſe to ouſe; adviſing them notwithſtanding all the in- ries they had receiv'd, and all the failings of the iniſters that Preach'd to them, and the Defects of Eſtabliſh'd way of Worſhip, that yet they ſhould ep to the Publick Aſſemblies, and make uſe of ſuch lps as they might have there, together with what lp they had in Private: And only in three Caſes to bſent themſelves. When the Miniſter was one that as utterly inſufficient, as not being able to teach em the Articles of the Faith, and Eſſentials of true ligion (ſuch as Alas they had known to their Sor- w) or when the Miniſter Preach'd any Hereſy, or octrine which was contrary to any Article of the ith, or Neceſſary part of Godlineſs: Or when in e Application he ſet himſelf againſt the ends of his ffice, to make a Holy Life ſeem Odious, and to keep len from it, and to promote the Intereſt of Satan. et not to take every bitter Reflection upon them- lves or others, occaſion'd by Difference of Opinion Intereſt to be a ſufficient Cauſe to ſay that the iniſter Preach'd againſt Godlineſs or to withdraw emſelves. He therefore remov'd his Dwelling om among them, becauſe they themſelves appre- nded that his ſtay with them, would have been uch to their Damage, thro' the bitterneſs of his dverſaries. And when he was gone from them, he d not ſo much as write a Letter to them, except nce a Year, leaſt it ſhould be the Occaſion of their ffering. For had they but receiv'd a Letter from m, any diſpleaſing thing they did, would have en imputed to that. For Inſtance, when the Act me out requiring all that had any place of Truſt in tys, Corporations or Countrys, ſhould be put out, leſs they declar'd that they held, *that there is no bligation lying upon them, or any other Perſon, from e Oath call'd the Solemn League and Covenant*, the iliff and Juſtice, and thirteen Capital Burgeſſes *Kederminſter*, except one that had been an Officer the King's Army, and moſt of the Twenty five Infe-

Advice to his people, when he left them; and carriage towards them afterwards.

Inferiour Burgreſſes alſo were turn'd out, tho' very few of them had taken the *Covenant* themſelves. It was charg'd upon them, that Mr. *Baxter* had perſwaded them to refuſe this Declaration, till it was manifeſt that he had never ſpoke a Word to them about it, nor then written a Line to them of a long time. But ſuch things as theſe were what poor Mr. *Baxter* was us'd to. Nothing more common than for him to have Scandalous Reports ſpread abroad concerning him. Of which this Inſtance among others was remarkable; that juſt at the time that the Biſhop was ſilencing him, 'twas reported at *London* that he was in the North in the Head of a Rebellion! and at *Kederminſter* he was accus'd because there was a Meeting of ſeveral Miniſters at his Houſe, which had been Cuſtomary for ſeveral Years. While they were at Dinner it fell out that by Publick Order the *Covenant* was to be burnt in the Market Place, and it was done under his Window. The Attendance was ſo ſmall that they knew not of it till afterwards. And yet becauſe he had Preach'd the Morning before (which was his laſt Sermon among them) upon Chriſt's Words upon the Croſs, *Father forgive them, for they know not what they do*: He was accus'd of it as an heinous Crime, as haveing Preach'd againſt the burning of the *Covenant*. Altho' he meddled not with it, nor indeed knew of it till afterwards.

How they were affected, after their Sufferings for Non-conformity.

When Mr. *Baxter* afterwards Publiſh'd his Book call'd the *Cure of Church Diviſions*, even his Old *Kidderminſter* Flock began to Cenſure him. For it having long been the Aim of thoſe who Preach'd among them to make them think him a Deceiver, they grew more and more alienated from the Prelates and their Adherents. Continuing to repeat Sermons together in their Houſes, many of them were laid long in Jail among Thieves and common Malefactors, which much encreas'd their Exaſperation. They continu'd their Meetings whilſt their Goods were ſeiz'd on, and they were Fin'd and Puniſh'd again and again. And they that fell out with the Biſhops for caſting out Mr. *Baxter*, and ſpeaking ill of him, were ſome of them very Angry with him, and forward to Cenſure him

im, for ſtrengthning the hands of Perſecutors as they all'd it, by perſwading them of the Lawfulneſs of communicating in their Pariſh Church, with a conformable Miniſter in the Liturgy. Notwithanding which he continu'd the ſame care of them before, and was as concern'd for their Welfare as er. At length their Old reading Vicar dy'd, about the day of the Date of the Act againſt Conventies. Sir *Ralph Clare* his chief Friend dy'd a little bere him. And now Mr. *Baxter* was in a Capacity helping them to a valuable uſeful Man, who ould have made it his buſineſs to promote ſerious eligion amongſt them. For the Old Patron Colonel *John Bridges*, had ſold the Patronage of the Living to Mr. *Thomas Foley*, with this Condition, that ſhould preſent Mr. *Baxter* next, if he were capable it; and if not, that he ſhould preſent no other but his Conſent. To which Mr. *Foley* readily agreed. So at he had now a fair Opportunity of helping them a Man to their Hearts Deſire, which was his real tention and Endeavour. Many tho't he would now ve Conform'd himſelf; there being a Vacancy in at Place, where he had offer'd to Preach as a Curate, hen he refus'd a Biſhoprick: Many of the Biſhops liev'd he would now have come into the Church: rticularly Arch-Biſhop *Stern* of *York*, ſpake thus to Miniſter: Take it on my Word, Mr. *Baxter* doth nform, and is gone to his Beloved *Kedderminſter*: t he had no ſuch tho'ts, and aim'd only at helping o that Place, one who might be ſincerely bent upon promoting the Good of Souls; which he found a tter of greater Difficulty than he could before-hand ve apprehended it. For the Religious-People (who re the main Body of the Town and Pariſh,) refus'd have any hand in bringing in Another Miniſter in the Church, leaſt they ſhould ſeem to Conſent to Conformity, or be oblig'd to own him in his Office. ey were not by all the Means that could be us'd h them, prevail'd upon at all to concur in the tter. Whereupon Mr, *Baxter* alſo refus'd to meddle in the choice: The rather becauſe if he had, ſome his Enemies would in all probability have been ward eno' to ſay, that he contracted for ſome Reſerve

ſerve to himſelf. And withal, he knew that Mr. *Foley* the Patron (who was a Sincere, Religious Man) would make the beſt choice for them he could. This Mr. *Thomas Foley*, was indeed a great Bleſſing to that Town and Countrey. He was rais'd from very ſmall Matters, to an Eſtate of above 5000 *l. per Annum* by Iron-Works: And that with ſo juſt and blameleſs Dealing, that all Men he had to do with, magnify'd his great Integrity. Having the Patronage of ſeveral Livings belonging to the Lands he purchas'd, he made it his Buſineſs, to fill them as they became Vacant with Worthy, Uſeful Miniſters. And in thankfulneſs to God for his Mercies to him, he built a well Founded Hoſpital near *Stourbridge*, to teach poor Children to Read and Write, and then ſet them Apprentices: And Endow'd it with about 500 *l. per Annum*. How happy would this Land be were ſo Good and Pious Uſe of great Proſperity, a Common Thing! This worthy Gentleman was many ways exceeding helpful to the Town of *Kedderminſter*: And particularly upon the Vacancy fore-mention'd, he put in a valuable Man to be their Miniſter; of whom they themſelves gave this Account, that he was an honeſt Man, and a good Preacher, declaring they had rather have him than another. When he was fixt among them, Mr. *Baxter* wrote a Letter to them to join with him in Prayers and Sacrament. But the Sufferings had ſo far alienated them from the Church Party, that they would not yield that this Letter ſhould be ſo much as read among them.

Mr. Baxter's Publicks Labours in the City, till he was Silenc'd.

As for Mr. *Baxter*, when he had Preach'd up and down in *London* in ſeveral Places occaſionally for about a Year, he at length fix'd with Dr. *Bates* at St. *Dunſtan's* in the *Weſt* in *Fleet-ſtreet*; and Preach'd once a Week, as Lecturer, having an Allowance from the Pariſh for his Pains. Seeing which way Things were going, he for his better Security, applyd himſelf to Biſhop *Sheldon*, for his Licenſe to Preach in his Dioceſs. Some were offended at his taking this Step; but he went to him as the King's Officer. The Biſhop receiv'd him with abundance of Reſpect: But offer'd him the Book to ſubſcribe

He pleaded the Kings Declaration, as exempting from a Neceſſity of ſubſcribing. The Biſhop bid him therefore write what he would. Whereupon he ſubſcrib'd a Promiſe in *Latin*, not to Preach againſt the Doctrine of the Church, or the Ceremonies, in his Dioceſs, as long as he us'd his Licenſe. Upon which, he freely gave him his Licenſe, and would let his Secretary take no Money of him. And yet he could ſcarce Preach a Sermon, but he was inform'd from ſome Quarter or other, that he Preach'd Sedition, and reflected on the Government: When he had neither a Tho't nor Word of any ſuch Tendency. But he had a Crowded Congregation, and that was one Thing that ſtirr'd up Envy. And one day the Crowd drave him from his Place of Preaching. For it fell out, that in the midſt of a Sermon of his, at St. *Dunſtan*'s, a little Lime and Duſt (and perhaps a piece of Brick or Two) fell down in the Steeple or Belfry near the Boys, which put the whole Congregation into a ſudden Melancholy: It was tho't the Steeple and Church were falling, which put them all into ſo confuſed a haſte to get away, that indeed the Noiſe of the Feet in the Galleries, ſounded like the fall of the Stones; ſo that the People Crowded out of Doors tumultuouſly. The Women left ſome of them a Scarf, and ſome a Shooe behind them; and ſome in the Galleries caſt themſelves down upon thoſe below, becauſe they could not get down the Stairs. He ſtood ſtill in the Pulpit all the while, ſmiling and pittying their vain Diſtemper, and as ſoon as he could be heard, he intreated their Silence, and went on *. The People were not ſooner quieted and got in again, and the Auditory compos'd, than ſome that ſtood upon a Wainſcot Bench near the Communion Table, brake the Bench with their Weight, ſo that the Noiſe renew'd the Fear again, and they were worſe

* *Dr.* Bates *in his Funeral Sermon for Mr.* Baxter, *repreſents it as a ſignal Inſtance of his firm Faith in the Divine Providence and his Fortitude* (as indeed it was) *that after the hurry upon this Occaſion was over, he reaſſum'd his Diſcourſe, with this remarkable Paſſage, to compoſe the Minds of the People*: We are in the Service of God, to prepare our ſelves, that we may be fearleſs at the great Noiſe of the diſſolving World, when the Heavens ſhall paſs away, and the Elements melt in fervent Heat; the Earth alſo and the Works therein ſhall be burnt up, &c.

worſe diſorder'd than before. So that one Old Wo
man was heard at the Church Door asking Forgive
neſs of God, for not taking the firſt Warning; an
promiſing if God would deliver her this once, ſh
would take heed of coming thither again. Wh
they were again quieted, he went on. But t
Church being Old and Dangerous, the Church
Wardens determin'd to repair it; and ſo he w
forc'd to Preach out his Quarter at St. *Brides* Churc
where the Common Prayer was us'd by the Cur
before Sermon. On the Week Days Mr. *Aſhbu*
with about Twenty more Citizens deſir'd him
Preach a Lecture in *Milk-Street*, for which they a
low'd him 40 *l. per Annum*, which he contin
near a Year. And at the ſame Time he Preach
once every Lord's Day, at *Black Fryars*, where
would take nothing for his Pains, for fear of re
dring the Pariſhioners leſs able or ready to help th
Worthy Miniſter Mr. *Gibbons*.

The Laſt Sermon he Preach'd in Publick was
Black Fryars, on *May* the 25th 1662. For which
was Accus'd, as telling the People, that the Go
was now departing from them. And he was told
the Lady *Balcarres*, that the Old Queen of *Boh*
was much offended, that he ſhould ſay the Go
was going away, becauſe ſome Miniſters were
lenc'd, and others put into their Places. Whe
there was not the leaſt Colour of ground for ſuch
Accuſation, from any Thing he ſaid. Thus he ce
from his Publick Miniſtry Three Months before *B*
tholomew Day, the Time when the reſt of his Breth
were Silenc'd; which was a Thing for which m
Cenſur'd him. But he forbore Preaching ſo ſo
partly becauſe the Lawyers did Interpret a doub
Clauſe in the Act of Uniformity, as putting an
to the Liberty of the Lecturers at that Time;
partly becauſe he would let all the Miniſters in
Nation underſtand in Time, what his Intent
were, leaſt any might be influenc'd to a Com
ance, upon a Suppoſition that he intended to C
form.

CH

CHAP. XII.

His own and his Brethrens Treatment after their Ejection, till the Indulgence in 167⅟₂. An. 1662.

§ *The Case of the Nonconformists after Bartholomew Day.*

THE Ejected Miniſters, continu'd for Ten Years in a State of Silence and Obſcurity. It was their great Aim and Endeavour to be found in the way of their Duty to God and the King; but they could not be ſuffer'd to Live in Peace. Such was the Policy of the Court, that they muſt either be cruſh'd by their fellow *Proteſtants*, to the ſtrengthning of the *Romiſh* Intereſt; or if favour'd with any Connivance, they muſt have the *Papiſts* Partners with them, that ſo the *Proteſtant* Intereſt might be that way weaken'd. This was a great hardſhip that attended their Circumſtances; but it was altogether their Unhappineſs, and very remote from being their Choice; and therefore no Matter of juſt Reflection. The Act of Uniformity as has been ſaid took Place, *Aug.* the 24th 1662. On the 26th of *December* following, the King publiſh'd a Declaration, expreſſing his Purpoſe to grant ſome *Indulgence* or *Liberty* in Religion, not excluding the *Papiſts*, *many of whom* (he ſaid) *had deſerv'd well of him.* Some of the *Nonconformiſts* were hereupon much encourag'd, and waiting privately on the King were fill'd with Hopes. They would have perſwaded their Brethren to have thank'd the King for his Declaration; but they refus'd, leaſt they ſhould make way for the Toleration of the *Papiſts*. The Declaration took not at all, either with Parliament * or People: And ſo the Poor *Nonconformiſts* were expos'd to great Severities. They who at the Kings coming in were ſo much careſs'd,

* *The Houſe of Commons on* Feb. 25. 166⅟₃. *Voted againſt any ſuch* Indulgence, *and purſuant to their Vote, waited on his Majeſty with their Humble Advice that no ſuch Indulgence might be granted: And in their Votes they gave their Reaſons; but they were ſuch as that very Parliament* (*as well as they who ſucceeded it*) *when they came to diſcern the growth of* Popery, *found to have little Strength or Subſtance in them, and therefore they afterwards ſaw good Reaſon to Vote the contrary.*

were now treated with the utmoſt Contempt. The Silenc'd Miniſters were not only forbidden to Preach in Publick, but were ſo carefully watch'd in Private, that they could not meet to Pray together but it was a Seditious Conventicle. Mr. *Baxter* and Dr. *Bates* were deſir'd to be at Mr. *Beales* in *Hatton Garden*, to Pray for his ſick Wife, who had a Feaver, and was at the laſt Extremity. Thro' ſome other neceſſary Occaſions they fail'd of being there, and if they had not, they had been apprehended. For Two Juſtices of the Peace, Living far diſtant from each other, the one at *Weſtminſter* and the other at *Clerkenwell*, came thither with a Serjeant at Arms to ſeize them. They ſearch'd the Houſe and even the Sick Gentlewomans Chamber, and were diſappointed. But tho' they eſcap'd, many Holy and Excellent Miniſters were quickly after laid in Goals in many Counties in the Land, for the heavy Crime of Preaching and Praying. As Mr. *Cole* of *Cheſter*, (the Sufferer for joining with Sir *George Booth*, to make way for the Kings Reſtauration) Mr. *Norman* of *Bridgewater*, Mr. *Allen* of *Taunton* and Mr. *Bampfield*, Mr. *Ince*, and Mr. *Sacheverel* and others in *Dorſetſhire*, &c.

An. 1663. In *June* 1663. The old Peaceable Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* Dr. *Juxon* Died, and Dr. *Sheldon* Biſhop of *London* ſucceeded him. And much about that Time there was a freſh Diſcourſe rais'd of Liberty deſign'd for the Silenc'd Miniſters. They were blam'd by many for not Petitioning the Parliament tho' they had Reaſon eno' againſt it. Many Members of Parliament encourag'd the Expectation of either an Indulgence, or a Comprehenſion. And it was thereupon warmly debated, which of the Two would be more deſireable. Some were for Petitioning for a General Indulgence, thus arguing with their Brethren: *You are Blind, if you ſee not that the Act of Uniformity was made ſo rigorous, and the weight of Conformity ſo much encreas'd, that ſo the Number of the Ejected Miniſters might be ſo great, as to force them to be glad of a General Toleration, which might take in the* Papiſts. *And if you think to ſtand it out they will yet bring you to it in deſpight of you.*

will encreaſe your Burdens, and Lay you in Priſons, till you An. 1663.
are glad to Peti ion for ſuch a Toleration. And ſtand it out as long as you can, you ſhall be forc'd to procure the Papiſts Liberty; and the Odium of it ſhall not lie on the Biſhops, but on you that are ſo much againſt it. The Biſhops ſhall ſpeak againſt it, and they will force you to beg for it, who are againſt it. And if you will not do it now, you do but ſtay till the Market riſe, and your Sufferings be made greater, and you ſhall be glad to do it at dearer Rates. To whom others Reply'd, that they would ſuffer any Thing rather than promote *Popery*.

Mr. *Baxter* was about this Time Conſulted by a Perſon of Honour concerning the Matter ſo much talk'd of: He preſs'd him to give him his Judgment, whether the way of *Indulgence* or *Comprehenſion* was more deſireable. He freely gave him his tho'ts to this Purpoſe: That he was not for *Comprehenſion* without *Indulgence*; nor for *Indulgence* without the Enlargement of the Act of Uniformity to a greater *Comprehenſion*; but for the Conjunction of both. He was not for *Comprehenſion* alone, becauſe when they had gone the fartheſt, many worthy Perſons, whoſe Gifts in the Church might be very uſeful, would be ſtill left out; and there would be much want when all were employ'd; and the loſs by their being utterly ſilenc'd would redound to the Souls of many. He was not for *Indulgence* alone, unleſs the Law were made more Comprehenſive; becauſe the Impoſitions and Reſtrictions of the Law were really unaccountable; becauſe nothing can be more deſireable than the Strength and Unity of the Eſtabliſh'd Body of the Clergy; and becauſe a bare *Indulgence* would be apt to Occaſion ſuch Jealouſies and Animoſities, as that it would not be long enjoy'd in Peace: And therefore he declar'd, he was for a *Comprehenſion* of as many fit Perſons as might be taken in by Law, and then a Power reſerv'd to his Majeſty, to indulge the Remnant as far as might be conducible to the Peace and Benefit of Church and State.

But inſtead of *Indulgence* or *Comprehenſion*, on the laſt Day of *June*, the Act againſt Private Meetings for Religious Exerciſes paſs'd the Houſe of Commons, and ſhortly after was made a Law. The

Of the Act againſt them, call'd the Conventicle-Act

An. 1663. Summ of it was, *That every Person above Sixteen Years who is present at any Meeting under Colour or Pretence of any Exercise of Religion, in other Manner than is allow'd by the Liturgy, or Practise of the Church of* England, *where there are Five Persons more than the Household, shall for the first Offence, by a Justice of Peace be Recorded, and sent to Goal Three Months, till he Pay* 5 l. *and for the second Offence Six Months till he Pay* 10 l. *and the third Time being Convicted by a Jury shall be Banish'd to some of the* American *Plantations excepting* New-England *or* Virginia. It was a great hardship that attended this Act, that so much Power was given by it to Justices of the Peace, to Record a Man an Offendor without a Jury: And if they did it causlesly there was no Remedy, seeing every Justice was made a Judge. Before the Danger and Sufferings lay on the Ministers only, but now the People also were sorely try'd.

After this the *Nonconformists* were not a little divided among themselves, as to the Lawfulness and Expediency of Worshipping God in the Publick Churches, over and above their Private Meetings still kept up with great Secresie. Mr. *Baxter*, and Dr. *Bates*, and several others with them, were for frequenting the Publick Churches, when better help were not to be had: And for resorting to them now and then, tho' they had their Choice, to show their Charity. They were for having their most usual Communion with those Assemblies, which they tho' were manag'd most agreeably to the Rule and End of Worship; and yet for having Occasional Communion with others, as Members of the Catholick Church, to show their Catholick Communion with all the Body of Christ. But others were vehement for an entire Separation.

At length Mr. *Baxter* finding his Publick Service at an end, retires into the Country to *Acton* in *Middlesex*, that he might have the more Leisure for Writing. He fix'd there in the Month of *July* where he follow'd his Studies privately in quietness and went every Lords Day to the Publick Assembly when there was any Preaching or Catechizing; and spent the rest of the Day with his Family, and a few poor Neighbours that came in.

In the time of the Plague, *Anno* 1665. He went to Mr. *Hampdens* in *Buckinghamſhire*; and there was mourning for that deſolating Stroke, which carry'd off about an Hundred Thouſand Perſons in the City of *London*, beſides a Proportionable Number in other parts of the Land. *The Plague in* 1665.

The Silenc'd Miniſters had till this time Preach'd very privately, and but to a few, (not ſo much thro' their timerouſneſs, as in hope that their forbearance might at length procure them ſome Liberty.) But when the Plague grew Hot, and the Miniſters in the City Churches fled, and left their Flocks in the time of their Extremity, ſeveral of the Nonconformiſts pitying the dying and diſtreſſed People, that had none to call the Impenitent to Repentance, nor to help them to prepare for another World; nor to comfort them in their Terrours; when about Ten Thouſand dy'd in a Week; were convinc'd that no Obedience to the Laws of any Mortal Man whoſoever, could juſtifie their neglecting Mens Souls and Bodies in ſuch Extremities, any more than they can juſtifie Parents for famiſhing their Children to Death. And thereupon they reſolv'd to ſtay with the People, enter the forſaken Pulpits, tho' Prohibited, and give them what Aſſiſtance they could under ſuch an awakening Providence, and alſo viſit the Sick, and get what relief they could for the Poor, eſpecially ſuch as were ſhut up. The Perſons that ſet upon this Work, were Mr. *Thomas Vincent*, Mr. *Cheſter*, Mr. *Janeway*, Mr. *Turner*, Mr. *Grimes*, Mr. *Franklyn*, and ſome others. Thoſe often heard them one day, who were ſick the next, and quickly dy'd. The Face of Death did ſo awaken Preachers and Hearers, that the former exceeded themſelves in lively fervent Preaching; and the latter heard with a peculiar Ardour and Attention. And thro' the Bleſſing of God, many were converted from their Careleſſneſs, Impenitence, and youthful Luſts and Vanitys; and Religion took that hold on the Peoples Hearts, as could never afterward be looſed.

Of the Oxford Act. An. 1665. And whilst God was consuming the People by this Judgment, and the Nonconformists were Labouring to save Mens Souls, the Parliament which sate at *Oxford*, was busie in making an Act of Confinement, to make the Case of the Silenc'd Ministers, incomparably harder than it was before, by putting upon them a certain Oath, which if they refus'd, they must not come, (unless upon the Road) within five Miles of any City or Corporation, any place that sent Burgesses to Parliament, any place where they had been Ministers, or had Preach'd after the Act of Oblivion. The main Promoters of this Act among the Clergy, were Arch-Bishop *Sheldon*, and Bishop *Ward* of *Salisbury*: And tho' the Earl of *Southampton* Lord Treasurer (who was one that had ever adher'd to the King, but understood the Interest of his Country and of Humanity) vehemently oppos'd it, yet the Lord Chancellor and his Party carry'd it. When this Act came out, those Ministers that had any Maintenance of their own, found out some dwellings in obscure Villages, or in some few Market Towns that were not Corporations: And some that had nothing, left their Wives and Children, and hid themselves abroad, and sometimes came secretly to them by night. But the most, resolv'd hereupon to Preach the more freely in Cities and Corporations till they went to Prison. Partly because they were then in their way of their Calling, in which they could suffer with the greater Peace; and partly because they might do some good before they suffer'd; and partly because the People much desir'd it, and also were readier to relieve such as Labour'd among them, than such as did nothing but hide themselves; and partly, because when they lay in Prison for Preaching the Gospel, both they and their Wives and Children, were like to find more Pity and Relief, than if they should forsake their People, and their Work. Seeing therefore the Question came to this, whether Beggary, and Famine to themselves and Familys, with the deserting of their Calling, and the People Souls, was to be chosen, or the faithful Performance of their Work, with a Prison after, and the Peoples Compassion? They tho't the latter far the more Eligible. And yet

when

when they had so chosen, their Straits were great. For the Country was so Impoverish'd, that those who were willing to relieve of them, had generally no great Ability. And yet God did mercifully provide some Supplies for them; so that none of them perish'd for want, or were Expos'd to sordid Beggary: But some few were Tempted against their former Judgments to Conform; the Oath impos'd upon them was this. I A. B. *do swear, that it is not Lawful, upon any Pretence what soever, to take Arms against the King: And that I do abhorr the Traiterous Position of taking Arms by his Authority against his Person, or against those that are Commissionated by him, in pursuance of such Commission: And that I will not at any time endeavour any Alteration of the Government, either in Church or State.* This Oath, furnish'd with matter of endless Debates. But the Nonconformists being in the Act which impos'd it, charg'd with Seditious Doctrines and Heinous Crimes, many were much concern'd. And hereupon they endeavour'd to find out a Sense in which the Oath might be taken safely, to prevent their Passing under that Brand to Posterity. Dr. *Bates* consulted the Lord Keeper *Bridgeman* who profess'd a great Respect for him, about his taking it, in a sound Sense. He to satisfie him, promis'd to be at the next Sessions, and there on the Bench to declare openly, that by *Endeavour* in the Oath to change Church Government, was meant *only Unlawful Endeavour*. Upon which Declaration, he and Sundry other Nonconformists, to the number of Twenty, took it at the Sessions, to avoid the Imputation of Seditious Doctrine.

After the ceasing of the Plague, Mr. *Baxter* return'd to *Acton* on *March*, 1, $\frac{66}{67}$, and found the Churchyard like a Plow'd Field with Graves, and many of his Neighbours Dead, but his own House uninfected, and his Family that he left there safe. The number of Ministers that were Imprison'd, fin'd, or otherwise Afflicted for Preaching Christ's Gospel, all this time was very great.

An. 1666. *The Fire of* London.

September 2. 1666, began that dreadful Fire, whereby the best and one of the faireſt Citys in the World, was turn'd into Ashes and Ruins in three days Space. The Season had been exceeding dry before, and the Wind

An. 1666. Wind in the East, where the Fire began. The People having none to conduct them aright, could do nothing to resist it, but stood and saw their Houses burnt without Remedy, the Engines being presently out of order and useless. The Streets were crowded with People and Carts, to carry away what Goods they could get, and they that were most Active, and befriended got Carts, and sav'd much: While the rest lost almost all they had. The loss in Houses and Goods could scarce be valu'd. Among the rest, the loss of Books was a very great detriment to the Interest of Piety and Learning. Most of the Booksellers in St. *Pauls* Church-Yard, carried their Books into the Vaults under that Cathedral, where it was tho't almost impossible for the Fire to come. But the Church taking Fire, the weighty Stones falling down broke into the Vaults, and let in the Fire, and there was no coming near to save the Books. The Library also of *Sion Colledge* was burnt, and most of the Librarys of the Ministers, both Conformists and Nonconformists. At last some Sea-men taught them to blow up somes of the next Houses with Gun-Powder, which stopt the Fire, and in some places it stopt as wonderfully as it had proceeded, without any known Cause. It stopt at *Holborn Bridge*, and near St. *Dunstans* Church in *Fleet-Street*, and at *Sepulchre's* Church when the Church was burnt, and at *Christ-Church* when the Church was burnt, and near *Alderſgate* and *Cripplegate*, and other places at the *Wall*; and in *Auſtin-Fryars*, the Dutch Church stopt it and escap'd: it stopt in *Biſhopſgate-Street*, and *Leadenhal-Street*, and *Fenchurch-Street*, in the midst of the Streets, and short of the Tower: And all *Southwark* escap'd. This was a sight that might have given any Man a lively Sense of the Vanity of this World, and all the Wealth and Glory of it, and of the future Conflagration of the World. To see the Flames mount up towards Heaven, and proceed so furiously without restraint: To see the Streets fill'd with People astonish'd, that had scarce sense left them to Lament their own Calamity. To see the Fields fill'd with heaps of Goods, and Sumptuous Buildings, Curious Rooms, Costly Furniture and Houshold-stuff, yea Ware-houses and Furnish'

Furnish'd Shops and Librarys, *&c.* all on a Flame, while none durst come near to recieve any thing. To see the the King and Nobles ride about the Streets, beholding all these Desolations, while none could afford the least relief. To see the Air as far as could be beheld, so fill'd with Smoak that the Sun Shin'd thro' it with a colour like Blood, *&c.* But the dolefullest sight of all was afterwards, to see what a ruinous confus'd place the City was, by Chimneys and Steeples only standing in the midst of Cellars and heaps of Rubbish; so that it was hard to know where the Streets had been, and dangerous of a long time to pass thro' the Ruins, because of Vaults and Fire in them. An. 1667.

This unhappy Fire, made the Way of the *Nonconformists* yet the plainer to them. For the Churches being Burnt, and the Parish Ministers gone, for want of Places and Maintenance, the Peoples Necessity became unquestionable, for they had no Places now to Worship God in, saving a few Churches that were left standing, which would not hold any considerable Part of them. Whereupon the *Nonconformists* open'd Publick Meeting Houses, and were very full. And as Circumstances then stood, to have forbid the People to hear them, had been in Effect to forbid them all Publick Worship of God, and require them to live like Atheists. *The Publick Meetings of the* Nonconformists.

In the Year 1667. the Lord Chancellour *Hide* was Impeach'd and Discarded: And it seem'd a remarkable Providence of God, that he who had been the Grand Instrument of State in the foregoing Transactions, and had dealt so severely with the *Nonconformists*, should at length by his own Friends be Cast out and Banish'd, while those whom he had Persecuted were the most Moderate in his Cause, and many for him. The Duke of *Buckingham* succeeded him as Chief Favourite. He was a Man for Liberty *. Under him, the *Nonconformists* in *London* were conniv'd at, and People went o-

* The King in a Speech to both Houses of Parliament, on *Feb:* 10. this Year, thus expres'd himself. *One thing more I hold my self oblig'd to recommend unto you at this present, which is, That you would seriously think of some Course to beget a better Union and Composure, in the Minds of my* Protestant *Subjects in matters of Religion, whereby they may be induc'd not only to submit quietly to the Government, but also chearfully give their Assistance to the Support of it.*

per-

An. 1668. penly to their Meetings without Fear. This encourag'd the Countrey Ministers, who did the like in most parts of *England*, and Crowds of the most Religiously enclin'd People were their Auditors.

A Treaty with the Lord Keeper Bridgeman, *for a Comprehension.*

In *January* 1668, Mr. *Baxter* received a Letter from Dr. *Manton*, intimating that he was told by Sir *John Barber*, that the Lord Keeper *Bridgeman* desir'd to Confer with them Two, about a *Comprehension* and *Toleration*. Hereupon he came to *London*, and they Two waited on the Lord Keeper; who told them that he had sent for them, to think of a way of their Restauration: To which end he had some Proposals to offer to them, which were for a *Comprehension* for the *Presbyterians*, and an *Indulgence* for the *Independants*, and the rest. They ask'd him, whether it was his Pleasure, that they should offer him their Opinion of the Means, or only receive what he offer'd to them. He Reply'd, that he had something to offer, but they might also make their own Proposals. Mr. *Baxter* told him, he tho't they might be able to offer him such Terms (without injuring any one) as might take in both *Presbyterians* and *Independents*, and all sound Christians into the Publick Establish'd Ministry. He Answer'd, that that was a Thing that he would not have, and so it was Agreed to go first upon the *Comprehension*. A few Days after he sent his Proposals. After this they met with Dr. *Wilkins*, and Mr. *Burton*, to Confer about the Matter. The Thing they most differ'd about, was *Reordination*. At length by Conference with Sir *Matt. Hale*, That Point was thus adjusted; That there should be an Admission into the Ministry of the Church of *England*, of those who had been Ordain'd before, according to this Form of Words; *Take thou Legal Authority to Preach the Word of God, and Administer the Holy Sacraments in any Congregation of* England, *where thou shalt be lawfully Appointed thereunto*. It was Agreed the Ceremonies should be left indifferent; and the Liturgy alter'd: And that there should be an Indulgence of such as could not be Comprehended; the Names of the Teachers, and all the Members of their respective Congregations being Registred: And a Bill was accordingly drawn up by

by Judge *Hale*, to be preſented to the Parliament. An. 1662.
But they no ſooner ſate, than the High Church Party made ſuch an Intereſt, as that upon putting it to the Vote, it was carry'd that no Man ſhould bring an Act of this Nature into the Houſe; and ſo they prevented all Talk or Motion of ſuch a Thing. And the Lord Keeper who ſet it on Foot, grew as indifferent about it as any one, when he ſaw which way the Stream was ſtrongeſt.

In *September* this Year Sir *John Barber* inform'd Dr. *Manton*, that the King was inclin'd to favour the *Nonconformiſts*, and that an Addreſs now would be accepted: And that it muſt be a thankful Acknowledgement of the Clemency of his Majeſty's Government, and the Liberty enjoy'd under it, *&c.* Such an Addreſs was agreed on, and preſented by Dr. *Manton*, Dr. *Bates*, Dr. *Jacomb*, and Mr. *Ennis*. The King met them in my Lord *Arlington*'s Lodgings, receiv'd them graciouſly, and promis'd to do his utmoſt to get them comprehended within the Publick Eſtabliſhment. But after all, the Talk of Liberty, did but Occaſion the Writing many bitter Pamphlets againſt Toleration. * And among other Things this Year Publiſh'd, there came out a Book call'd, *A Friendly Debate between a* Conformiſt *and* Nonconformiſt †. The Author of it, having met

* *This Year Articles were ſent down into the Countrey to the Clergy, with Private Orders to ſome, to make the Conventiclers as few and inconſiderable as might be, the Eighth and Laſt Article was thus worded; Whether do you think, they might be eaſily ſuppreſs'd with the Aſſiſtance of the Civil Magiſtrate?* Conf. Plea for the Nonconf. *Part* 1. *page* 40.

† *Sir* Matthew Hale *in his Judgment concerning the Nature of True Religion, &c. Part* 3. *Having a Particular Eye to this Book, thus expreſſes himſelf, I do remember when* Ben. Johnſon *made his Play of the* Alchymiſt, *wherein he brings in* Anartus *in Deriſion of the Perſons then call'd* Puritans, *with many of their Phraſes in uſe among them, taken out of the Scriptures, with a Deſign to render that ſort of Perſons ridiculous, and to gain Applauſe to his Wit and Fancy, tho' the Perſons reflected on were not in very good Eſteem among the great Ones and Gallants, yet his Play was diſlik'd, and indeed abhorr'd, becauſe it ſeem'd to reproach Religion it ſelf, tho' intended only to render the* Puritans *ridiculous. That which was unſeemly in a Poet, who made it his Buſineſs to make Plays, was certainly more Fulſome and Unſavoury, in one who was oblig'd by his Profeſſion,* Proſpicere honori Religionis Chriſtianæ, *and not to render it ridiculous and contemptible, by raillery, and ſcurrilous reflecting.*

with

An. 1670. with weak Paſſages of ſome Diſſenting Miniſters, ſcrapes them together, for matter of Reproach: And having heard ſome crude and unmeet Expreſſions dropp'd by Private Perſons, he brings them forth in a way of Dialogue, in which he makes the *Nonconformiſt* ſpeak as fooliſhly as he could deſire, and only ſuch ſilly Things as he knew he could eaſily ſhame. And thence he argues againſt *Nonconformity*, which is juſt as if a Man ſhould go to prove the Religion of Chriſtians or *Proteſtants* fooliſh, becauſe there are weak Perſons to be found amongſt them. This Book was too much ſuited to the Humours of thoſe who not only hated the *Nonconformiſts*, but were deſpiſers and deriders of ſerious Godlineſs; who were thereby confirm'd in their Contempt and Scorn of Religion in General. This Year, *viz.* 1669, Sir *William Turner* was Lord Mayor of *London*, who never diſturb'd the Nonconforming Miniſters, or troubled Men for Religion: And their Liberty in *London*, did hearten and encourage ſo many Preachers thro' the Land, that in all Probabilty many Souls were the better for it.

The next Year came out a far more virulent Book, call'd *Eccleſiaſtical Policy*, written by *Sam. Parker*, who was afterwards a Doctor and a Biſhop. A Man of extraordinary Parts, who was bred up among the more zealous Party of the Enemies of Prelacy, and ſeeing ſome Weakneſſes among them, and being one of an eager Spirit, was turn'd with the Times into the contrary Extream. He wrote the moſt ſcornfully and raſhly, the moſt prophanely and cruelly againſt the *Nonconformiſts*, of any Man that ever Aſſaulted them. In a fluent, fervent, and ingenious Style of natural Rhetorick, he pour'd out Floods of odious Reproaches. He was firſt anſwer'd by Dr. *Owen*, , and afterwards ſo handled by the ingenious Mr. *Andrew Marvel*, that he grew much Tamer.

Whilſt Mr. *Baxter* liv'd at *Acton*, as long as the Act againſt Conventicles was in Force, tho' he Preach'd in his Family, but few of the Town came to hear him: Partly, becauſe they tho't it would endanger him, and partly for fear of Suffering themſelves. But when the Act was expir'd, there came

ſo many, that he wanted Room. For there came almoſt all the Town and Pariſh, beſides a great many from *Brainford*, and the neighbouring Pariſhes. The Parſon of the Pariſh was Dr. *Rive*, Dean of *Windſor* and *Wolverhampton*, Parſon of *Haſelley* and of *Acton*, and the Kings Chaplain in Ordinary. His Curate was a weak, dull, young Man, that ſpent moſt of his Time in Ale-Houſes, and read a few dry Sentences to the People but once a Day: And yet becauſe he Preach'd ſound Doctrine, and there was no better at Hand, Mr. *Baxter* conſtantly heard him when he Preach'd. They who heard him before, uſually went with him to Church, there being ſcarce Three that refus'd: And when he Preach'd after the Publick Exerciſe, they went out of the Church into his Houſe. This the Parſon could not bear the ſight of: And he was the more Offended, becauſe he came not to the Sacrament with him, tho' he had ſometimes done it elſewhere. An. 1670.

At length the Parſon thus got an Advantage againſt him. One *Braſgirdle* an *Apothecary* at *Wolverhampton* where he was Dean, wrote him Word that Mr. *Reignolds* the Silenc'd Miniſter of that Place had in Converſation told him, that the *Nonconformiſts* were not ſo contemptible either for Number or Quality as they were repreſented; that moſt of the People were of their Mind; that *Cromwel* tho' an Uſurper had kept up *England* againſt the *Dutch*, &c. And that he marvelled at his Heat againſt Private Meetings, when at *Acton*, the Dean ſuffer'd them at the next Door. With this Intelligence the Dean haſtens to the King, as if he had ſome Treaſon to diſcover. The King upon his aggravating Matters, bid him go to the Biſhop of *London*, as from him, and conſult with him, about the Suppreſſion of Mr. *Baxter*'s Meeting. Two Juſtices were choſen for their Purpoſe; *Roſs*, and *Phillips*: The former a *Scot*, at *Brainford*, and the latter a Steward of the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*. They ſent a Warrant to the Conſtable to apprehend him, and bring him to *Brainford*. When he was bro't before them, and all Perſons but themſelves ſhut out of the Room; they told him, he was Convict of keeping *Conventicles* contrary to the Law; *Mr.* Baxter's *Impriſonment upon the* Oxford *Act.*

An. 1670. Law; and so they tender'd him the *Oxford Oath*. He told them, that he took not his Meeting to be contrary to Law; and that the *Oxford Oath* did not concern him; nor could he apprehend they were impower'd by the Act to put it upon him, but they declaring themselves satisfy'd of what they did, and pressing the Oath, he started some Difficulties about it, and desir'd their Explication, but in vain. At length they committed him to *New-Prison* Goal at *Clerkenwell* for Six Months, without Bail or Mainprize. And thus he left *Acton*, the Inhabitants whereof were greatly exasperated against their Parson, for this Fact of his: And really he could hardly have done any Thing more to hinder the Success of his seldom Preaching there. For nothing certainly can have a worse Aspect, in any one that bears the Character of an Ambassadour from the Prince of Peace, than his seeking to Molest and Disturb his Neighbours, whose desire it is to live in Peace and Quietness, without noise or stir.

In this his Imprisonment, Mr. *Baxter* was manifestly hardly dealt with, for the Act against *Conventicles* was expir'd some Time before. He was never Convict of a *Conventicle* while that Law was in force. The *Oxford Act* suppos'd Persons Convict of a *Conventicle*; and did not enable any to Convict him without another Law: And there was none but the Justices Man, who at all witness'd concerning his Preaching, but such Things were common in those Times. As he was going to Prison, he call'd on Serjeant *Fountain*, to consult with him; who perusing his *Mittimus*, advis'd him to seek for an *Habeas Corpus*. Many at Court mov'd for him: The Earl of *Orery*, Earl of *Manchester*, Lord *Arlington*, and Duke of *Buckingham*, intimated to the King that his Imprisonment was not for his Service. And Sir *John Barber* came to him in Prison, to let him know that the King in Discourse had signify'd to him, that he was not willing to be seen to relax the Law, but that he would not be offended if he sought his Remedy at Law. Accordingly he resolv'd upon doing so. His *Habeas Corpus* was demanded at the *Common Pleas*, and Granted. The Judges declar'd the *Mittimus* Invalid. Becau

He obtains a Habeas Corpus.

because the Witnesses were not Nam'd; which is a Matter of great Moment. For if Persons may be Imprison'd by Justices upon such an Act as the *Oxford Act*, and the Witnesses be unknown, any Innocent Person might be laid in Prison, and have no Remedy. Upon this he was Discharg'd. His Imprisonment was indeed no great Suffering to him: For he had an Honest Goaler, who shew'd him all the kindness he could, he had a large Room; and the Liberty of a fair Garden; and the sight of more Friends in a Day, than he had at home sometimes in half a Year: And when releas'd, he was very much at a Loss. For he was not acquitted as to the main Cause; the *Mittimus* might be easily amended, and he Confin'd again. He knew not how to bring the main Point to a Tryal, whether they had Power to impose upon him the *Oxford Oath*; and his Counsellours advis'd him to forbear, and not go to Question the Justices for false Imprisonment, least he were Born down by Power. It was Reported he was enrich'd by his Imprisonment; but without Ground. For all the Presents that he receiv'd, were these: 20 Broad Pieces from Sir *John Bernard:* 10 *l.* from the Countess of *Excester:* and 5 *l.* from Alderman *Beard*. More was offer'd him, but he refus'd it, for this defray'd his Law and Prison Charges. The same Justices as soon as they heard of his Release, made a New *Mittimus*, to send him to *Newgate*; but he kept out of their Reach. For his next remove was to *Totteridge* near *Barnet*, where he was forc'd to take up with a few mean Rooms for a Year. An. 1670.

He Attempts an Agreement with the Independents.

At this Time, he was projecting an Agreement with the *Independents*, for the strengthing of the Common Interest. Dr. *Owen* in his Catechism had made two considerable Concessions, *viz. That the People have not the Power of the Keys, and that they give not the Power of the Keys, or their Office-Power to the Pastors.* These Concessions he tho't very improveable, and therefore he propos'd to him, that they Two would see how far they could go towards an Accommodation, before the Matter was Communicated to others. The Method he offer'd was this: That they should first fix the Essentials of Religion and

An. 1670. Communion, which are the Terms that all Christians ought to agree in; and then endeavour to find out the Means of bringing both ſides to Conſent to Communion upon thoſe Terms. He tho't the moſt likely Method would be the drawing up a Writing, containing all the Points of Diſcipline, Great and Small, which the Two Parties were really Agreed in, which would make the few Things they differ'd in ſeem ſo Small, as not to be ſufficient to hinder Communion. He was for each of them to draw up a Draught, and then conſider the Matter together; but the Doctor highly approving the Motion, deſir'd him to undertake it. Whereupon he drew up a great many Theſes, as the Matter of their Common Concord. He complain'd they were too many, and might be Abridg'd. Whereupon he quickly carry'd him another Draught, of ſo many of thoſe Things which both *Presbyterians* and *Independents* are Agreed in, as are neceſſary to their Practical Concord and Communion, with Reſpect to the Things wherein they are, or ſeem diſagreed. The Doctors Objections were principally Four, that the Particulars inſiſted on were too many for the firſt Attempt: That the *Socinians* would Agree to make the Creed as Expounded in the firſt Four Councils the Teſt of Orthodoxy; that ſome Expreſſions ſuited to prevent Future Diviſions and Separations, would ſeem to reflect on former Actings: And that the inſiſting on the Power of the Magiſtrate, eſpecially as under Civil Coercion and Puniſhment, was not neceſſary in the firſt Attempt. Mr. *Baxter* endeavour'd to Anſwer his Objections, and deſir'd his Amendments; and ſome Letters paſt about it, but in Time it was dropt, and came to nothing.

New hardſhips put upon the poor Nonconformiſts.

In the Year, 1670. The Act againſt *Conventicles* was renew'd, and made more ſevere than ever. Several New Clauſes were put in: As *that the Fault of the* Mittimus *ſhould not diſable it; that all double Clauſes in the Act, ſhould be interpreted as would ſtrengthen the favour the Suppreſſion of* Conventicles; *and that upon that fled or remov'd their Dwelling into another County ſhould be purſu'd by Execution*, &c. Dr. *Manton*, tho' he had great Friends, and mighty Promiſes of

vour, was ſent Priſoner to the *Gate-Houſe*, for Preaching the Goſpel in his own Houſe, in the Pariſh where he had formerly been Miniſter; and for not taking the *Oxford Oath*, and yet coming within Five Miles of a Corporation. And he continu'd there Six Months: And all that Time the Meetings in *London* were diſturb'd by Bands of Soldiers, to the Terror of many, and the Death of ſome. * About this Time my Lord *Lauderdale* going into *Scotland*, ſignify'd to Mr. *Baxter* a Purpoſe there was of taking off the Oath of Canonical Obedience, and all Impoſitions of Conformity there, ſave only that it ſhould be neceſſary to ſit in Presbyteries and Synods with the Biſhops and Moderators: And told him he had the Kings Conſent to offer him what Place in *Scotland* he would chooſe; either a Church, or a Colledge in the Univerſity, or a Biſhoprick. From accepting which Motion he excus'd himſelf, from his Weakneſs, and Indiſpoſition, and the Circumſtances of his Family. After that the Earl of *Lauderdale* was in *Scotland*, Sir *Robert Murrey* a great Confident of his, ſent Mr. *Baxter* the Frame of a Body of Church Diſcipline for *Scotland*, and deſir'd his Animadverſions. The Scheme was handſomely contriv'd, and ſavour'd of much Moderation; but the Power of Synods was contriv'd to be in the King. Mr. *Baxter* made his Remarks as he was deſir'd. An. 1671.

* *Mr.* Andrew Marvel *mentions a Politick Engine, who about this Time was employ'd by ſome* Oxonians, *as a Miſſionary among the* Nonconformiſts *of the Adjacent Counties; and upon deſign, either gather'd a Congregation of his own, or Preach'd amongſt others, till having got all their Names, he threw off the Vizard, and appear'd in his Colours, an* Honeſt Informer. *Rehearſal Tranſpros'd*, page 54.

In the Year 1671. The Dioceſs of *Salisbury* was moſt fiercely driven on to Conformity, by Dr. *Seth Ward* their Biſhop. Many Hundreds did he proſecute with great Induſtry; and among the reſt, that learned, Humble, Holy Gentleman Mr. *Thomas Grove*, an Ancient Parliament Man, of as great Sincerity and Integrity as moſt in the Land. He ſtood out a while in a Law Suit, but was overthrown, and forc'd to forſake his Country, with Multitudes of others. During the Mayoralty of Sir *Samuel Sterling*, many Jury-men in *London* were Fin'd and Im-

An. 1671. priſon'd by the Judge, for not finding certain *Quakers* guilty of violating the Act againſt *Conventicles*. They Appeal'd and ſought Remedy. The Judges remain'd about a Year in Suſpence; and then by the Lord Chief Juſtice *Vaughan* deliver'd their Reſolution againſt the Judge, for the Subjects Freedom from ſuch ſort of Fines; he dilated upon it in a Speech of Two or Three Hours, which was receiv'd with great Joy and Applauſe by the People; and the Judges thereupon cry'd up as the Pillars of Law and Liberty.

The Parliament having made the Laws againſt *Nonconformiſts* Preaching, and Private Religious Meetings ſo ſevere as hath been repreſented, the King altho' he conſented to thoſe Laws, became the Patron of their Liberty. Not by any Legal Abatements, but by his Connivance as to the Execution; the Magiſtrates for the moſt Part doing what they perceiv'd to be his Will. The Miniſters were encourag'd by Sir *John Barber* and others, to make their Addreſſes to the King, to profeſs their Loyalty, and acknowledge his Clemency; and they did ſo. The King told them, that tho' ſuch Acts were made, he was againſt Perſecution, and hop'd e're long to ſtand on his own Legs, and then they ſhould ſee how much he was againſt it. By this Means they gain'd Peace and Quiet in their Meetings in the City: And in all Sir *Richard Fords* Mayoralty (tho' he was ſuppos'd one of their greateſt, and moſt knowing Adverſaries) they remain'd undiſturb'd.

About *January* this Year, the King ſhut up the *Exchequer*, which caus'd a general Murmur in the City. For many Merchants had put their Money into the Banker's Hands, and they had Lent it to the King, who gave Orders there ſhould be no further Payments, and ſo their Eſtates were ſurpriz'd. Among others Mr. *Baxter* had a 1000 *l.* there, which was the greateſt Part of what he had of his own that left. Having no Child, he devoted it to a charitable Uſe, intending to erect a Free-School, as ſoon as he could meet with a ſuitable Purchaſe, with a good Title. He had been Seven Years enquiring, and could not meet with a tolerable Bargain; and let the Mon-

Money lie there, till ſomething that was ſuitable offer'd, and lying there, it was loſt; which made him admoniſh all that afterwards came near him, if they would do any Good, to do it ſpeedily, and with all their might. Preſently after the *Dutch* War began, which made the Court think it neceſſary to grant an Indulgence to the *Diſſenters*, that ſo there might be Peace at home, while there was War abroad. And upon this Occaſion they had Liberty given them, tho' much to the Diſſatisfaction of thoſe, who had had a Hand in framing all the ſevere Laws againſt them. An. 1672.

CHAP. XIII.

An Account of their Caſe, from the Time of the Indulgence in 1672, *till the Death of King* Charles *the* II.

King Charles his Indulgence.

AFter that the *Nonconformiſts* had for ſeveral Years ſtruggled with the greateſt Difficulties, and convinc'd the World, that they were neither to be influenc'd by Severity to renounce their Principles, nor provok'd by the utmoſt hardſhips to any Sedition, which was an Advantage their Enemies waited for, and would have greatly rejoic'd in; at length they had a little Time allow'd them to take Breath, by the Kings *Indulgence*. The Declaration bore Date *March* 15. 167½, And to all that gave way to Reflection, was a ſufficient Expoſition of the Tranſactions of the Twelve Years paſt ſince his Reſtauration. His Majeſty *by Vertue of his Supream Power in Matters Eccleſiaſtical*, took upon him to *ſuſpend all Penal Laws about them*; declaring that he would *grant a convenient Number of Publick Meeting Places, to Men of all Sorts that did not Conform: Provided they took out Licenſes, ſet open the Doors to all Comers, and Preach'd not Seditiouſly, nor againſt the Diſcipline or Government of the Church of* England. *Saving that the* Papiſts *were to have no other Publick Places, but their Houſes, without*

An. 1672. *Limitation or Reſtriction, to any number of Places or Perſons, or any neceſſity of getting Approbation.* This was applauded by ſome among the *Nonconformiſts*; while others fear'd the Conſequences. For they well knew, that the *Toleration* was not chiefly for their Sakes, but for the *Papiſts*; and that they ſhould hold it no longer than their Intereſt would allow it them: And withal, they fear'd it would continue the Diviſions, which were much better heal'd by a *Comprehenſion*. However they concluded on a Cautious and Moderate Thankſgiving for the Kings Clemency and their own Liberty, and were introduc'd by my Lord *Arlington*. Mr. *Baxter* was not very forward to take the Advantage of this Indulgence: He was deſirous of Liberty in another Way, and was fearful what this Method would iſſue in. But at length, there being no Room to hope for any better Terms, when he ſaw the Miniſters of *London*, generally ſettled in their Meeting Houſes, he had a License alſo procur'd for him by Sir *Thomas Player*, with this Peculiarity, that it was without the Title of *Independent*, *Presbyterian*, or of any other Party, but only as a *Nonconformiſt*.

Mr. Baxter's Labours in the City, after the Indulgence

The Merchants at this Time ſetting up a Weekly Lecture on *Tueſday* Morning at *Pinners-Hall*, Mr. *Baxter* was one. But ſo ill a Spirit was now got among ſome of them, who but juſt before were in a Suffering Condition, that by that Time he had Preach'd Four Sermons there, the City was full of Rumours of his Preaching up *Arminianiſm*: And many were much offended at his Preaching for Union, and againſt Diviſion, or unneceſſary withdrawing from each other, and unwarrantable narrowing of the Church of Chriſt. This gave but a melancholy Proſpect; but did not however Diſcourage him from what he apprehended to be his Duty. On *Jan.* 24. 167½, He began a *Friday* Lecture at Mr. *Turner's* in *Fetter-Lane*, with great Convenience, and a conſiderable Bleſſing; but he never took any thing for his Pains. He refus'd any ſettled Place on the Lords Days, and Preach'd only occaſionally.

In *February* the Parliament met, and Voted down the Kings Declaration as Illegal *, and the King promis'd it ſhould not be bro't into Preſident. And thereupon they Conſulted of a Bill for the Eaſe of *Proteſtant Diſſenters*, and many Members profeſs'd their Reſolution to carry it on. † But when they had granted the Tax deſir'd, they turn'd it off, and left it undone: Taking away from the Poor *Diſſenters* the ſhelter of the Kings Declaration, and ſo leaving them to the Storm of the ſevere Laws that were in force againſt them, which by ſome Countrey Juſtices were rigorouſly put in Execution; tho' the moſt forbore. An. 1673.

* *It is obſervable, that no Man was more zealous in oppoſing this Declaration in the Houſe than Alderman* Love, *a City Member and a noted* Diſſenter; *who declar'd he had much rather ſtill go without their deſired Liberty, than have it in a way that would prove ſo detrimental to the Nation.*

† *On* February *the* 14*th, the Commons reſolv'd* Nemine Contradicente, *that a Bill be bro't in for the Eaſe of his Majeſties Subjects who are* Diſſenters, *in Matters of Religion from the Church of* England. *And a Bill paſs'd the Houſe accordingly, but was ſtopp'd in the Houſe of Lords. But the Motion of the Lower Houſe in this Affair was therefore the more remarkable, becauſe it was the ſame Houſe of Commons, who Ten Years before ſo warmly Voted the contrary. A good Argument, they were now convinc'd of a greater Danger of* Popery, *than they could before be perſwaded to believe.*

The Long Parliament awaken'd.

The Parliament at length grew into great Jealouſies of the Prevalence of *Popery*. An Army (pretended to be deſign'd for Service againſt the *Dutch*) lay encamp'd at *Black-Heath*. Many of the Commanders were *Papiſts*. It was the general Apprehenſion, that having no Hope to get the Parliament to ſet up their Religion by Law, it was their Intention to put down Parliaments, and reduce the Government to the *French* Model, and Religion to their State, by a ſtanding Army. All that Lov'd their Countrey had diſmal Expectations, the Parliament made an Act, that no Man ſhould be in any Office of Truſt, who would not take the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance, and receive the Sacrament according to the Order of the Church of *England*. Hereupon the Duke of *York* who was General of the Army, and the Lord Treaſurer *Clifford*, laid down all their Places. The Parliament met again, *October* the 20th,

An. 1673. and Voted againſt the Duke's Marriage with an *Italian Papiſt*, a Kin to the Pope. They renew'd this Vote in their next Seſſion, and upon a Meſſage ſent to the King about it, receiv'd this Anſwer; that it was too late to ſtop it. On *Friday, Oct.* 31. They paſs'd a Vote, that no more Money ſhould be given, till they were ſecur'd againſt the Danger of *Popery*, and *Popiſh* Counſellours, and their Grievances were Redreſs'd. And indeed the warmth and boldneſs of both Houſes againſt the *Papiſts* grew very high. In this Seſſion, the Earl of *Orery* deſir'd Mr. *Baxter* to draw up Terms of Union between the *Conformiſts*, and the *Nonconformiſts*, in order to their joint vigorous oppoſing *Popery:* And he told him that Sir *Thomas Osborn* the New Lord Treaſurer, Biſhop *Morley* of *Wincheſter*, and ſeveral other great Men were mightily for it, upon which he ſent him Propoſals for that Purpoſe, the Chief of which were theſe:

Propoſals for a Union between Conformiſts, *and* Nonconformiſts.

" That no Covenant, Promiſe, or Oath, ſhould " be requir'd to Ordination, Inſtitution, or Induction, but the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy; " the Subſcribing to the Doctrine and Sacraments of " the Church of *England*, as expreſs'd in the 39 Articles, and a general Declaration againſt Rebellion and " Sedition. That till the *Nonconformiſts* could be " better provided for by Vacancies, they ſhould " have Liberty to be School-maſters, or Aſſiſtants to " Incumbents, or to Preach Lectures in their Churches, " either ſuch Lectures as were already endow'd with " Maintenance, or ſuch as the People ſhould be " willing to maintain: And that in the mean Time " their Meeting Places that were convenient ſhould " be continu'd in Uſe as Chappels. That Liberty be " allow'd for Neighbours joining together in Praying to God, and Praiſing him, and Repeating Sermons, in their Private Houſes without Moleſtation. That for the Liturgy, *&c.* none be oblig'd to " Read the Apocryphal Leſſons: That it be eno', if " an Incumbent once in a Quarter or Half Year, " read the greateſt Part of the Service for that Time; " and that it be at other Times done by his Curate " or Aſſiſtant. That Lecturers be not oblig'd to read " the Service; or at moſt that it be eno', if once in

" Half

" Half a Year, they read the greateſt Part of what is An, 1673.
" appointed for that Time. That Parents have Li-
" berty to Dedicate their own Children to God in
" Baptiſm, without being oblig'd to find Godfathers
" and Godmothers. That the Uſe of the Sign of the
" Croſs be left to the Miniſters Inclination and Diſ-
" cretion. That Miniſters be not forc'd to Baptize a
" Child whoſe Parents are deny'd the Communion of
" the Church, unleſs ſome Serious Chriſtian under-
" take for its Education, according to the Chriſtian
" Covenant. That none be forc'd to receive the Sa-
" crament, while unfit, or averſe. That Miniſters
" be not forc'd to deliver the Sacrament to any un-
" baptiz'd Perſons; or to ſuch as wont own their
" Baptiſmal Covenant, and publickly profeſs their
" Adhærence to it; or to ſuch as are guilty of ſcan-
" dalous Immoralities, till they have profeſs'd Re-
" pentance. That Miniſters ben't forc'd to Publiſh
" an Excommunication or Abſolution againſt their
" Conſciences, upon the Decree of a Lay-Chancel-
" lour, *&c.* or harraſs'd by attending their Courts,
" to bring Witneſſes againſt thoſe, to whom they
" have refus'd the Sacrament upon the aforeſaid Rea-
" ſons. That it be left to the Diſcretion of Miniſters,
" whom they will Abſolve in Sickneſs, and to
" whom they will give the Sacrament, and over
" whom they at their Interrment will uſe thoſe few
" Words, which Import the Juſtification, and Sal-
" vation of the Deceas'd: And that the Sick and Dy-
" ing have the Liberty of chooſing what Miniſters
" they will to attend, and aſſiſt them, without Re-
" ſtraint. That no Miniſters be forc'd to deny the
" Sacrament, to ſuch as think it unlawful to take it
" Kneeling. That the Uſe of the Surplice be left in-
" different. And that People who live under an Ig-
" norant or Scandalous Miniſter, have Liberty to
" join with thoſe with whom they can better Profit,
" in any Neighbouring Church of the ſame Dioceſs,
" paying the Incumbent his Dues. That no Or-
" dain'd Miniſters be put upon renouncing their
" Ordination, but upon Proof of their fitneſs for the
" Miniſtry, receive by Word, or a written Inſtru-
" ment, a Legal Authority to Exerciſe their Miniſtry

" in

An. 1673. "in any Congregation in his Majesties Dominions, "where they shall be Lawfully call'd. That no "Excommunicate Person as such, be imprison'd or "ruin'd. And that after all, Christian Lenity be "us'd to all conscientious *Dissenters*; and that the "Tolerable be tolerated, under Laws of Peace and "Safety. Upon the whole he added, that if the "Sacraments were but left free to be administred and "receiv'd by none but Volunteers: And Liberty "granted to Ministers to Preach in those Churches, "where the Common Prayer was read by others: "And the Subscriptions contain'd nothing that a Con-"scientious-man might need to scruple; he tho't it "might take in all, even the *Independents*, as well as "*Presbyterians*. Mr. *Baxter* gave the Earl of *Orery* these Proposals, and he after some Time return'd them with Bishop *Morleys* Strictures, or Animadversions, which fully discover'd, that all his Professions for Abatement and Concord, were Deceitful, and that he intended no such Thing, for he would not make the least Abatement, in any Thing of Moment.

Other Motions that way. A little after, some great Men of the House of Commons, drew up a Bill for Accommodation, to take off Oaths, Subscriptions, and Declarations, except the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, and Subscriptions to the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, according to the 13th of *Eliz.* but shewing it to the Bishop of *Winchester*, he caus'd them to forbear, and broke the Design. And in the mean Time that it might not seem to be for nothing that he often pretended to be of so peaceable a Disposition, he further'd an Act only to take off *Assent* and *Consent*, and the *Renunciation of the Covenant*. But when other Bishops were against even this shew of Abatement, he told them openly in the House; *That had it been but to abate them a Ceremony, he would not have spoken in it. But he knew that they were bound to the same Things still, by other Clauses, or Obligations if these were Repeal'd.* On *Feb.* 24. Tho'ts of this Nature were ended by the unexpected Proroguing of the Parliament to *November*, whereby both Houses were much troubled, and Multitudes greatly exasperated, and alienated both from the Court, and the leading Bi-

shop

ſhops, as the great Cauſes of all the Diſtractions. All this while thoſe of the Clergy that were Men of the Times, and gap'd for Preferment, gave themſelves a Liberty to Write and Preach at random; to ſtir up King and Parliament, and all they came near, to Violence and Cruelty, againſt the Liberty and Blood of the *Nonconformiſts*, who Liv'd quietly by them in Labour and Poverty, and meddled not with them, beſides their neceſſary Diſſent from them. Juſt before the Diſſolution of the Parliament, one of this ſtamp Preaching to them, ſet himſelf to perſwade them that the *Diſſenters* were obſtinate, and not to be tolerated, nor cur'd by any Means but Vengeance; urging them to ſet Fire to the Faggot, and teach them by Scourges or Scorpions, and open their Eyes with Gall. *An.* 1674.

The Toleration however continuing, Mr. *Baxter* held on his Preaching, till Illneſs diſabled him for any other Exerciſe, ſave one Sermon a Week at St. *James*'s Market-Houſe, where ſome Perſons had hir'd an inconvenient Place. And here it pleas'd God to give his Labours, abundant Succeſs. But as he was Preaching there, *July* the 5th, 1674. they had a marvelous Deliverance, for a main Beam, before weakned by the weight of the People, ſo Crack'd, that Three Times they ran in Terrour out of the Room, thinking it was falling: But remembring the like at *Dunſtans* in the *Weſt*, he reprov'd their fear as cauſeleſs; the next Day taking up the Boards, they found that two Rends in the Beam were ſo great, that it was a wonder of Providence that the Floor had not fallen, and the Roof with it, to the Deſtruction of Multitudes. This Crack frighting away many of the Richer ſort, eſpecially Women, the greateſt Part of the Auditory were Young Men, of the moſt capable Age, who heard with great Attention, and many of them manifeſted ſo great a Change, as made all his Charge and Trouble eaſie to him. Nay a common Reformation was evident in the Neighbourhood, even among the Ruder ſort, and that in their Converſation as well as in their Judgment. But he was ſoon moleſted.

New Rigours againſt the poor Nonconformiſts.

For his Majeſty call'd the Biſhops up to *London*, to give him Advice what was to be done for the ſecuring of Religion, *&c.* and they after divers Conſultations

An. 1674. tions with the Miniſters of State, adviſ'd him to recall his Licenſes, and put the Laws againſt the *Nonconformiſts* in Execution. And this was done, by a Declaration, and Proclamation, declaring the Licenſes long ſince void, and requiring the Execution of the Laws againſt *Papiſts*, and *Conventicles*. No ſooner was the Proclamation Publiſh'd, but ſpecial Informers were ſet on Work to promote the Execution *. A little before the Licenſes were recall'd, Mr. *Baxter* openly declar'd in the Pulpit, that it was not in Oppoſition to the Publick Churches that he kept up a Meeting; but to help the People in their Neceſſity, who were many more than the Pariſh Church could hold. Hereupon it was confidently Reported that he was Conforming. And not long before Preaching for Love and Peace at *Pinners Hall*, 'twas reported, that he declar'd for Juſtification by our own Righteouſneſs, and that the *Papiſts* and *Proteſtants* differ but in Words: Upon which he was forc'd to vindicate himſelf in a Sheet, call'd an *Appeal to the Light*, which ſtopp'd not the Accuſation: For ſome had the Wiſdom and Confidence to ſay, that that Appeal to the Light did more to ſtrengthen *Popery*, than ever was done by any *Papiſts*. Mr. *Baxter* was the firſt that was apprehended as a *Conventicler* after this Alteration of Affairs. He was taken, Preaching his *Thurſday* Lecture at Mr. *Turners*. He went with the Conſtable, and *Keting* the Informer, to Sir *William Poultneys*, who demanding the Warrant, found it Sign'd, by *Henry Montague* Eſq; Bayliff of *Weſtminſter*. Sir *William* told them, that none but a City Juſtice, could give a Warrant for apprehending a Man for Preaching in the City: And ſo the Informer was defeated, and his Heart afterwards ſmote him; and he came to Mr. *Baxter* and begg'd Pardon, and profeſs'd Repentance. He freely forgave him, and admoniſh'd him ſeriouſly to amend his Life. Endeavours were us'd to ſurprize Dr. *Manton*: But one Mr. *Bedford* Preaching in his Room was apprehended. He had taken the *Oxford* Oath before, and in that reſpect was not obnoxious: But was Fin'd 20 *l.* and the Place 40 *l.* which was paid by the Lord *Wharton*, the Counteſſes of *Bedford*, *Manchester*, and *Clare*, and other Hearers. Ano-

* *Of the infamous Lives and lamentable Deaths, of many of theſe Informers, ſee* Conformiſts 4th Plea for the Nonconformiſts, *page* 71, &c.

Another Seſſion of Parliament approaching, Biſhop *Morley*, and Biſhop *Ward*, were in Appearance, very ſenſible of the Danger of *Popery*, and therefore very forward for Abatements, and taking in the *Nonconformiſts*, and mov'd it to many. At length Dr. *Tillotſon*, and Dr. *Stillingfleet*, deſir'd a Meeting with Dr. *Manton*, Dr. *Bates*, Mr. *Pool*, and Mr. *Baxter*, in Order to conſider of an Accommodation, and ſaid they had the Encouragement of ſeveral Lords both Spiritual and Temporal. Mr. *Baxter* at firſt met the two Doctors alone: And they Conſider'd and Canvaſs'd various Draughts; and at length fix'd on one in which they Agreed. This being Communicated to the *Nonconformiſts*, was agreeable: But when they Communicated it to the Biſhops, there was an End of the Treaty; a great many Things could not be obtain'd; upon which Dr. *Tillotſon* wrote Mr. *Baxter* Word, That *as Circumſtances ſtood, ſuch an Act could not paſs in either Houſe, without the Concurrence of a conſiderable Part of the Biſhops, and his Majeſties Countenance, which at the Preſent, he ſaw little Reaſon to expect.* The Terms Agreed on, were much of the ſame Nature with thoſe above-mention'd as Propos'd to my Lord *Orery*, with very little Variation.

A freſh Attempt for an Accommodation of the Differences. An. 1674.

The Informers in the City went on, but met with many Diſcouragements. The Aldermen were not fond of them, but often ſhifted out of the way, when they knew they would come to them; and ſome deny'd them their Warrants; tho' by the Act they thereby forfeited an 100 *l.* Alderman *Forth* got an Informer bound to the Behaviour, for breaking in upon him in his Chamber againſt his Will. *Strowd* and *Marſhal* became General Informers: But were ſoon fallen upon by their Creditors, and generally hated. Some of them ſwore againſt Mr. *Baxter* before Sir *Thomas Davis*; and he went to him and vindicated himſelf, proving that he was not chargeable with breaking the Law, but could not be regarded. One that ſwore againſt him went a little after to *Redriff*, and hearing Three Miniſters Pray and Preach, his Heart was melted, he profeſs'd his Sorrow and Repentance, and left his wonted Companions. And another of them came to Mr. *Baxter* in the Street, and promis'd he would meddle no more.

The Informers buſie.

When

An. 1675. When the Parliament met, there was great Heat in the House of Lords, upon the bringing in an Act, to impose such an Oath on Lords, Commons and Magistrates, as was imposed by the *Oxford Act* upon Ministers. The Summ of it was, *that none Commission'd by the King, may be by Arms resisted, and that they would never endeavour any alteration of the Government of Church or State.* The great Speakers for it, were the Lord Treasurer and the Lord Keeper, with Bishop *Morley* and Bishop *Ward*. The great Speakers against it, were the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, the Lord *Hollis*, the Lord *Hallifax*, the Duke of *Buckingham*, and the Earl of *Salisbury*: Who jointly with the Marquis of *Winchester*, and the Earls of *Bristol*, *Barkshire* and *Alesbury*, enter'd their Protestations against it. They pleaded that this Oath would be destructive to the Priviledges of their House, which was to Vote freely, and not to be præobliged by an Oath to the Prelates. After a great many Debates, tho' the Test was carry'd by a Majority, yet it was so alter'd, as made it incapable of serving the Purposes of those who at first were most Zealous for it; it was not to their Gust, for they reduc'd it to these Words of a Declaration, and an Oath. *I* A. B. *do Declare, that it is not lawful on any Pretence whatsoever, to take Arms against the King, and I do abhor the Traiterous Position of taking Arms, by his Autority against his Person, or against those that are Commission'd by him according to Law, in time of Rebellion and War, in Acting in Pursuance of such Commission. I* A. B. *do Swear that I will not endeavour an Alteration of the Protestant Religion now Establish'd by Law, in the Church of* England, *nor will I endeavour any Alteration in the Government of this Kingdom in Church or State, as it is by Law Establish'd.* And when it Past, the Lords got in this Proviso, *that it should be no hindrance to their free Speaking and Voting in the Parliament.*

Keting the Informer, being in Prison for Debt, Wrote to Mr. *Baxter* to endeavour his Deliverance, which he did; he told him in his Letter, that he verily believ'd that God had sent his Affliction upon him, as a Punishment for giving him so much trouble; and earnestly desir'd him to Pray to God to forgive him. Another Informer *Marishal*, dy'd in the Counter,

Counter, where he was clapt up for Debt: And yet others went on. Sir *Thomas Davis* gave a Warrant to Diſtrein on Mr. *Baxter* for 50 l. for Preaching his Lecture at *New-ſtreet*. However he ſtill went on, and Built a New Meeting-Houſe in *Oxenden-ſtreet*, the Old Place over St. *James*'s Market-Houſe, being not tho't ſafe; and when the New Chappel was finiſhed, and he had Preach'd but once, a Reſolution was taken to ſurprize him the next time, and ſend him for 6 Months to Goal upon the *Oxford Act*. He knowing nothing of it, had taken a Journey into the Country, and Mr. *Seddon* a *Darbyſhire* Miniſter was procur'd to Preach for him; he was taken and ſent to the Gate-Houſe, altho' the Warrant ſuited him not. He continu'd there near 3 Months, and at laſt was deliver'd by an *Habeas Corpus*. About this time, 12 or 13 of the Biſhops dining with that Eminent Citizen Sir *Nathanael Hern* then Sheriff of *London*, and Diſcourſing with him about putting the Laws againſt the Diſſenters in Execution; he told them, that *they could not Trade with their Neighbours one Day, and ſend them to Goal the next.* In the next Seſſion of Parliament, the Duke of *Buckingham* made a Notable Speech againſt Perſecution, and deſired the Conſent of the Lords, that he might bring in a Bill for the Eaſe of His Majeſties Proteſtant Subjects in matters of Religion; but while he was preparing it, the Parliament was Prorogu'd. An. 1676.

Mr. *Baxter* having been kept an whole Year from Preaching in his New Chappel, in *April* 1676, began in another in St. *Martins* Pariſh. A little before the King importunately Commanded and Urg'd the Judges, and *London* Juſtices, to put the Laws againſt the Nonconformiſts in Execution; and Sir *Joſeph Sheldon* the Lord Mayor, the Arch-Biſhop's near Kinſman accordingly did ſo for ſome time, and many Miniſters were clapt up in Goals. Mr. *Baxter* was forcibly kept out of his New Meeting-Houſe in *Swallow-Street*, by a Guard of Conſtables and Officers, for many Lords Days together. But Mr. *Wadſworth* dying, he Preach'd to his Flock in *Southwark* many Months in Peace, no Juſtice being willing to diſturb them; and when Dr. *Loyd* ſucceeded Dr. *Lamplugh* in

An. 1678. in St. *Martins*-Pariſh, he offer'd him his Chappel in *Oxenden-Street* for Publick Worſhip, and he accepted it.

In 1678, The Popiſh Plot broke out, which exceedingly alarum'd the whole Nation. The Houſe of Commons after many warm Debates, come to this Reſolution, that *there hath been and is an Execrable and Helliſh deſign, contriv'd and carry'd on by Popiſh Recuſants for Aſſaſſinating and Murdering the King, for ſubverting the Government, and for deſtroying the Proteſtant Religion by Law Eſtabliſh'd.* Moſt of their time was ſpent in ſearching into this Plot, and in endeavouring to prevent the Fatal Conſequences of it. Many ſuffer'd for it, notwithſtanding all the Endeavours of Great Men about the Court to ſave and ſcreen them. The Particulars may be ſeen in the Hiſtories of the time. At length on *January* the 14th 167⅔. this Parliament which ſo long comply'd with the Court in all their Deſires, which to Gratifie the Clergy, caſt ſo many Worthy Miniſters out of the Church by the Act for Uniformity, and afterward laid ſuch heavy Burdens on the Poor Nonconformiſts which improv'd by ſetting, and grew more and more concern'd for the Publick Welfare, as they were awakened by a Senſe of the Common Danger was ſuddenly Diſſolved. This Diſſolution occaſion'd a General Ferment in all Parts of the Country; it was generally eſteem'd the Common Concern in the next Election to chooſe firm Proteſtants, who ſhould heartily apply themſelves to make Proviſion for the Common Security. The New Parliament had their firſt

An. 1679. Seſſion *March* the 6th following, and they began where the laſt Parliament left off. When they had Sat ſome time, they were Prorogu'd to *Auguſt* the 14th

An. 1680. But before that time, they were Diſſolv'd by Proclamation, and another call'd to Sit at *Weſtminſter* the *October* following; when they aſſembled, they were Adjourn'd till the 26th of *January*: By which time a New Plot was Diſcover'd by *Dangerfield*, which the Papiſts had contriv'd to lay upon the Diſſenters. They were afterwards Adjourn'd ſeveral times till *October* the 30th, when they Sate and proceeded to Buſineſs. Finding no other way to keep Popery off of the Nation, than by Excluding the Duke of *York* from

rom the Succeſſion to the Crown, they bro't in a Bill An. 1680.
o Diſable him. On *November* the 11th, it paſſed he Commons; on the 15th it was carry'd up to the Houſe of Lords by the Brave Lord *Ruſſel*, and there t the 2d Reading it was thrown out, by a Majority f 30 Voices, of which 14 were Biſhops. This Houſe of Commons had before them a Bill for a *Comprehenſion*, and another for an *Indulgence*. Both of them were read twice, and were before the Committee. Many leading Men ſpake in the Houſe f them: As Mr. *Buſcowen*, Sir *Nicholas Carew*, Sir *John Maynard*, Sir *Francis Winnington*, Mr. *Paul Fo-*, Mr. *Titus*, Mr. *Powel*, Sir *Richard Temple*, Mr. *Hambden*, Mr. *Finch*, Sir *Thomas Clarges*, Collonel *irch*, &c. And ſeveral others alſo againſt it. One Gentleman when the Bill of Comprehenſion was ead, was pleas'd to ſay, *That he tho't it more Conve-* *Debates of*
ient to have a Law for forcing the Diſſenters to the *the Houſe*
hurch, than to force the Church to yield to them. But *of Com-*
ys a Worthy Gentleman who ſpake afterwards; *mons at the*
hat Love, Friendſhip or Obedience can the Church expect *Parliament*
om ſuch Perſons, as by the Execution of ſuch Laws may *in* 1680.
e forc'd to come to Church? How can they be depended on, pag. 207.
r the Church be ſtrengthen'd? You may prevent their 211, 112.
nventicles, and force them either to come to Church or *y Fines, or be impriſon'd; but you cannot expect that* *eir Opinions or Affections ſhould be alter'd by ſuch Pro-* *edings, without which the Church can never be the* *ronger:* Afterwards he adds, *if the* Oxford *Act and* *her Laws againſt Diſſenters were projected in favour of the* *roteſtant Religion, it was ſtrange that they were ſo much* *omoted*, (as 'tis well known they were) by Sir Tho. lifford, Sir Sol. Swale and Sir Roger Strickland, *who* *ve ſince all appear'd to be Papiſts.* But they had not time bring things to Maturity. For the King was diſſatis-d with their Proceedings; his great want was Money. nd they were reſolv'd to give none, unleſs he would aſs a Bill to Exclude the Duke of *York*. Whereupon on e 10th of *Jan.* they were Prorogu'd: But before they ſe, they came to this among other Reſolu-ns: *Reſolv'd that it is the Opinion of this Houſe,* *at the Proſecution of Proteſtant Diſſenters upon the Penal* *aws is at this time grievous to the Subject; a weakning the*

An. 1680. *Protestant Interest, an Encouragement to Popery, and dangerous to the Peace of the Kingdom.* After which they were first Prorogu'd and then Dissolv'd. Another Parliament met at *Oxford* in *March* following, but had not time to do any Business.

Notwithstanding that the Fears of Popery were in these times so great and general, and manifestly but too well grounded, yet did Dr. *Stillingfleet* then Dean of St. *Pauls* think fit, (prevail'd on as is suppos'd by some great Persons) to represent all the Nonconformists as *Schismaticks*: And he did it to purpose (tho' most People tho't very unseasonably) in a Sermon before the Lord Mayor, on *May the* 2d, 168[illegible] This occasion'd a great many Contentious Writings Pro and Con, while the common Enemy took Advantage by their Scuffle, to advance in his Progress towards their intended ruin.

An. 1681. The Poor Dissenters were Prosecuted a fresh, in Defiance of the Votes of the Parliament in their Favour. Nay, several zealous Protestants, who had been most Active against the Papists, were tri'd by Mercenary Judges, with Pack'd Juries, upon *Irish* Evidence. The Consequence may be seen in the Common Narratives of those times. Orders and Directions were sent from the King and Council Board to suppress all Conventicles, which were follow[illegible] carefully eno' by the Justices of *Hicks's-Hall*, and by the Borough of *Southwark*, and by some of the City Justices also.

An. 1682. This Year also the Meetings of the Dissenters were oft broken up, and the Laws against them vigorously executed. Many Ministers were imprison'd, and they and their Hearers fin'd. Mr. *Baxter* was suddenly surpriz'd in his own House by a Poor Violent Informer, and many Constables and Officers, who rush'd in, and apprehended him, and serv'd upon him a Warrant to seize on his Person for coming within 5 Miles of a Corporation, and 5 more Warrants to distrain for 195 l. for 5 Sermons. Tho' he was much out of Order, being newly risen from his Bed, where he had been in extremity of Pain, he was contentedly going with them to a Justice, to be sent to Gaol, and left his House to their Will. But Dr. *Tho[illegible]*

Cox meeting him as he was going, forc'd him in again to his Bed, and went to 5 Justices and took his Oath, that he could not go to Prison without danger of Death. Upon this the Justices delay'd till they had consulted the King, who consented that his imprisonment should be for that time forborn, that he might Die at home. But they executed their Warrants on the Books and Goods in the House, tho' he made it appear they were none of his; and they Sold even the Bed which he lay Sick upon. Some Friends pay'd them as much Money as they were prais'd at, and he repay'd them. And all this was without Mr. *Baxter's* having the least Notice of any Accusation, or receiving any Summons to Appear and Answer for himself, or ever seeing the Justices or Accusers: And afterwards he was in constant danger of New Seizures, and thereupon he was forc'd to leave his House, and retire into private Lodgings. Dr. *Annesley* and several others also, had their Goods distreined for patent Convictions, others were imprison'd upon the Corporation Act; while others were worry'd in the Spiritual Courts. Warrants were sign'd for Distresses in *Hackney* to the Value of 1400 l. and one of them for 500 l. *January* 9, 168⅔. Mr. *Vincent* was try'd at the *Surrey* Sessions upon the 35th of *Eliz.* and Cast. An. 1682.

The same Course was persisted in the succeeding year. 200 Warrants were issu'd out for Distresses upon *Uxbridge* and the Neighbourhood, for going to Conventicles. Dr. *Bates* and several others were distrein'd upon; and the Gentlemen of Doctors Commons got Money apace. This Year a New Plot was trump'd up, which cost the brave Lord *Russel* and Colonel *Sydney*, &c. their Lives. *July* the 24th, a Decree past in the University of *Oxon* against certain Seditious Books and damnable Doctrines. The 2d of the Doctrines Condemn'd was this: *There is a Mutual Compact Tacit or Express, between a Prince and his Subjects; and that if he perform not his Duty, they are discharg'd from theirs.* The 4th this, *The Sovereignty of* England, *is in the* 3 *Estates, King Lords and Commons, &c.* The 7th this: *Self Preservation is the* An. 1683.

An. 1684 *Fundamental Law of Nature, and ſuperſedes the Obligation of all others, whenſoever they ſtand in Competition with it.* * And ſome time after, the Grand Jury of *Weſtminſter* made a very Signal Preſentment, viz. *that all thoſe that were for the Bill of Excluſion, might be apprehended and proceeded againſt; and all Conventicles,* &c. Several that were taken at the Meetings were Couvicted as Rioters, and fin'd 10 l. a piece; and ſome Young Perſons (of both Sexes) taken at the ſame Places, were ſent to *Bridewell* to beat Hemp. About this time, one Mr. *Robert Mayot* of *Oxon* a Pious Conformiſt who had devoted his Eſtate to Charitable Uſes, gave by his Laſt Will 600 l. to be diſtributed by Mr. *Baxter* to 60 poor ejected Miniſters, adding, that he *did it not becauſe they were Nonconformiſts, but becauſe many ſuch were Poor and Pious.* But the King's Attorney Sir *Robert Sawyer*, ſued for it in the Chancery, and the Lord Keeper *North* gave it all to the King. It was paid into the Chancery by Order, and as Providence ordered it, there kept ſafe, till King *William* ſo happily aſcended the Throne, when the Commiſſioners of the Great Seal reſtor'd it to the Uſe for which it was intended by the Deceaſed; and Mr. *Baxter* diſpos'd of it accordingly.

* *It very well deſerves enquiry, How the Cenſurers of theſe Poſitions, can reconcile the Denial of the ſecond of them with the Declaration of the Vacancy of the Throne upon King* James's *Abdication, upon which King* William *was advanced to it. The Convention Declared in ſo many Words,* that King JAMES had endeavour'd to ſubvert the Conſtitution of this Kingdom, by breaking THE ORIGINAL CONTRACT BETWEEN KING and PEOPLE, &c. *As for the 7th of them, it could not well be deny'd, by any that left King* James *to go to the Prince of* Orange, *which certainly was inexcuſable, if not upon the ſcore of* Self-Preſervation.

An. 1684. This Year while Mr. *Baxter* lay in Pain and Languiſhing, the Juſtices of the Seſſions ſent Warrant to apprehend him, he being one in a Catalogue which was ſaid to contain the Names of a Thouſand Perſons, who were all to be bound to their good Behaviour. Knowing that their Warrant was not to break open Doors, he refus'd to open to them, till they were got into his Houſe. Whereupon they left 6 Officers at his Study Door, who kept him from his Bed and Food by watching all Night: And

in

next Day he yielded. They carry'd him to the Sessions, when he was scarce able to stand, and bound him in a Bond of 400 l. to his Good Behaviour. He desired to know his Crimes and Accusers: But was told, 'twas only to secure the Government against suspected Persons. He was some time after carry'd again to the Sessions House in great Pain, and forc'd to continue Bound. He refus'd to stand Bound, not knowing what they might interpret a Breach of the Peace: But his Sureties would be Bound, least he should Die in a Goal. He was carry'd thither a Third time, and still bound, tho' for the most Part he kept his Bed. An. 1684.

September the 23d, Mr. *Thomas Rosewell*, who was Minister of a Dissenting Congregation in *Redriff* was imprison'd in the *Gate-House* in *Westminster*, by a Warrant from Sir *George Jefferys* for High Treason. A Bill was found against him at the Quarter-Sessions at *Kingston* in *Surrey*; upon which he was arraign'd on *October* the 25th, and try'd *November* the 18th following, at the Kings Bench Bar, by a *Surrey* Jury, before the Lord Chief Justice *Jefferys*, and 3 other Judges of that Court, *Withins*, *Halloway* and *Walcot*. The High Treason as laid in the Indictment and sworn by the Witnesses, was that in a Sermon which he Preacht on *September* the 14th, he said these Words: *That the People* (meaning the Subjects of our Sovereign Lord the King) *make a flocking to the* (said Sovereign Lord the) *King, upon pretence of healing the Kings-Evil, which he* (meaning our said Sovereign Lord the King) *could not do; but that we* (meaning himself and other Traiterous Persons Subjects of our said Lord the King) *are they to whom they* (meaning the Subjects of our said Lord the King) *ought to flock, because we* (meaning himself and the said other Traiterous Persons) *are Priests and Prophets, that by our Prayers can heal the Dolours and Griefs of the People. We* (meaning the Subjects of our said Soveraign Lord the King) *have had two wicked Kings* (meaning the most Serene *Charles* the First, late King of *England*, and our said Soveraign Lord the King that now is) *whom we can resemble to no other Person, but to the most wicked* JEROBOAM: And *that if they* (meaning *Mr.* Rosewel's *Case.*

An. 1784. ing the said evil disposed Persons then and there as aforesaid with him unlawfully assembled and gather'd together) *would stand to their Principles*, H (meaning himself) *did not fear but they* (meanin himself and the said evil disposed Persons) *overcome their Enemies*, (meaning our said Soverai Lord the King and his Subjects) *as in former tim with Rams Horns, broken Platters, and a Stone in a Sli* The Witnesses were 3 Women. They Swore to t Words as they stand, without the *Innuendos*; t Trial lasted about 7 Hours. Mr. *Rosewel* made most full and clear Defence of himself; very m destly and yet strenuously vindicating his Innocen to the Satisfaction of those who were present; and as to gain the Applause of many Gentlemen of t Long Robe. The Jury however, after they had be out about half an Hour, bro't him in *Guilty*. T Women who were the Witnesses were infamo Persons, laden with the Guilt of many Perjuries which had easily been prov'd upon them all, befo the Trials, could Justice have been had: But th were screen'd by the Recorder, who was the Pers that laid the whole Scheme of the Business, a patch'd up the Indictment, in Terms suited to h known Abilities. But such of them as could be m with, were afterwards Convicted of Perjury, a *Smith* the Chief Witness, was Pillory'd before t *Exchange*. Sir *John Talbot* who was present, repr sented to King *Charles* the State of the Case as it a pear'd at the Trial; and he Ordered *Jefferys* to fi an Evasion. Whereupon he Assign'd him Coun afterwards, to plead to the Insufficiency of the I dictment in Arrest of Judgment; and the King ga him his Pardon, upon which he was discharg'd.

January 19, Mr. *Jenkyns* Dy'd in *Newgate*, as d also Mr. *Bampfield* and Mr. *Ralphson*, and sever others in other Prisons. And quickly after d King *Charles* himself: *viz.* on *February* 6, 178⅘. T he continued the Prosecution of the poor Dissente yet they held on their Meetings; Heartily Pray for his Peace and Prosperity: And at last they w as much Concern'd at his Death, as any People the Kingdom.

CHA

CHAP. XIV.

Their Case in the Reign of King James *the Second.* An. 1685.

THAT the rigorous Usage of the *Dissenters* in the foregoing Reign was owing to *Popish* Counsels, they themselves never doubted; and tho' some were a long Time before they would see or at least own it, yet it was a great Comfort to them after all their Sufferings, to find such Men as Bishop *Stillingfleet* at last openly acknowledging it. They little expected better Treatment in this Reign, when bare-fac'd *Popery* lifted up its Head among us; but Wise is that Providence which governs the World, which serves its own Ends, even by those very Things, whereby Poor Mortals are most disappointed. It is indeed eno' to amaze any one, to observe the Measures of this Reign, with their Consequences, whereby all Mankind were disappointed. The Church Party not only expected to have the *Dissenters* wholly under their Feet, but depended so much upon their Merits in their Adherence to the Duke in his Distress, and his Positive Assurances, that they were very Secure, and tho't the Day their own: But on a sudden found their All in such Danger, that without New Methods their Religion and Liberty was gone. The *Dissenters* expected not only greater Rigours and Severities than before, but concluded they should if it were possible, be extirpated: When as, to their Astonishment, they found themselves eas'd of their foregoing Hardships, and Courted and Caress'd, by those who they knew would rejoice in their Ruine, and had left no Method unattempted in Order to it. The *Papists*, tho't by raising those who had been so long depress'd, to have inflam'd them with Revenge against their Brethren; to have widen'd the Animosities among *Protestants*; that they might all be thereby rendred the more sure and speedy Sacrifice to their Malice and Cruelty; and hereby they did

* *See his Charge to his Clergy, in his Primary Visitation*, pag. 49.

An. 1685. but drive the contending Parties the nearer to each other, and make them at last the more vigorous in their united Effort, to avert that common Ruine, which hung over their Heads. So that all Parties were surpris'd, and found themselves Mistaken; but an infinitely Wise God over-rul'd all for Good.

Mr. Baxter's Tryal. In the Reign of King *James* the Second, which began *Feb.* 6. 168⅘. The same Methods were continu'd as had been us'd in his Brothers Time. On the 28th of *February*, Mr. *Baxter* was Committed to the *Kings-Bench* Prison, by my Lord Chief Justice *Jefferies*'s Warrant, for his Paraphrase on the New Testament, Printed a little before; which was call'd a Scandalous and Seditious Book against the Government. On the 6th of *May*, which was the first Day of the Term, he appear'd in *Westminster* Hall, and an Information was ordred to be drawn up against him. *May* the 14th, He Pleaded not Guilty to the Information. *May* the 18th, he being much Indispos'd, mov'd that he might have farther Time given him for his Tryal, but it was deny'd him. He mov'd for It by his Council; but *Jeffreys* cries out in a Passion, *I will not give him a Minutes Time more to save his Life. We have had* (says he) *to do with other sorts of Persons, but now we have a Saint to deal with; and I know how to deal with Saints as well as Sinners. Yonder* (says he) *stands* OATS *in the Pillory* (as he actually did at that very Time in the New Palace-Yard;) *and he says he suffers for the Truth, and so says* Baxter; *but if* Baxter *did but stand on the other side of the Pillory with him, I would say Two of the greatest Rogues and Rascals in the Kingdom stood there.* On *May* the 30th, in the Afternoon, He was brought to his Tryal, before the Lord Chief Justice *Jeffreys* at *Guild Hall*. Sir *Henry Ashhurst*, who could not forsake his own, and his Fathers Friend, stood by him all the while. Mr. *Baxter* came first into Court, and with all the Marks of Serenity and Composure, waited for the coming of the Lord Chief Justice, who appear'd quickly after with great Indignation in his Face. He no sooner sate down, than a short Cause was Call'd and Try'd: After which the Clerk began to read the Title of ano-

another Cauſe. *You Blockhead you* (ſays *Jeffreys*) *the next Cauſe is between* RICHARD BAXTER *and the King.* Upon which Mr. *Baxter*'s Cauſe was Call'd. The Paſſages mention'd in the Information, were his Paraphraſe on *Mat.* 5. 19. *Mark* 3. 6. *Mark* 9. 39. *Mark* 11. 31. *Mark* 12. 38, 39, 40. *Luke* 10. 2. *John* 11. 57. and *Acts* 15. 2. Theſe Paſſages were pickt out by Sir *Roger L'Eſtrange*, and ſome of his Companions. And a certain Noted Clergy-man (who ſhall be nameleſs) put into the Hands of his Enemies ſome Accuſations out of *Rom.* 13, &c. as againſt the King, to touch his Life, but no uſe was made of them. The great Charge was, that in theſe ſeveral Paſſages he reflected on the Prelates of the Church of *England*, and ſo was Guilty of Sedition, *&c.* The Kings Counſel open'd the Information at large with its Aggravations. Mr. *Wallop*, Mr. *Williams*, Mr. *Rotherham*, Mr. *Atwood*, and Mr. *Phipps*, were Mr. *Baxter*'s Counſel, and had been Feed by Sir *Henry Aſhhurſt*. Mr. *Wallop* ſaid, that he conceiv'd the Matter depending being a Point of Doctrine, it ought to be referr'd to the Biſhop his Ordinary: But if not, he humbly conceiv'd the Doctrine was Innocent, and Juſtifiable, ſetting aſide the Innuendo's, for which there was no Colour, there being no Antecedent to refer them to (*i. e.* no Biſhop or Clergy of the Church of *England* nam'd.) He ſaid the Book Accus'd, *i. e.* the Comment on the New Teſtament, contain'd many Eternal Truths: But they who drew the Information were the Libellers, in applying to the Prelates of the Church of *England*, thoſe ſevere Things which were written concerning ſome Prelates, who deſerv'd the Characters which he gave. My Lord (ſays he) I humbly conceive the Biſhops Mr. *Baxter* ſpeaks of, as your Lordſhip if you have read Church Hiſtory muſt confeſs, were the Plagues of the Church, and of the World. Mr. *Wallop*, ſays the Lord Chief Juſtice, *I obſerve you are in all theſe dirty Cauſes, and were it not for you Gentlemen of the Long Robe, who ſhould have more Wit and Honeſty, that ſupport and hold up theſe Factious Knaves by the Chin, we ſhould not be at the Paſs we are.* My Lord, ſays Mr. *Wallop*, I humbly Conceive, that the Paſſages An. 1685.

An. 1685. Paſſages Accus'd are natural Deductions from the Text. *You humbly Conceive*, ſays *JEFFREYS*, and *I humbly Conceive: Swear him, Swear him.* My Lord ſays he, under Favour, I am Counſel for the Defendant, and if I underſtand either *Latin* or *Engliſh*, the Information now bro't againſt Mr. *Baxter* upon ſo ſlight a ground, is a greater Reflection upon the Church of *England*, than any Thing contain'd in the Book he's Accus'd for. Says *Jeffreys* to him, *Sometimes you humbly Conceive, and ſometimes you are very Poſitive: You talk of your Skill in Church Hiſtory, and of your Underſtanding* Latin *and* Engliſh: *I think I underſtand ſomething of them as well as you; but in ſhort muſt tell you, that if you don't underſtand your Duty better, ſhall teach it you.* Upon which Mr. *Wallop* ſate down.

Mr. *Rotheram* urg'd that if Mr. *Baxter*'s Book had ſharp Reflections upon the Church of *Rome*, by Name, but ſpake well of the Prelates of the Church of *England*, it was to be preſum'd that the ſharp Reflections were intended only againſt the Prelates of the Church of *Rome*. The Lord Chief Juſtice ſaid, *Baxter* was *an Enemy to the Name and Thing, the Office and Perſons of Biſhops*. *Rotheram* added, that *Baxter* frequently attended Divine Service, went to the Sacrament and perſwaded others to do ſo too, as was certainly and publickly known, and had in the very Book ſo charg'd, ſpoken very moderately and honourably of the Biſhops of the Church of *England*. Mr. *Baxter* added, my Lord, I have been ſo moderate with Reſpect to the Church of *England*, that I have incurr'd the Cenſure of many of the *Diſſenters* upon that Account. BAXTER *for Biſhops*, ſays JEFFREYS, *That's a merry Conceit indeed. Turn to it, turn to it.* Upon this *Rotheram* turn'd to a Place, where 'tis ſaid, *That great Reſpect is due to thoſe truly call'd to be Biſhops among us:* Or to that Purpoſe: *Ay*, ſaith *Jeffreys*, *This is your* Presbyterian *Cant; truly call'd to be Biſhops*, that is himſelf and ſuch Raſcals, call'd to be Biſhops of *Kidderminſter*, and other ſuch Places. *Biſhops ſet apart by ſuch Factious, Sniveling* Presbyterians *as himſelf: A* Kidderminſter *Biſhop he means. According to the ſaying of a late Learned Au-*

thour;

thour; and every Pariſh ſhall maintain, a Tithe Pig Metropolitan. Mr. *Baxter* beginning to ſpeak again; ſays he to him, *Richard, Richard, doſt thou think we'll hear thee Poiſon the Court,* &c. *Richard thou art an Old Fellow, an Old Knave; thou haſt Written Books eno' to Load a Cart, every one as full of Sedition (I might ſay Treaſon) as an Egg is full of Meat. Hadſt thou been Whipp'd out of thy Writing Trade Forty Years ago, it had been Happy. Thou pretendeſt to be a Preacher of the Goſpel of Peace, and thou haſt one Foot in the Grave, 'tis Time for thee to begin to think what Account thou intendeſt to give. But leave thee to thy Self, and I ſee thou'lt go on as thou haſt begun, but by the Grace of God, Ile look after thee. I know thou haſt a mighty Party, and I ſee a great many of the Brotherhood in Corners, waiting to ſee what will become of their mighty Donne, and a Doctor of the Party* (looking to Dr. *Bates*) *at your Elbow, but by the Grace of Almighty God I'le Cruſh you all.* Mr. *Rotheram* ſitting down, Mr. *Attwood* began to ſhew, that not one of the Paſſages mention'd in the Information ought to be ſtrain'd to that Senſe, which was put upon them by the Innuendo's; they being more natural when taken in a milder Senſe: Nor could any one of them be apply'd to the Prelates of the Church of *England*, without a very forc'd Conſtruction. To Evidence this he would have read ſome of the Text; but *Jeffreys* cry'd out, *You ſhan't draw me into a* Conventicle *with your Annotations, nor your Sniveling Parſon neither.* My Lord ſays *Attwood*, I conceive this to be expreſly within *Roſwell*'s Caſe, lately before your Lordſhip. *You conceive*, ſays *Jeffreys*, *you conceive amiſs: It is not*, My Lord, ſays Mr. *Attwood*, that I may uſe the beſt Authority, permit me to repeat your Lordſhips own Words in that Caſe. No, *you ſhan't*, ſays he. You need not ſpeak, for you are an Authour already; tho' you Speak and Write impertinently. Says *Attwood*, I can't help that my Lord, if my Talent be no better; but it is my Duty to do my beſt for my Client. *Jeffreys* thereupon went on, inveighing againſt what *Attwood* had Publiſh'd: And *Attwood* juſtify'd it to be in Defence of the *Engliſh* Conſtitution; declaring that he never diſown'd any Thing he had Writ-

An. 1685.

An. 1685. Written. *Jeffreys* ſeveral Times order'd him to ſit down; but he ſtill went on. My Lord, ſays he, I have Matter of Law to offer for my Client; and he proceeded to Cite ſeveral Caſes wherein it had been adjudged that Words ought to be taken in the milder Senſe, and not to be ſtrain'd by Innuendo's. *Well*, ſays *Jeffreys* when he had done, *You have had your Say.* Mr. *Williams*, and Mr. *Phipps* ſaid nothing, for they ſaw 'twas to no Purpoſe. At length ſays Mr. *Baxter* himſelf, my Lord, I think I can clearly Anſwer all that is laid to my Charge, and I ſhall do it briefly: The Summ is contain'd in theſe few Papers, to which I ſhall add a little by Teſtimony. But he would not hear a Word. At length the Chief Juſtice ſumm'd up the Matter in a long and fulſome Harangue. *'Tis notoriouſly known* (ſays he) *there has been a Deſign to ruine the King and the Nation. The Old Game has been renew'd: And this has been the main Incendiary. He's as Modeſt now as can be: But Time was, when no Man was ſo ready* at Bind your Kings in Chains, and your Nobles in Fetters of Iron: And to your Tents O Iſrael. *Gentlemen, for Gods ſake don't let us be gull'd twice in an Age*, &c. And when he concluded, He told the Jury, that if they in their Conſciences believ'd he meant the Biſhops and Clergy of the Church of *England*, in the Paſſages which the Information referr'd to, they muſt find him Guilty: And he could mean no Man elſe. If not, they muſt find him not Guilty. When he had done, ſays Mr. *Baxter* to him, Do's your Lordſhip think any Jury will pretend to paſs a Verdict upon me upon ſuch a Tryal? *I'le Warrant you*, Mr. *Baxter* ſays he; *don't you Trouble your Self about that.* The Jury immediately laid their Heads together at the Bar, and found him *Guilty*. He had Subpæna'd ſeveral Clergy-men, who appear'd in Court, but were of no uſe to him, thro' the Violence of the Chief Juſtice. The Trial being over, Sir *Henry Aſhhurſt* led Mr. *Baxter* thro' the Crowd, (I mention it to his Honour) and convey'd him away in his Coach.

On *June* the 29th following, He had Judgment given againſt Him. He was Fin'd 500 Marks; to lie in Priſon till he paid it; and be bound to his good Behaviour for Seven Years. The

The next Year the *Diſſenters* were proſecuted in the wonted Manner. Their Meetings were frequently diſturb'd both in City and Countrey. Fines were Levy'd upon them. The Informers broke in upon Mr. *Fleetwood*, Sir *John Hartop*, and ſome others at *Stoke Newington*, to Levy Diſtreſſes for *Conventicles*, to 6 or 700 *l.* and many were Excommunicated, and had *Capiaſſes* Iſſu'd out againſt them; but Particular Perſons, upon their making Application to thoſe above, were more favour'd than had been uſual. An. 1685.

The Kings Diſpenſing Power was at length the Subject of much Diſcourſe and Debate. But at laſt the Matter was thus determin'd by Eleven of the Twelve Judges. 1. *That the Kings of* England *are Sovereign Princes.* 2. *That the Laws of* England *are the Kings Laws.* 3. *That the Kings of* England *have the Sole Power of diſpenſing with the Penal Laws in Caſe of Neceſſity.* 4. *That the Kings of* England *are the ſole Judges of the Neceſſity of diſpenſing with Penal Laws.* 5. *That the Kings of* England *do not derive this Power from the People, nor can on any Account or Pretence be lawfully depriv'd of it.* 6. *That the Kings of* England *can never depart from this Prerogative.*

Injunctions went out from ſeveral of the Biſhops under the Seal of their Offices, to all Miniſters in their Dioceſſes, ſtrictly to Enjoin and Require all Church-Wardens to Preſent thoſe that did not come to Church, or that receiv'd not the Sacrament at *Eaſter*. Theſe Injunctions were publickly Read in *Hertfordſhire*, and *Eſſex*, and many other Places. And it ſeem'd to be a prevailing Opinion, that the *Proteſtant Diſſenters* muſt be Proſecuted, or *Popery* could not be ſuppreſs'd. And therefore the Juries in ſome Places at the Aſſizes this Year preſented it as their Opinion, that unleſs the *Diſſenters* were effectually Proſecuted, their Dangers could not be prevented or remedy'd: But the unſeaſonableneſs of ſuch Rigours, and the ſcandalous Villanies and Perjuries of many of the moſt Noted Informers both in City and Countrey too, made ſenſible Men ſoon weary.

King

An. 1686. *The Commission for Ecclesiastical Affairs.*

King *James* in Order to the carrying on his Designs the more successfully, granted an *Ecclesiastical Commission*, which was directed to the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, the Lord Chancellour, the Bishops of *Durham* and *Rochester*, the Earl of *Rochester* Lord High Treasurer, the Earl of *Sunderland*, and the Lord Chief Justice *Herbert*, or any Three of them, whereof the Lord Chancellour was always to be one, devolving the whole Care of Ecclesiastical Affairs upon them, in the largest Extent that ever had been known in *England*. They open'd their Commission on the Third of *August*, and settled the Method of Proceeding: But the Commissioners Names were several Times alter'd. They began with suspending the Bishop of *London*, for not suspending Dr. *Sharp* upon the Kings Command. They afterwards depriv'd and suspended Dr. *Peachel*, Vice Chancellour of the University of *Cambridge*, and Head of *Magdalen* Colledge, for refusing to admit one *Alban Francis*, a Benedictine Monk, to the Degree of Master of Arts, without taking the Oaths: And Dr. *Hough* the President, and the Fellows of *Magdalen* Colledge in *Oxford*; for not complying with the Kings Mandate in the Election of a President. By which Methods all the Clergy in the Kingdom were Convinc'd, that the *Papists* were coming to take Possession. They made hereupon such Exclamations, as plainly shew'd they were unable to bear a small share of those Severities themselves, which had for a long Time been so liberally inflicted upon others.

A Dispensation or License Office was set up this Year, where all Comers might have Dispensations, paying only 50 Shillings for themselves and their Families. Many of those who were Prosecuted as Conventiclers, took out Dispensations, which not only stopp'd all Processes that were commenc'd, but gave them Liberty to keep Meetings for the Future. Many were releas'd from their Imprisonment, and had their Fines remitted by the Kings Pardons. Among the rest, Mr. *Baxter* obtain'd his Pardon by the Mediation of the Lord *Powis*. His Fine was remitted, and on Wednesday *November* 24. Sir *Samuel Astrey* sent his Warrant to the Keeper of the Kings Bench

Bench Priſon to diſcharge him: But he gave Sureties for his good Behaviour; his Majeſty declaring, (for his Satisfaction) that it ſhould not in him be interpreted a Breach of the Good Behaviour, for him to reſide in *London*, which was not allowable according to the *Oxford Act*; and this was enter'd upon his Bail-Piece; *i. e.* the Parchment in which his Bail was given. Notwithſtanding this, he continu'd ſome time after in the Rules. And on *February* the 28th following, remov'd to a Houſe he took in *Charter-Houſe-Yard*. An. 1686

March the 18th, the King acquainted the Council, that he had determin'd to Iſſue out a Declaration for a General Liberty of Conſcience, to all Perſons of what Perſwaſion ſoever; which he was mov'd to, by having obſerv'd, *that altho' an Uniformity in Religious Worſhip had been endeavour'd to be eſtabliſh'd within this Kingdom, in the Succeſſive Reins of 4 of his Predeceſſors, aſſiſted by their Reſpective Parliaments, yet it had been ineffectual; that the reſtraint upon the Conſciences of Diſſenters in order thereunto, had been very prejudicial to this Nation, as was ſadly experienc'd in the horrid Rebellion in the time of his Royal Father: That the many Penal Laws made againſt Diſſenters in all the foregoing Reigns, and eſpecially in the time of the late King, had rather increas'd than leſſen'd the Number of them: And that nothing could more conduce to the Peace and Quiet of the Kingdom, and an increaſe of the Number as well as the Trade of his Subjects, than an intire Liberty of Conſcience, &c.* And thereupon, he Order'd the Attorney and Solicitor General, not to permit any Proceſs to Iſſue in his Majeſties Name, againſt any Diſſenters whatſoever. The Declaration publiſh'd for this purpoſe, bore Date *April* the 11th, 1687. *The Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience.*

The Diſſenters were not ſo fond of hard Uſage, as to refuſe a Liberty ſo freely offer'd them; nor did they think it good Manners, to enquire too narrowly how that Indulgence came about, ſo long as they were ſhelter'd by it from Oppreſſion. A Letter of Advice to them, was hereupon publiſh'd by that Accompliſh'd Statesman the Marquis of *Halifax*, tho' without his Name. The Letter was written with a An. 1687.

great

An. 1687. great deal of Artifice, with design to insinuate a twofold Caution: That their New Friends were to be suspected; and that it would neither be Christianity nor Prudence to hazard the publick Safety, either by desire of Ease or of Revenge. His Cautions were regarded by the wiser Part of them, notwithstanding the uncertainty with what design this Application was made to them. As Thankful as they were for their Ease and Liberty, they were yet fearful of the Issue; neither can any Number of them of any Consideration, be charg'd with hazarding the Publick Safety, by falling in with the Measures of the Court, of which they had as great a dread as their Neighbours. And as for Revenge, tho' they had a fair Opportunity for it, yet could they not think it a thing desireable, either as Men or as Christians. If the overdid it in their Addresses, they tho't the High Church Party, who had bin so us'd to topping flights of Complement, when returning Thanks for the Dissolving one of the best of Parliaments, had little Reason to Reflect on them. But they were not many that could be Charg'd: Among the rest, Mr. *Baxter* had no concern in Addressing; but set himself at *Rutland-House* in *Charter-House-Yard*, where he exercis'd his Ministry in Conjunction with Mr. *Sylvester*, to make a peaceable Improvement of the Liberty afforded, so as to do all the good he could without Offence to any. The like did his Brethren in other Places, and therefore they waited in expectation of seeing the Effects of the Marquesses Declaration on behalf of the Church Party; that *all their former Haughtiness* (they are his own Words) *towards the Dissenters was for ever extinguish'd*; *and that the Spirit of Persecution was turn'd into a Spirit of Peace, Charity and Condecension*; *that the Church of ENGLAND was convinc'd of its Error in being severe to them*; *and all thinking Men were come to a General Agreement, no more to cut our selves off from the Protestants Abroad, but rather inlarge the Foundations, upon which we are to Build our Defences against the Common Enemy.*

Monsieur *Dickvelt* who had been sometime here as Agent for the *Dutch* (I am not certain under what Character,

Character) had his Audience of Leave, on *May* the 20th. The King told him, that he doubted not but that he ſhould have the Prince of *Orange*'s Approbation for the taking off the Penal Laws and Teſts; and would have him to acquaint the Prince therewith. *Dickvelt* reply'd, that he was bound to acquaint the Prince with his Majeſties Command, and would do ſo; but he did underſtand ſo much of the Princes Senſe, that he was bold to ſay, he was not of that Opinion. *Dickvelt* carry'd it like a Conſiderable Statesman, and vigorouſly purſu'd the Intereſts of the States, and of the Prince of *Orange*. He gave all poſſible Aſſurance to all that he Convers'd with, of the Princes firm and ſetled Reſolution to ſtand up in oppoſition to Popery, and the Deſigns of *France*, and to Promote and Maintain the true reform'd Proteſtant Religion, againſt all Oppoſition. He alſo Privately gave great Aſſurance to the Nonconformiſts, that they ſhould find Reſpects from that Prince when opportunity offer'd; and that they might be ſatisfi'd, he was no Friend to Rigour and Severity in Religious Matters, but a great Friend to Liberty of Conſcience. An. 1687.

The King finding that all his Meaſures would be inevitably broken, if the Penal Laws and Teſts were not taken off, by means of which, his Friends ſtood continually expos'd, reſolv'd to leave no Method unattempted, that might Contribute towards his reaching this Deſign. The gaining the Concurrence of the next Heirs, would have bin a very plauſible Plea with the moſt averſe; and therefore not reſting ſatisfi'd with *Dickvelt*'s Declaration, he reſolv'd to try the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange*, and be fully certifi'd of their Senſe and Inclination. To that end he emploi'd Mr. *James Stuart*, who wrote a Letter to *Penſionary Fagel*, who was one in whom the Prince put an entire Confidence, and with whom Mr. *Stuart* pretended to no ſmall Intimacy: The Prince and Princeſs were ſo averſe to medling, that it was a long time before they would allow the Penſionary to make any Reply upon ſo touchy a Point; ſo that Mr. *Stuart* by Order wrote ſeveral Letters before he reciv'd any Anſwer. At laſt it being Induſtriouſly

An. 1687. spread Abroad, that the Prince and Princess agreed with the King in the Design of taking off those Laws which the Nation look'd upon as their main Security; and this being made use of as an Argument to bring others to a Compliance, the Prince and Princess tho't it necessary for their own Vindication, to allow the Pensionary to make a Reply, and discover their True and Real Sense of the Matter. Accordingly that Wise Minister of State *Fagel*, in a Letter from the *Hague*, bearing Date *November* 4 this Year, sent Mr. *Stuart* Word, that since he gave him to understand that his Letters were Written with the King's Knowledge and Allowance, he would therefore deal very plainly with him in the Matter and without reserve: And thereupon he proceeds to tell him, *That it was the Opinion of the Prince and Princess, that no Christian ought to be Persecuted for his Conscience, or be ill used because he differs from the Publick and Established Religon: And therefore that they could Consent that the Papists in* England, Scotland *and* Ireland *should be suffer'd to continue in their Religion, with as much Liberty as is allow'd them by the States of* Holland, *in which they enjoy full Liberty of Conscience. And that as to the* Dissenters, *their Highnesses did not only Consent, but did heartily approve of their having an entire Liberty for the full Exercise of their Religion, without any trouble or hindrance: so that none may be able to give them the least disturbance upon that Account; and that their Highnesses were ready to Concur to the Settling and Confirming this Liberty, and Protect and Defend it, and likewise to Confirm it with their Guarantee, which Mr.* Stuart *had mention'd. And that if His Majesty desir'd their Concurrence in Repealing the Penal Laws, their Highnesses were ready to give it, provided the Laws still remain'd in force, by which the Roman Catholicks were excluded out of both Houses of Parliament, and out of all Publick Employments, Ecclesiastical, Civil and Military, and likewise those other Laws which Confirm the Protestant Religion, and which secure it against the Attempts of the Roman Catholicks: But that their Highnesses could not agree to the Repeal of the* Test, *and those other Penal Laws last mentioned that tend to the Security of the Protestant Religion; since the Roman*

Pensionary Fagels's *Letter.*

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tholicks receive no other prejudice from these, than the being excluded from Parliament and Publick Employments. And that they believed they should have much to Answer to God for, if the Consideration of any present Advantage, should carry them to consent to things, which they believed, would be not only Dangerous but Mischievous to the Protestant Religion. By which full Declaration, the Court was much disappointed, many staggering Persons confirm'd, the Church Party reviv'd, and the Dissenters comforted, in Hope the Liberty they had obtain'd was like to prove Lasting. And yet the King went on, Closetting Lords and Commons, and all Persons that had any Places of Profit or Trust, using such Arguments as were most likely to prevail for a Compliance: Many were displac'd upon their Refusal, and succeeded by others that appear'd more Pliable; which did but heighten the General Dissatisfaction of the People, to see themselves like to be gull'd out of their main Security. About this time, Commissioners were appointed by the King, and sent into the several Counties of *England*, to enquire what Money or Goods had been Levy'd upon *Dissenters* upon Prosecutions for Recusancy, and not paid into the Exchequer. Many were afraid of being call'd to an Account; and it was commonly apprehended, that a strict Enquiry would have caused great Confusion. Here the *Dissenters* had a fair Opportunity of being reveng'd on many of their bittrest Enemies: But they generously pass'd all by, upon the Promises and Assurances that were given them by leading Persons both of the Clergy and Laity, that no such Rigorous Methods should ever be us'd towards them for the time to come, but that they might depend upon great Temper and Moderation for the future. An. 1687.

That the surer way might be made to the Establishing an Universal Toleration by Act of Parliament, Changes were made in all the Corporations in the Kingdom, and a certain sort of Men call'd *Regulators*, who were Persons of mean Fortunes and Abilities, but great forwardness, were sent into all parts to examine Mens Opinions. They that would promise to use their Interest in Elections, to bring in

An. 1687. such into the Parliament as would Comply with the Kings Designs, were prefer'd as Mayors, Aldermen, &c. which was propos'd as an Effectual Method to reach his End. But this was so Gross, that the Managers became Contemptible, and few Men of any Reputation

An. 1688. would have any Concern with them. On the 27th of *April*, the King renew'd his Declaration for Liberty of Conscience, with some Additions and a Promise to get it establish'd by Act of Parliament.

The New Declaration of Liberty.

On the 4th of *May*, an Order was pass'd in Council, that the *Declaration of Indulgence* should be Read in all Churches and Chappels in the time of Divine Service, in and about *London* on the 20th and 27th of that Month; and in all the rest of *England* and *Wales* on the 3d and 10th of *June* following; And that all the Bishops in their respective Dioceses, should take Care to have the Order Obey'd. The Refusers were to be prosecuted by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. The whole Body of the Clergy refus'd (very few excepted) and so were all liable to be Ejected, Seven Bishops interpos'd, and waited upon the King to give him the Reasons of their Refusal, to Disperse or Read his Declaration. They were Dr. *Sancroft*, Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, Dr. *Floyd* Bishop of St. *Asaph*, Dr. *Kenn*, Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*, Dr. *Turner*, Bishop of *Ely*, Dr. *Lake*, Bishop of *Chichester*, Dr. *White*, Bishop of *Peterborough*, and Sir *Jonathan Trelawny*, Bishop of *Bristol*. They deliver'd to the King in his Closet, a Petition in behalf of themselves and their absent Brethren; shewing *that their unwillingness did not proceed from any want of Duty and Obedience to His Majesty*, nor from any want of due Tenderness to Dissenters, in Relation to whom they were willing to come to such a Temper, as should be tho't fit, when that Matter should be Consider'd and Settled in Parliament and Convocation: *But among a great many other Considerations; from this especially, because that Declaration was founded upon such a Dispensing Power, as had often been declar'd Illegal in Parliament, and was a Matter of so great Moment and Consequence to the whole Nation, that they could not in Prudence, Honour or Conscience, so far make themselves Parties to it, as the Distribution of it all over the King-*

The Bishops Petition.

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dom, and the ſolemn Publication of it even in Gods An. 1688.
Houſe, and in the time of Divine Service, muſt amount to in Common and Reaſonable Conſtruction, &c. Hereupon they were Impriſon'd in the Tower, indicted of an high Miſdemeanor, and Try'd at the Kings Bench Bar, but Acquitted, and that with Univerſal Acclamations.

The Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners on the 16th of *Auguſt*, ſent forth their Mandates to the Chancellors, Arch-Deacons, *&c.* of every Dioceſs in *England*, to make Enquiry and ſend them an Account, where and by whom the Kings Order about Reading the Declaration had been Obey'd, and where not, that ſo all that had neglected it, might be ſeverely Puniſh'd. This would have made moſt woful Havock all over the Kingdom, had not the Approaching Revolution put an effectual ſtop. But it was not long before a Rumour began to ſpread, that the Prince of *Orange* was coming with a Potent Army and Fleet from *Holland*, to reſcue the Nation from Popery and Slavery. The King gave Publick Notice of it by a Declaration Dated the 4th of *October*. Upon which the Meaſures of the Court were entirely broken, the Biſhop of *London*'s Suſpenſion was taken off, the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion diſſolv'd, the City Charter reſtor'd, and other Illegal Sentences revers'd, all which was ſaid to be done out of the Kings meer Grace and Favour: But all the World knew a more Subſtantial Reaſon. The Biſhops waited upon the King with their Advice, which they drew up in Writing; and among other things, adviſ'd His Majeſty, *to Iſſue out Writs for a Free and Regular Parliament, in which the Church of* England *might be ſecur'd according to the Act of Uniformity*, Proviſion made for a due Liberty of Conſcience, *the Liberties and Properties of the Subject ſecur'd, and a good Underſtanding obtain'd between His Majeſty and his People.* Great Notice was taken of their ſo freely mentioning the Diſſenters, both in their Petition, and in this Advice. A Writer of that time, * thus Expreſſes himſelf upon the Occaſion of it. *I do aſſure you, and I am certain I have the beſt Ground in the whole Word for my Aſſurance, that the Biſhops will never ſtir one Jot from their* PETITION; *but*

* *An Account of the late Propoſals of the Arch-Biſhop of Canterbury, with ſome other Biſhops to his Majeſty, in a Letter to that* M. B. *Eſq;*

An. 1688. *that they will whenever that happy Opportunity shall offer it self, let the Protestant Dissenters find, that they will be better than their Word given in their famous* PETITION. On the 5th of *November*, the Prince of *Orange* Landed at *Torbay* in the County of *Devon*. In his Declaration which was Dated at the *Hague*, *October* the 10th, in which he gave an Account of the Reasons of his Expedition into *England*; he assures the World, *that he came upon no other Design, but to have a Free and Lawful Parliament Assembled as soon as was possible; that none might be suffer'd to choose or to be chosen Members, but such as were Qualify'd by Law, and that being lawfully Chosen, they might Meet and Sit in full Freedom; that so the Two Houses might Concur in the preparing such Laws, as they upon full and free Debate should judge Necessary and Convenient, both for the confirming and executing the Law concerning the Test, and such other Laws as were necessary for the Security and Maintenance of the Protestant Religion: as likewise for making such Laws as might Establish a good Agreement between the Church of* England *and all Protestant Dissenters, &c.* The Body of the Nation heartily fell in with the Prince, and a mighty Revolution was brought about without Blood-shed. Interest wrought a Change in Mens Opinions. They that always condemn'd the Principles of taking up Arms in Defence of Liberty and Property, now tho't it both Lawful, highly Laudable and absolutely Necessary. But one hardship they were under at the time of the Revolution, which was a sensible Conviction to many, of the great Inconvenience of being under a Confinement to particular Forms in Divine Worship; while they privately Pray'd for the Prince of *Orange*'s Prosperity, they were forc'd in publick to Pray according to the Liturgy, that God would be the Defender and Keeper of King *James*, and give him Victory over all his Enemies. But God to the unspeakable Comfort of the Nation, prefer'd their Private Prayers, before those that were Publick.

The Arrival of the Prince of Orange.

There were some who tho' Concurring with the Prince in his Expedition for their own Security were afterwards, when their Fears were over, so

compromiſing Matters with King *James*, and truſting his Promiſes afreſh, but the Convention that was Summon'd by the Prince's Letters, when aſſembled together, declared the Throne Vacant, King *James* having *Abdicated the Government, and broken the Original Contract with his People.* Whereupon drawing up a Declaration, for Vindicating the Antient Rights and Liberties of the People, they offer'd the Crown to the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange*, who accepting it, were Proclaim'd King and Queen of *England*, on the 13th of *February* following, with Univerſal Acclamation; and none had a greater ſhare than the Diſſenters in the Common Joy. An. 1688.

CHAP. XV.

The State of their Caſe in the Beginning of the Reign of King William *and Queen* Mary.

THere were great Expectations concerning the Conſequences of the ſudden Alteration here in *England*. All *Europe* was ſurpriz'd with the Report of it; and we at home were not ſoon able to recover out of our Amazement. Never was the Throne of *England* better adorn'd and fill'd than by this noble Pair; and the greateſt Contention at firſt ſeem'd to be, who ſhould ſhew them the moſt Reſpect. They were no ſooner Proclaim'd than the Joy Eccho'd from all Parts. Among the reſt, the *Diſſenting* Miniſters in and about the City of *London*, Preſented an Addreſs to their Majeſties, at which Time Dr. *Bates* made the Two following Speeches.

To the KING.

May it please your Majesty,

An. 1688. "THE Series of successful Events that has attended Your Glorious Enterprize for the saving these Kingdoms from so imminent and destructive Evils, has been so eminent and extraordinary, that it may force an Acknowledgement of the Divine Providence from those who deny it, and raises Admiration in all who Believe and Reverence it. The Beauty and Speed of this Happy Work are the bright Signatures of his Hand, who creates Deliverance for his People. The less of Humane Power, the more of the Divine Wisdom and Goodness has been Conspicuous in it. If the Deliverance had been obtain'd by fierce and bloody Battels, Victory it self had been dejected, and sad, and our Joy had been mix'd with afflicting Bitterness. But as the Sun ascending the Horizon, dispels without noise the Darkness of the Night; so Your Serene Presence has without Tumults and Disorders, chased away the Darkness that invaded us. In the Sense of this astonishing Deliverance, we desire with all possible Ardency of Affection, to magnifie the glorious Name of God the Author of it, by whose entire Efficacy the Means have been successful: And we cannot without a warm Rapture of Thankfulness, recount our Obligations to Your Majesty the Happy Instrument of it. Your Illustrious Greatness of Mind in an Undertaking of such vast Expence; Your Heroick Zeal in exposing Your most precious Life in such an adventurous Expedition; Your wise Conduct and unshaken Resolution in prosecuting Your great Ends, are above the loftiest Flights of Language, exceed all Praise. We owe to Your Majesty the Two greatest and most valuable Blessings that we can enjoy, the Preservation of the true Religion, our most sacred Treasure, and the recovery of the falling State, and the Establishing it upon Just Foundations. According to our Duty we Promise un-

" faith

" fainting Fidelity, and true Allegiance to your Ma- An. 1688.
" jesties Person and Government. *We are encourag'd*
" *by Your Gracious Promise upon our first Address,*
" *humbly to desire and hope, that Your Majesty will be*
" *pleased, by Your Wisdom and Authority, to establish a*
" *firm Union of Your* Protestant Subjects *in the Matters*
" *of Religion, by making the Rule of Christianity to be the*
" *Rule of Conformity. Our Blessed Union in the Purity*
" *and Peace of the Gospel, will make this Church a fair*
" *and lovely Type of Heaven, and terrible to our Anti-*
" *christian Enemies: This will make* England *the steady*
" *Centre from whence a powerful Influence will be deriv'd*
" *for the Support of Reformed Christianity abroad: This*
" *will bring immortal Honour to Your Name, above the*
" *Trophies and Triumphs of the most renowned Con-*
" *querours. We do Assure Your Majesty, that we*
" *shall cordially embrace the Terms of Union, which*
" *the ruling Wisdom of our Saviour has prescrib'd in*
" *his Word.* We shall not Trespass farther upon Your
" Royal Patience, but shall offer up our fervent
" Prayers to the King of Kings, that he will please to
" direct Your Majesty by his unerring Wisdom, and
" always encline Your Heart to his Glory, and en-
" compass Your Sacred Person with his Favour as
" with a Shield, and make your Government a U-
" niversal Blessing to these Kingdoms.

" His Majesty was graciously pleas'd to make this
" Answer. *I take kindly your good Wishes; and what-*
" *ever is in my Power shall be employed for obtaining such*
" *a Union among you. I do Assure you of my Protection*
" *and Kindness.*

To the QUEEN.

May it Please Your Majesty,

" YOUR happy Arrival into Your Native Coun-
" trey, and Accession to the Crown, has dif-
" fus'd an Universal Joy thro' this Kingdom. 'Tis
" an auspicious Sign of Publick Felicity, when Su-
" preme Vertue, and Supreme Dignity meet in the
" same Person. Your inviolable firmness in the
" Profession of the Truth, and exemplary Piety, are

" the

An. 1688. " the most radiant Jewels in Your Crown. The " Lustre of Your Conversation, unstain'd in the " midst of Tempting Vanities, and adorn'd with " every Grace, recommends Religion as the most ho- " nourable and amiable Quality, even to those who " are averse from hearing Sermons, and apt to de- " spise serious Instructions and Excitations to be Re- " ligious. *We humbly desire Your Majesty will be* " *pleas'd by Your Wisdom and Goodness to compose the* " *Differences between Your* Protestant *Subjects, in Things* " *of less Moment concerning Religion. We hope those* " *Reverend Persons who conspire with us in the main End,* " *the Glory of God and the Publick Good, will Consent to* " *the Terms of Union, wherein all the Reformed Churches* " *Agree.* We shall sincerely Address our Requests " to God, that he will please to pour down in a rich " Abundance, his Blessings upon Your Majesties Per- " son and Government, and preserve You to his " Heavenly Kingdom.

" Her Majesty was graciously pleas'd to Answer " them thus: *I will use all Endeavours for the obtaining* " *a Union, that is necessary for the edifying of the Church.* " *I desire Your Prayers.*

This was a Publick Fact, and the Speeches were afterwards Printed, whereby the *Dissenters* in Effect declar'd to all the World, their readiness to yield to a Coalition with the Establish'd Church: But little Notice was taken of it. They had receiv'd Encouragement to expect great Things. The Bishops and Clergy, the Nobility and Gentry, with great Unanimity before the Revolution, profess'd themselves sensible of the Necessity of making the Ecclesiastical Foundations wider, and having a closer Correspondence with the *Protestant* Churches abroad, *&c.* Among the rest, they found a celebrated Writer at the latter End of the foregoing Reign, when Apologizing for the Church, and her pass'd Proceedings, thus * expressing himself. *It is not to be doubted, but tho' some weaker Men of the Clergy may still retain their little peevish Animosities, against the* Dissenters, *yet the wiser and more serious Heads, of that great and worthy Body see now their Errour. They see who drove them on in it till they hop'd to have ruin'd them by it. And as they have*

* *An Apology for the Church of* England, *with Relation to the Spirit of Persecution for which she is accus'd,* page 6.

have appear'd against Popery, *with as great Strength of* An. 1688.
Learning, and as firm steadiness as can perhaps be met with in all Church-History, so it cannot be doubted, but their Reflections on the Dangers into which our Divisions have thrown us, have given them truer Notions with Relation to a rigorous Conformity: And that the just detestation which they have expressed of the Corruptions of the Church of Rome, *has led them to consider and abhor one of the worst Things in it,* viz. *Their Severity towards Hereticks. And the ill use, that they see the Court has made of their Zeal for supporting the Crown, to justifie the Subversion of our Government, that is now set on, from some of their large and unwary Expressions, will certainly make them hereafter more Cautious in meddling with Politicks: The Bishops have under their Hands both disowned that wide Extent of the Prerogative, to the overturning of the Law, and declar'd their Disposition to come to a Temper in the Matters of Conformity; and there seems to be no doubt left, of the Sincerity of their Intentions in that Matter. Their Piety and Vertue, and the Prospect that they now have of Suffering themselves, put us beyond all Doubt as to their Sincerity; and if ever God in his Providence brings us again into a settled State, out of the Storms into which our Passion and Folly, as well as the Treachery of others has brought us, it cannot be imagined, that the Bishops will go off from those Moderate Resolutions, which they have now declared: And they continuing firm, the weak and indiscreet Passions of any of the Inferiour Clergy, must needs vanish, when they are under the Conduct of wise and worthy Leaders. And I will boldly say this, that if the Church of* England *after she has got out of this Storm, will return to hearken to the Peevishness of some sour Men, she will be abandon'd both of God and Man, and will set both Heaven and Earth against her. The Nation sees too visibly, how dear the Dispute about Conformity has cost us, to stand any more upon such Punctilio's: And those in whom our Deliverance is wrapt up, understand this Matter too well, and judge too right of it, to imagine that ever they will be Priest-ridden in this Point. So that all Considerations concur to make us conclude, that there is no danger of our Splitting a Second Time upon the same Rock: And indeed if any Argument were wanting to compleat the Certainty*

An. 1688. *tainty of this Point, the wise and generous Behaviour of the main Body of the* Dissenters, *in this present Juncture; has given them so just a Title to our Friendship, that we must resolve to set all the World against us, if we can ever forget it, and if we do not make them all the returns of Ease and Favour when it is in our Power to do it.*

But the same Celebrated Writer has since told the World, how little his and others Expectations in this Respect were answer'd. For says he elsewhere*, *The Bishops in the former Reign had in that Petition upon which they suffer'd so gloriously, express'd a Readiness to come to a just Temper in all the Matters of Difference among us, when they should be bro't before them in Convocation or Parliament. And among other Messages that were sent over to the King, being then Prince of Orange, one was, that he would use all his Interest among the* Dissenters, *to hinder them from running into the Declaration, and to the Design that was then promoted, of animating them against the Church. Of this* (says he) *I may be allow'd to speak confidently, because it pass'd thro' my own Hands; and I drew the Directions that were given to an Eminent Person who was employ'd in it. Upon these Reasons it was, that the Prince promis'd in his Declaration with which he came over, that he would use his Endeavours to bring about the so much desir'd Union, between the Church of* England, *and the* Dissenters. *So their Majesties were under Engagements to make the Experiment. It is true, it did not succeed, a form'd Resolution of Consenting to no Alterations at all in Order to that Union, made that the Attempt was laid aside. I will not enter into any further Reflections on Mens Behaviour at that Time; it plainly appear'd, it was not a proper Season to try to make Peace. Attempts that way were more likely to create new Rents, than to heal the old Ones.* So that the *Dissenters* taking this Publick Opportunity of declaring to their Majesties presently after their ascending the Throne, a readiness on their Part, *to Consent to the Terms of Union, wherein all the Reformed Churches Agree*, must be acquitted by all Mankind from being the Hinderers of the desir'd Agreement. And this worthy Prelate plainly tells us where the Blame must be laid.

* *The Bishop of* Sarum's *Reflections on a Book concerning the Rights of an* English *Convocation*, pag. 16.

Imme-

Immediately after our Happy Settlement, great Animosities appear'd among the Church Party, which spread all over the Land. The Difference lay both in Political and Ecclesiastical Matters. The Political Difference referr'd to the taking the Oaths to the New Government, which many scrupled while King *James* was Living, to whom they had sworn Allegiance already. The Ecclesiastical Difference, referr'd to Alterations and Emendations in the Constitution, Worship, and Discipline of the Church, which some were for in Order to the strengthning our Foundations, and others against, as seeing no need of Amendments. Both these Controversies were manag'd with great warmth and eagerness; while the *Dissenters* stood by, making their Remarks, hoping they should be no loosers in the Issue by such Debates. And in this Hope they were much encourag'd by observing the good Effects of their former Disputes with the *Papists*, upon such Principles as had set the Authors themselves more Upright than before they had been. An. 1689.

When it was once determin'd the Vacant Throne should be fill'd, the Debate about Alterations and Amendments in the Church quickly made a noise. They who tho't we were arriv'd at Perfection, were apprehensive their Majesties were inclin'd to be too yielding to *Dissenters*, and therefore us'd great Art and Industry to strengthen their Interest, that so we might continue upon the old Bottom. Things are too fresh in Memory to allow of Particularizing. Some few there were that could hardly think fit to allow the *Dissenters* Liberty; but even those who were so generous as to retain such a Sense of their past Dangers, and the Promises and Assurances then given, as to be Free for Liberty, were generally backward to a Coalition, tho' much prest by many indifferent Standers by.

There were many and warm Debates in the Two Houses of Lords and Commons about a *Comprehension*, and an *Indulgence*; for Bills were bro't in for both; and both were Canvass'd. Some who were of a narrow Spirit, forgetting former Promises, and repeated Declarations, were for keeping the *Dissenters* under

An. 1689. under a Brand: But thinking Men, were of a more generous Temper. Their Case was at that Time fairly represented by an impartial Hand, and strenuously Argu'd, in the Compass of a Sheet of Paper, which being liable to be lost, I think my self oblig'd here to insert it, in Order to their Satisfaction in the Principles and Pleas of the *Protestant Dissenters*, who have not Leisure or Inclination, to peruse larger Writings.

The Case of the Protestant Dissenters represented and argu'd, in 1689.

They are under one Common Obligation with the rest of Mankind, by the universal Law of Nature, to Worship God in Assemblies.

Men of all sorts of Religions, that have ever obtain'd in the World, Jews, Pagans, Mahometans, Christians, *have in their Practise acknowledg'd this Obligation. Nor can it be understood, how such a Practise should be so Universal, otherwise than from the Dictate and Impression of the Universal Law.*

Whereas the Religion profest in *England*, is that of Reformed Christianity, some Things are annexed to the allowed Publick Worship, which are acknowledg'd to be no Parts thereof, nor in themselves necessary; but which the *Dissenters* judg'd to be in some Part sinful.

They cannot therefore with good Conscience towards God, attend wholely and solely upon the Publick Worship which the Laws do Appoint.

The same Laws do strictly forbid their Assembling to Worship God otherwise.

Which is in Effect the same Thing, as if they who made, or shall continue such Laws, should plainly say, if you will not Consent with us in our superadded Rites, and Modes, against your Consciences, you shall not Worship God: Or if you will not accept of our Additions to the Christian Religion, you shall not be Christians; and manifestly tends to reduce to Paganism *a great Part of a Christian Nation.*

They have been wont therefore to meet however in Distinct Assemblies, and to Worship God in a way which their Consciences could approve; and have many Years continu'd so to do, otherwise than as they have been hindred by Violence.

It is therefore upon the whole fit to enquire,

Quest.

Quest. 1. Whether they are to be blam'd for their holding Distinct Meetings for the Worship of God? An. 1689.

For Answer to this, it cannot be expected that all the Controversies should be here determin'd, which have been agitated about the Lawfulness of each of those Things which have been added to the Christian Religion and Worship, by the present Constitution of the Church of *England*.

But supposing they were none of them simply unlawful, while yet the misinform'd Minds of the *Dissenters* could not judge them lawful, tho' they have made it much their Business to enquire and search; being urg'd also by severe Sufferings; which thorough a long Tract of Time they have undergone, not to refuse any Means that might tend to their Satisfaction; they could have nothing else left them to do, than to meet and Worship distinctly as they have.

For they could not but esteem the Obligation of the *Universal*, *Natural*, *Divine Law*, by which they were bound solemnly to Worship God, less questionable than *that* of a *Law*, which was only *Positive*, *Topical*, and *Humane*, requiring such and such Additaments to their Worship, and prohibiting their Worship without them.

The Church of *England* (as that Part affects to be call'd) distinguisht from the rest by those Additionals to Christian Religion (pretended to be indifferent, and so confest unnecessary) hath not only sought to engross to it self, the *Ordinances of Divine Worship*, but *all Civil Power*. So that the Priviledges that belong either to *Christian* or *Humane Society* are inclosed, and made Peculiar to such, as are distinguish'd by Things that in themselves can signifie nothing to the making of Persons either better Christians, or better Men.

Quest. 2. Whether the Laws enjoining such Additions to our Religion, as the exclusive Terms of Christian Worship and Communion, ought to have been made; when it is acknowledg'd on all Hands, the Things to be added, were before not necessary; and when it is known, a great Number judge them sinful, and must thereby be restrain'd from worshipping the True and Living God?

A. The

An. 1689. *A.* The Question to any of Common Sense, Answers it self. For it is not put concerning such as Dissent from any Part of the Substance of Worship which God hath commanded; but concerning such Additions as he never commanded. And there are sufficient Tests to distinguish such *Dissenters*, from those that deny any Substantial Part of Religion, or Assert any Thing contrary thereto. Wherefore to forbid such to Worship that God that made them, because they can't receive your devised Additions, is to exclude *that which is necessary*, for the *meer want* of that which is *unnecessary*.

And where is that Man that will Adventure to stand forth, and avow the hindering of such Persons from paying their Homage to the God that made them? If we thus expostulate the Matter on Gods behalf and their own? Will you cut off from God his *Right* in the Creatures he hath made? Will you cut off from *them* the Means of their Salvation *upon their Terms?* What Reply can the Matter admit?

'Tis commonly alledg'd, that great Deference is to be paid to the Laws; and that we ought to have forborn our Assemblies, till the Publick Authority recall'd the Laws against them. And we will say the same Thing, when it is well prov'd, that they who made such Laws made the World too.

And by whose Authority were such Laws made? Is there any that is not from God? And hath God given any Men Authority to make Laws against himself, and to deprive him of his *Just Rights* from his own Creatures?

Nor if the Matter be well search'd into, could there be so much as a Pretence of Authority deriv'd for such Purposes from the People, whom every one now acknowledges the *first Receptacle* of derived Governing Power. God can, 'tis true, lay indisputable Obligation by his known Laws, upon every Conscience of Man about Religion, or any thing else. And such as represent any People, can according to the Constitution of the Government, make Laws for them, about the Things they entrust them with. But if the People of *England* be ask'd Man by Man, will they say, they did entrust to their *Representa-*

tives

tives, their *Religion*, and their *Conſciences*, to do with them what they pleaſe? When it is your own turn to be repreſented by others, is this Part of the *Truſt* you commit? What Dr. *Sherlock* worthily ſays, concerning a Biſhop, he might (and particularly, after, doth) ſay concerning every other Man, *He can be no more repreſented in a Council, than at the Day of Judgment; every Mans Soul and Conſcience muſt be in his own keeping, and can be repreſented by no Man.* An. 1689. *Vindication of ſome Proteſtant Principles, &c.* p. 52.

It ought to be conſider'd, that Chriſtianity, wherein it ſuperadds to the Law of Nature, is all Matter of Revelation. And 'tis well known, that even among *Pagans* in the ſettling Rites and Inſtitutes of Religion *, Revelation was pretended at leaſt, upon an imply'd Principle, that in ſuch Matters Humane Power could not oblige the Peoples Conſciences.

We muſt be excus'd therefore, if we have in our Practiſe expreſs'd leſs Reverence for Laws made by no Authority receiv'd either from God or Man.

We are therefore injuriouſly Reflected on, when it is imputed to us, that we have by the Uſe of our Liberty, acknowledg'd an Illegal Diſpenſing Power. We have done no other Thing herein than we did when no Diſpenſation was given or pretended, in Conſcience of Duty to him that gave us our Breath. Nor did therefore Practiſe otherwiſe, becauſe we tho't thoſe Laws diſpens'd with, but becauſe we tho't them not Laws.

Whereupon little need remains of enquiring further.

Queſt. 3. Whether ſuch Laws ſhould be continu'd?

Againſt which, beſides what may be Collected from that which hath been ſaid, it is to be conſider'd, that what is moſt principally grievous to us, was Enacted by that Parliament, that as we have too much Reaſon to believe, ſuffer'd it ſelf to be dealt with, to enſlave the Nation in other Reſpects, as well as this; and which (to his Immortal Honour) the Noble Earl of *Danby* procur'd to be Diſſolv'd, as the firſt Step towards our National Deliverance.

And let the Tenour be conſider'd of that Horrid Law, by which our *Magna Charta* was torn in Pie-

* *As by* Numa *from his* Egeria. *And their Prieſts to whom the Regulation of ſuch Matters was left, were generally believ'd to be inſpir'd.*

An. 1689. ces; the worſt and moſt infamous of Mankind, at our own Expence, hired to accuſe us; Multitudes of Perjuries committed; Convictions made without a Jury, and without any hearing of the Perſons accuſed; Penalties inflicted; Goods rifled; Eſtates ſeiz'd and embezel'd; Houſes broken up; Families diſturb'd often at moſt unſeaſonable Hours of the Night, without any Cauſe, or Shadow of a Cauſe, if only a Malicious Villain would pretend to ſuſpect a Meeting there. No Law in any other Caſe like this. As if to Worſhip God without thoſe Additions, which were confeſt unneceſſary, were a greater Crime than Theft, Fellony, Murder or Treaſon! Is it for our Reputation to Poſterity, that the Memory of ſuch a Law ſhould be continued?

And are we not yet awaken'd, and our Eyes open'd enough to ſee, that the making and Execution of the Laws, by which we have ſuffer'd ſo deeply for many by-paſt Years, was only, that Proteſtants might deſtroy Proteſtants, and the eaſier Work be made for the Introduction of Popery, that was to deſtroy the Reſidue?

Nor can any Malice deny, or Ignorance of obſerving *Engliſh Men* over look this plain Matter of Fact: After the Diſſolution of that before mention'd Parliament, Diſſenters were much Careſs'd, and endeavour'd to be drawn into a Subſerviency to the Court deſigns, eſpecially in the Election of after Parliaments. Notwithſtanding which, they every where ſo entirely and unanimouſly fell in with the Sober Part of the Nation in the Choice of ſuch Perſons for the 3 Parliaments that next ſucceeded, (two held at *Weſtminſter*, and that at *Oxford*) as it was known would, and who did moſt generouſly Aſſert the Liberties of the Nation, and the Proteſtant Religion. Which alone, (and not our meer Diſſent from the Church of *England* in Matters of Religion, wherein *Charles* II. was ſufficiently known to be a Prince of great Indifferency) drew upon us, ſoon after the Diſſolution of the laſt of thoſe Parliaments, that dreadful Storm of Perſecution, that deſtroy'd not a ſmall Number of Lives in Goals, and ruin'd Multitudes of Families.

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Let *Engliſh* Freemen remember, what they cannot but know, that it was for our firm Adherence to the Civil Intereſts of the Nation (not for our different Modes of Religion from the Legal way, tho' the Laws gave that advantage againſt us, which they did not againſt others) that we endur'd the Calamities of ſo many Years. An. 1689.

When by the late King ſome Relaxation was given us, what Arts and Inſinuations have been us'd with us, to draw us into a Concurrence to Deſigns tending to the prejudice of the Nation? And with how little Effect upon the generality of us, it muſt be great Ignorance not to know, and great Injuſtice to deny.

But he that knows all things, knows that tho' in ſuch Circumſtances, there was no Opportunity for our receiving Publick and Authoriz'd Promiſes, when we were all under the Eye of watchful Jealouſie; yet as great Aſſurances as were poſſible, were given us by ſome that we hope will now remember it, of a future eſtabliſh'd Security from our former Preſſures. We were told over and over, when the Excellent *Heer Fagell*'s Letter came to be privately Communicated from Hand to Hand, how eaſily better things would be had for us, than *that* encourag'd *Papiſts* to expect, if ever that happy Change ſhould be brought about, which none have now beheld with greater Joy than we.

We are loth to injure thoſe who have made us hope for better, by admitting a Suſpicion that we ſhall now be diſappointed and deceiv'd (as we have formerly been, and we know by whom) or that we ſhall ſuffer from them a *Religious Slavery*, for whoſe Sakes we have ſuffer'd ſo grievous things, rather than do the leaſt thing that might tend to the bringing upon them a *Civil Slavery*.

We cannot but expect from *Engliſh* Men, that they be Juſt and True. We hope not to be the only Inſtances, whereby the *Anglica fides* and the *Punica*, ſhall be tho't all one.

But if we who have conſtantly deſir'd, and as we have had Opportunity, endeavour'd the ſaving of the Nation, muſt however be ruin'd, not to greaten

An. 1689. (one Hair) the Wealth and Dignity, but only to gratifie the Humour of them who would yet destroy it; we, who are competently inur'd to Sufferings, shall thro' Gods Mercy be again enabled to endure. But he that sits in the Heavens will, in his own time Judge our Cause, and we will wait his Pleasure; and we hope suffer all that can be inflicted, rather than betray the Cause of Reformed Christianity in the World.

But our Affairs are in the Hands of Men of Worth and Honour, who apprehend how little grateful a Name they should leave to Posterity, or obtain now with good Men of any Perswasion, if under a Pretence of Kindness to us, they should now Repeat the Arts of ill Men in an ill time. Great Minds will think it beneath them to sport themselves with their own Cunning in deceiving other Men, which were really in the present Case too thin not to be seen through, and may be the easie attainment of any Man, that hath enough of Opportunity, and integrity little enough for such Purposes. And 'tis as much too gross to endeavour to abuse the Authority of a Nation, by going about to make that stoop to so mean a thing, as to make a shew of intending what they resolve to their uttermost shall never be.

But some may think by Concessions to us, the Church of *England* will be ruin'd, and a great Advantage be given to the bringing in of Popery.

To which we say, the Generality of the Dissenters differ from the Church of *England*, in no Substantials of Doctrine and Worship, no nor of Government, provided it be so manag'd, as to attain its true acknowledg'd end: the favouring of us therefore will as much ruin the Church, as its enlargement and additional strength will signifie to its ruin.

And doth not the World know, that wherein we differ from them, we differ from the *Papists* too? And that for the most part, wherein they differ from us, they seem to agree with them?

We acknowledge their Strong, Brave and Prosperous Opposition to Popery: But they have oppos'd it by the things wherein they agree with us; *their di-*

feren-

ferences from us are no more fence againſt Popery, than an incloſure of Straw is againſt a Flame of Fire. An. 1689.

But 'tis wont to be ſaid, we agree not among our ſelves, and know not what we would have.

And do all that go under the Name of the Church of *England* agree among themſelves? We can ſhew more conſiderable diſagreements among them, than any can between the moſt of us, and a conſiderable part of them. They all agree 'tis true in Conformity: And we all agree in Nonconformity: And is not this meerly Accidental to Chriſtianity and Proteſtantiſm? And herein is it not well known, that far the greater Part of Reformed Criſtendom do more agree with us?

An arbitrary Line of Uniformity, in ſome little Accidents, ſevers a ſmall Part of the Chriſtian World from all the reſt: How unreaſonably is it expected, that therefore all the reſt muſt in every thing elſe agree among themſelves? Suppoſe any imaginary Line to cut off a little Segment from any Part of the Tereſtrrial Globe, 'tis as juſtly expected that all the reſt of the World ſhould be of one mind. If one Part of *England* be Taylors, they might as well expect that all the People beſides ſhould agree to be of one Profeſſion.

Perhaps ſome imagine it diſhonourable to ſuch as have gone before them in the ſame Eccleſiaſtical Stations and Dignities, if now any thing ſhould be alter'd, which their Judgments did before approve and think fit.

But we hope that Temptation will not prove invincible, *viz.* of ſo exceſſive a Modeſty as to be afraid of ſeeming Wiſer or better Natur'd, or of a more Chriſtian Temper than their Predeceſſors.

But the moſt of us do agree not only with one another, but in the great things above mentioned with the Church of *England* too: And in ſhort, that the Reproach may ceaſe for ever with thoſe that count it one; they will find with us, when they pleaſe to try, a very extenſive Agreement on the Terms of King *Charles* the II. his Declaration about Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, *Anno* 1660.

An. 1689. *Queſt.* 4. Whether it be reaſonable to Exclude, all that in every thing Conform not to the Church of *England*, from any Part or Share of the Civil Power?

The Difference or Nonconformity of many is ſo Minute, that it would be as reaſonable to Exclude all whoſe Hair is not of this or that Colour.

And what if we ſhould make a diſtermination, by the deciſion this way or that of any other diſputed Queſtion, that may be of as ſmall Concernment to Religion? Suppoſe it be that of eating Blood; for the deciſion whereof, one way, there is more pretence from Gods Word, than for any Point of the diſputed Conformity. Would it not be a wiſe Conſtitution, *that whoſoever thinks it lawful to Eat Black-Pudding, ſhall be capable of no Office?* &c.

But we tremble to think of the *Excluſive Sacramental Teſt*, brought down as low as to the Keeper of an Ale-houſe. Are all fit to approach the Sacred Table, whom the fear of ruin or hope of gain may bring thither? We cannot but often remember with horror, what happen'd 3 or 4 Years ago: A Man that led an ill Life, but frequented the Church, was obſerv'd not to come to the Sacrament, and preſt by the Officers to come; he yet declin'd knowing himſelf unfit; at length being threatned and terrifi'd came: But ſaid to ſome preſent at the time of that ſolemn Action, that he came only to avoid being undone, and took them to Witneſs that what he there receiv'd, he took only as Common Bread and Wine, not daring to receive them as the Body and Blood of Chriſt. 'Tis amazing that among Chriſtians, ſo venerable an Inſtitution ſhould be proſtituted to the ſerving of ſo mean purpoſes, and ſo Foreign to its true end! And that doing it after the manner of the Church of *England* muſt be the Qualification! As if *England* were another Chriſtendom, or it were a greater thing to Conform in every Punctilio to the Rules of this Church than of Chriſt himſelf!

But we would fain know whoſe is that Holy Table? Is it the Table of this or that Party, or the Lords Table? If the Lords, are not Perſons to be admitted

mitted or excluded upon his Terms? Never can there be Union or Peace in the Chriſtian World, till we take down our arbitrary Incloſures, and content our ſelves with thoſe which our Common Lord hath ſet. If he falls under a Curſe that alters Mens Land-marks, to alter Gods is not likely to infer a Bleſſing. An. 1689.

The matter is clear as the Light of the Sun, that as many Perſons of Excellent worth, Sobriety and Godlineſs, are entirely in the Communion of the Church of *England*; ſo that there are too many of a worſe Character that are of it too; and divers Prudent, Pious and Sober minded Perſons that are not of it. Let common Reaſon be conſulted in this Caſe; ſuppoſe the Tables turn'd, and that the Rule were to be made the contrary way, *viz.* That to do this thing, but not by any means after the manner of the Church of *England*, were to be the Qualification; and now ſuppoſe one of meaner Endowments, as a Man and a Chriſtian, do what is requir'd, and not in the way of the Church of *England*; another that is of much better, do the ſame thing in that way; were it ſuitable to Prudence or Juſtice, that becauſe it is done after the way of the Church of *England*, a fitter Man ſhould be reckon'd Unqualifi'd? And one of leſs Value be taken for Qualifi'd becauſe he does it a different way? Then is all that ſolid Weight of Wiſdom, Diligence, Sobriety and Goodneſs, to be weighed down by a Feather.

It muſt ſurely be tho't the Prudence of any Government, to comprehend as many uſeful Perſons as it can, and no more to deprive it ſelf of the Service of ſuch, for any thing leſs conſiderable than thoſe Qualifications are, by which they are uſeful, than a Man would tear off from himſelf the Limbs of his Body for a Spot upon the Skin.

And really if in our Circumſtances, we thus narrow our Intereſt, all the reſt of the World will ſay, that they who would deſtroy us, do yet find a way to be our Inſtructors, and our Common Enemies do teach us our Politicks.

P. S. The Names of Mr. *Hale* of *Eaton-Colledge*, and of a later moſt renowned Biſhop of the Church of *England*, who aſſerted this Principle, *that if things be*

An. 1689. *impos'd under the Notion of indifferent, which many think Sinful, and a Schism follow thereupon, the Imposers are the Schismaticks*; will be great in *England* as long as their Writings shall live, and good Sense can be Understood in them.

Of the Sacramental Test. His Majesty in one of his Speeches to the 2 Houses told them, *he hop'd they would leave room for the admission of all Protestants that were willing and able to Serve him, which was a thing would tend to the better uniting them among themselves, and the strengthning them against their Common Adversaries.* Pursuant hereto, when *the Act for the abrogating of the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, and appointing other Oaths*, was Read the 3d time in the House of Lords, a Clause was propos'd to be added to this Purpose, that any Man should be sufficiently Qualifi'd for any Office, Employment or Place of Trust, who within a Year before or after his Admission or Entrance thereinto, did receive the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, either according to the usage of the Church of *England*, or in any other Protestant Congregation, and could produce a Certificate under the Hands of the Minister, and 2 other Credible Persons, Members of such a Protestant Congregation. The Question being put, whether a Clause of this Nature should be made Part of the Bill, it pass'd in the Negative. Leave was given to such Lords as would, to enter their Dissent; and Six Lords did Enter their Dissent in the Reasons following.

" 1. Because it gives great Part of the Protestant " Freemen of *England* Reason to complain of Inequa- " lity and hard Usage, when they are excluded from " Publick Employments by Law: And also because " it deprives the King and Kingdom of divers Men, " fit and capable to Serve the Publick, in several " Stations; and that for a meer Scruple of Consci- " ence, which can by no means render them suspe- " cted, much less disaffected to the Government.

" 2. Because His Majesty, as the Common and " Indulgent Father of his People, having express'd an " earnest desire of Liberty for tender Consciences to " his Protestant Subjects; and my Lords the Bishops " having divers of them, on several Occasions, pro- " fessed

" ſeſſed an Inclination to, and own'd the reaſona- An. 1689.
" bleneſs of ſuch a Chriſtian Temper: We appre-
" hend it will raiſe Suſpicion in ſome Mens Minds,
" of ſomething elſe than the Care of Religion, or the
" Publick, and different from a deſign to heal our Brea-
" ches, when they find that by confining Secular Em-
" ployments to Eccleſiaſtical Conformity, thoſe are ſhut
" out from Civil Affairs, whoſe Doctrine and Wor-
" ſhip may be tolerated by Authority of Parliament,
" there being a Bill before us by Order of the Houſe
" to that Purpoſe, eſpecially when without this ex-
" cluſive Rigour, the Church is ſecur'd in all her
" Priviledges and Preferments, no body being here-
" by let into them who is not ſtrictly Conformable.

" 3. Becauſe to ſet Marks of Diſtinction and Hu-
" miliation on any ſort of Men, who have not ren-
" dred themſelves juſtly ſuſpected to the Govern-
" ment, as it is at all times to be avoided by the
" makers of Juſt and Equitable Laws, ſo may it be
" particularly of ill Effect to the Reformed Intereſt
" at Home and Abroad in this preſent Conjuncture,
" which ſtands in need of the united Hands and
" Hearts of all Proteſtants, againſt the open At-
" tempts and ſecret Endeavours of a reſtleſs Party,
" and a Potent Neighbour, who is more zealous than
" *Rome* it ſelf, to Plant Popery in theſe Kingdoms,
" and Labours with the utmoſt force to ſettle his
" Tyranny, upon the Ruins of the Reformation all
" thro' *Europe*.

" 4. Becauſe it turns the Edge of a Law (we
" know not by what Fate) upon *Proteſtants* and
" Friends to the Government, which was intended
" againſt *Papiſts*, to Exclude them from Places of
" Truſt, as Men avowedly dangerous to our Go-
" vernment and Religion; and thus the taking the
" Sacrament, which was injoyn'd only as a Means
" to diſcover Papiſts, is now made a diſtinguiſhing
" Duty amongſt Proteſtants, to weaken the whole,
" by caſting off a part of them.

" 5. Becauſe Myſteries of Religion and Divine
" Worſhip, are of Divine Original, and of a Nature
" ſo wholly diſtinct from the Secular Affairs of Poli-
" tick Society, that they cannot be appli'd to thoſe
" ends;

An. 1689. " ends; and therefore the Church by the Law of the " Gospel, as well as common Prudence, ought to " take Care neither to offend tender Consciences with- " in it self, nor give Offence to those without, by " mixing their Sacred Mysteries with Secular Inte- " rests.

" 6. Because we cannot see how it can Consist " with the Law of God, Common Equity, or the " Right of any Free-born Subject, that any one be " punish'd without Crime. If it be a Crime not to " take the Sacrament according to the Usage of the " Church of *England*, every one ought to be pu- " nish'd for it, which no body Affirms: If it be no " Crime, those who are Capable and judg'd fit for " Employments by the King, ought not to be punish'd, " with a Law of Exclusion, for not doing that which " 'tis no Crime to forbear.

" If it be urg'd still as an Effectual Test, to disco- " ver and keep out Papists; the taking the Sacra- " ment in these Protestant Congregations, where " they are Members and known, will be at least as " Effectual to that Purpose.

Subscribed, OXFORD, J. LOVELACE, WHARTON, MORDANT, R. MOUNTAGUE, W. PAGET.

On the 5th of *April*, when the Lords were Debating *upon the Bill for Uniting his Majesties Protestant Subjects*, they had under Consideration, a Commission to be given out by the King, to the Bishops and others of the Clergy, and it was propos'd that some Laymen should be added in the Commission. The Question being hereupon put, the Votes (taking in the Proxies) were equal and so According to the usual Rule in such Cases, it was taken for a Negative. Leave was given to any Lords to enter Dissents, and accordingly four Lords did enter their Dissents, in the Reasons ensuing.

" 1. Because the Act it self being, as the Preamble " sets forth, design'd for the Peace of the State, the " putting the Clergy into Commission, with a total " Exclusion of the Laity, lays this Humiliation on " the Laity, as if the Clergy of the Church of *Eng-* " *land* were alone Friends to the Peace of the State,

" and

" and the Laity leſs able, or leſs concern'd to provide An. 1689.
" for it.

" 2. Becauſe the Matters to be conſider'd, being " barely of Humane Conſtitution, *viz.* the Liturgy " and Ceremonies of the Church of *England*, which " had their Eſtabliſhment from King, Lords Spiri- " tual and Temporal, and Commons Aſſembled in " Parliament, there can be no Reaſon, why the " Commiſſioners for altering any Thing in that Civil " Conſtitution, ſhould conſiſt only of Men of one " ſort of them; unleſs it be ſuppos'd that Humane " Reaſon is to be quitted in this Affair, and the In- " ſpiration of Spiritual Men to be alone depended " on.

" 3. Becauſe, tho' upon *Romiſh* Principles the " Clergy may have a Title to meddle alone in Mat- " ters of Religion, yet with us they cannot, where " the Church is acknowlegded and defin'd to con- " ſiſt of Clergy and Laity; and ſo thoſe Matters of " Religion which fall under Humane Determinati- " on, being properly the Buſineſs of the Church, be- " long equally to both; for in what is of Divine In- " ſtitution, neither Clergy nor Laity can make any " Alteration at all.

" 4. Becauſe the pretending that Differences and " Delaies may ariſe, by mixing Lay-men with Ec- " cleſiaſticks, to the fruſtrating the Deſign of the " Commiſſion, is vain and out of Doors, unleſs " thoſe that make uſe of this Pretence, ſuppoſe that " the Clergy Part of the Church have diſtinct Inte- " reſts or Deſigns from the Lay-part of the ſame " Church, and will be a Reaſon, if Good, why one " or other of them ſhould quit this Houſe, for fear " of obſtructing the Buſineſs of it.

" 5. Becauſe the Commiſſion being intended for " the Satisfaction of *Diſſenters*, it would be conveni- " ent that Lay-men of different Ranks, nay, perhaps " of different Opinions too, ſhould be mix'd in it, " the better to find Expedients for that End, rather " than Clergy-men alone of our Church, who are " generally obſerv'd to have all very much the ſame " way of Reaſoning and Thinking.

" 6. Be-

An. 1689. " 6. Becauſe it is the moſt ready way to facilitate " the paſſing the Alterations into a Law, that Lay " Lords and Commoners ſhould be join'd in the " Commiſſion, who may be able to ſatisfie both " Houſes of the Reaſons, upon which they were made, " and thereby remove all Fears and Jealouſies, ill " Men may raiſe up againſt the Clergy, of their en- " deavouring to keep up, without Grounds, a di- " ſtinct Intereſt from that of the Laity, whom they " ſo carefully exclude from being join'd with them, in " Conſultations of Common Concernment, that they " will not have thoſe have any Part in the Delibe- " ration, who muſt have the greateſt in determi- " ning.

" 7. Becauſe ſuch a reſtrain'd Commiſſion lies lia- " ble to this great Objection, that it might be made " uſe of to elude Repeated Promiſes, and the pre- " ſent general Expectation of Compliance with ten- " der Conſciences, when the providing for it is ta- " ken out of the ordinary Courſe of Parliament, to " be put into the Hands of thoſe alone, who were " lateſt in admitting any need of it, and who may " be tho't to be the more unfit to be the ſole Compo- " ſers of our Differences, when they are look'd upon " by ſome as Parties.

" Laſtly, Becauſe after all, this carries a dangerous " Suppoſition along with it, as if the Laity were " not a Part of the Church, nor had any Power to " meddle in Matters of Religion; a Suppoſition di- " rectly oppoſite to the Conſtitution both of Church " and State: Which will make all Alterations utter- " ly impoſſible, unleſs the Clergy alone be allow'd " to have Power to make Laws in Matters of Religi- " on, ſince what is eſtabliſh'd by Law cannot be " taken away, but by Conſent of Lay-men in Par- " liament, the Clergy themſelves having no Autho- " rity to meddle in this very Caſe, in which the Lai- " ty is excluded by this Vote, but what they derive " from Lay Hands.

Subſcrib'd, *WINCHESTER, MORDANT, LOVELACE.*

" I

" I Diſſent for this and other Reaſons; becauſe it An. 1689.
" is contrary to Three Statutes made in the Reign of
" *Henry* the VIII. and one in *Edward* the VI. which
" impower Thirty Two Commiſſioners, to alter the
" Canon and Eccleſiaſtical Law, *&c.* whereof Six-
" teen to be of the Laity, and Sixteen of the Clergy.

STAMFORD.

May the 24th, *The Act for exempting their Majeſties* Proteſtant *Subjects, Diſſenting from the Church of* England, *from the Penalties of certain Laws*; receiv'd the Royal Aſſent. *The Act for Liberty of Conſcience.*

It was hereby Enacted, *That none of the Penal Laws to which they before were liable, ſhould thence forward be Conſtrued to extend to any Perſons diſſenting from the Church of* England, *that ſhould take the Oaths to the Government*, &c. *That all Preachers and Teachers among them, taking the Oaths, and ſubſcribing the Articles of the Church of* England, *excepting the* 34th, 35th, *and* 36th, *and Part of the* 20th, *and Licenſing the Places in which they meet, and keeping the Doors of ſuch Places unbarr'd, and unbolted, ſhould have free Liberty to worſhip God according to their Conſciences: And that whoſoever ſhould come into any of their Congregations, and give them Diſturbance, or miſuſe any Preacher or Teacher, upon Proof given before a Juſtice of Peace by Two or more Witneſſes, ſhould find Two Sureties to be bound by Recognizance in the Penal Sum of* 50 *l. and in Default of ſuch Sureties be committed to Priſon, till next General or Quarter Seſſions, when upon Conviction they ſhould ſuffer the Penalty of* 20 *l, &c. And that all ſuch Preachers and Teachers in ſeparate Congregations ſhould be thenceforth exempted, from ſerving upon any Jury, or from being Choſen or Appointed to bear the Office of Church-Warden, Overſeer of the Poor, or any other Parochial or Ward Office, or other Office in any Hundred of any Shire, City, Town, Pariſh, Diviſion or Wapentake*, &c.

From that Time they were eaſie and thankful; tho' many of them would have been glad to have been taken into the National Eſtabliſhment; ſome Hopes of which were ſtill left them, becauſe there was a Bill for that Purpoſe ſtill depending in Parliament,

An. 1689. ment, which pass'd the House of Lords; and when it came down to the House of Commons, they desir'd his Majesty to summon a Convocation, and lay the Matter before them. Accordingly the King summon'd a Convocation; and issued out also another Commission to Thirty Divines to prepare Matters to be consider'd by the Convocation. The Commission was as follows:

The New Ecclesiastical Commission.

"Whereas the Particular Forms of Divine Worship, and the Rites and Ceremonies appointed to be us'd therein, being Things in their own Nature indifferent and alterable, and so acknowledged; it is but reasonable, that upon weighty and important Considerations, according to the various Exigencies of Times and Occasions, such Changes and Alterations should be made therein, as to those, that are in Place and Authority, should from Time to Time seem either Necessary or Expedient.

"And whereas the Book of Canons is fit to be review'd, and made more suitable to the State of the Church; and whereas there are Defects and Abuses in the Ecclesiastical Courts and Jurisdictions, and particularly there is not sufficient Provision made for the removing of scandalous Ministers, and for the Reforming of Manners either in Ministers or People: And whereas it is most fit that there should be a strict Method prescrib'd for the Examination of such Persons as desire to be admitted into Holy Orders, both as to their Learning and Manners.

"We therefore out of our Pious and Princely Care for the good Order and Edification, and Unity of the Church of *England*, committed to our Charge and Care; and for the reconciling as much as is possible, of all Differences among our good Subjects, and to take away all Occasions of the like for the Future, have thought fit to Authorize and Empower you, *&c.* And any Nine of you, whereof Three to be Bishops, to meet from Time to Time, as often as shall be needful, and to prepare such Alterations of the Liturgy, and Canons, and such Proposals for the Reformation of Ecclesiastical Courts, and to consider of such other Matters as

"in

" in your Judgments may moſt conduce to the Ends above-mentioned. An. 1689.

Ten of the Commiſſioners were then Biſhops; *viz.* Dr. *Lamplugh* Arch-Biſhop of *York:* Dr. *Compton*, Dr. *Mew*, Dr. *Lloyd*, Dr. *Sprat*, Dr. *Smith*, Sir *Jonathan Trelauny*, Dr. *Burnet*, Dr. *Humfreys*, and Dr. *Stratford*; who were the Biſhops of *London*, *Wincheſter*, St. *Aſaph*, *Rocheſter*, *Carliſle*, *Exeter*, *Salisbury*, *Bangor*, and *Cheſter*. Twenty other Dignitaries were added to them: As, Dr. *Stillingfleet*, Dr. *Patrick*, Dr. *Tillotſon*, Dr. *Meggot*, Dr. *Sharp*, Dr. *Kidder*, Dr. *Aldridge*, Dr. *Jane*, Dr. *Hall*, Dr. *Beaumont*, Dr. *Mountague*, Dr. *Goodman*, Dr. *Beveridge*, Dr. *Battely*, Dr. *Alſton*, Dr. *Teniſon*, Dr. *Scot*, Dr. *Fowler*, Dr. *Grove*, and Dr. *Williams*.

Theſe Commiſſioners often met and debated Matters, but were Deſerted by Dr. *Jane* and ſeveral others. They drew up ſundry Alterations, a Copy of which I have by me; but they having never tho't fit to Communicate them to the Body of the Convocation, or to expoſe them to the view of the World from the Preſs, I know not how proper 'twould be for me to Print them. But thus much I ſhall venture to ſay, that ſuch Amendments as thoſe were, with ſuch an Allowance in the Point of Orders for Ordination by *Presbyters*, as is made 13 *Eliz.* Cap. 12. Would in all Probability have bro't in Two Thirds of the *Diſſenters* in *England*. Which being done, and at the ſame Time a Liberty continu'd to ſuch as could not be Comprehended, would have been greater Service to Religion than can eaſily be imagin'd.

On *November* the 16th, the Reverend Biſhop of *Sarum*, gave an excellent Exhortation to Peace and Union, in a Sermon Preach'd at St. *Lawrence Jury*, on *Acts* 7. 26. 'Tis Pity it ſhould be forgotten. Says he there, *Page* 14. *We here in* England *have had a long and fierce Conteſt about Things, which we all Confeſs are indifferent in their own Nature. This Animoſity Works ſtill ſo high among us, that many take Fire upon the ſmalleſt ſteps that can be made towards the healing ſo great a Breach; and fill all Places with Tragical Outries, as if the Church of* England *were to be pull'd down:*

An. 1689. *down: While the chief Promoters of these Reports, know well how false they are, and that instead of Offering at any Thing that can in any sort weaken our Church, every Thing which has been endeavour'd must prove its Strength as well as its Glory, if we are so happy as to weigh all in even Ballances. The Things that are propos'd are of themselves desireable, tho' there should not be one* Dissenter *gain'd by them; and are such as will tend to the making all the Parts of our Offices both more unexceptionable, and more edifying. But Distempers are far gone, when the Patient Rages at the first mention of a Medicine. We have lost many happy Opportunities, since the first Beginnings of the Reformation among us, for the healing our Breaches: One is sorry to remember them, and wishes that such fatal Errours could be covered from the Knowledge of all succeeding Ages for the sake of the Church, and of those who have govern'd it. But if we do again repeat former Errours, and let the present Advantages that we have now in our Hands slip from us, what is to be said upon it, but that this is of the Lord, who by it is punishing us for our other Sins, for our remissness in our Duties; for our neglect of the Pastoral Care; for our slackning that strictness of Life which becomes our Profession; for our indulging our selves too much in Sensuality and Laziness; and for all those other Sins, by which we have*

Mal. 2 8,9. departed from his Law, and have corrupted the Covenant of *Levi*, and made many to stumble at the Law; and that therefore God will make us become

Jer. 10. 21. base and contemptible before the People; *and that* our Flocks shall be scattered. *But we might hope for better Things, if every one would put away all Prejudices, all Wrath, Anger, and Revenge; and would put on Bowels of Mercies and Kindness, remembring that we are Brethren, so that having purify'd our selves from Humour, Passion, Interest, and every Thing else that may*

1 Pet. 1. 22. *corrupt our Minds,* unto the unfeigned Love of the Brethren, we would resolve to Love one another with a pure Heart fervently. *And if instead of the Pride of not yielding to one another in any Thing, we should rather engage into a Holy Emulation of trying who could yield most for the healing of those Wounds, that have been so often open'd, and that begin now again to bleed afresh.* He adds, *Page* 27. *God be thanked for it, that*

this

there is an End put to all Perſecution in Matters of Conſcience; and that the firſt and chief Right of Humane Nature, of following the Dictates of Conſcience in the Service of God is ſecur'd to all Men amongſt us; and that we are freed, I hope, for ever, of all the Remnants of the worſt Part of Popery *that we had too long retain'd, I mean the Spirit of Perſecution. If this gives uneaſineſs to any, it ſhews that their Eye is Evil, becauſe the Eye of our Legiſlators has been good towards thoſe, who tho' they may be miſtaken in their Notions, yet have ſtill the Rights of Men, and of Chriſtians. But after all this, it is to be remembred, that Men may be ſtill Perſecutors, tho' they are not able to perſecute any longer, according to our Saviour's charging the guilt of intended Sins, on thoſe who never acted them: For as long as we entertain Hatred and Malice in our Hearts, and wiſh that it were in our Power to do hurt to others, ſo long we become Guilty before God, and ſo do wrong to our ſelves, tho' we are not in Condition to do them any; but if we do them all the wrong we can, we ſhew what our Tempers are, and that we would do more if it were in our Power. If we Love to keep up old Differences, or to Create New Ones, if we will continue to make the Terms of Communion with us as ſtrait as poſſibly we can, and ſhut out all Perſons, as much as in us lies, from joining Labours with us, becauſe they do not in all Things think as we do: If we will by Turns imploy all the Intereſt we have in any Turn of Government that is kind to us, to do wrong to others, either by loading them with falſe Accuſations, by aggravating ſome leſſer Matters, or by an undue Proſecution of real but repented of Faults; all theſe are the ſeveral Inſtances, in which an injurious Temper ſhews it ſelf; and while ſuch Things are among us, we are under the Guilt that is charg'd on* Theſe Iſraelites *in my Text, who tho' they were Brethren, yet did wrong one to another.* An. 1689.

All the Diſcourſe now was about this famous *Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion*, which was ſo different from that of the foregoing Reign. Some were earneſt for it, and others as warm againſt it. They that were for it, Aſſerted * that it was every way agreeable to the Laws of the Land. That it was juſtify'd by ſeveral Precedents ſince the Reformation, in the Reigns of *Edward* the 6th, Queen *Elizabeth*, King *James*, and

* *A Diſcourſe concerning the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion.* Printed for *Richard Chiſwell*, 1689.

An. 1689. and King *Charles* the 2d. That such a Commission was so far from being Prejudicial to a Convocation, that it was likely to be useful to it, by way of Preparation, to get Things ready for such a Body; which must to be sure to be done by a few. That the result of their Deliberations was *Proposals* only, not *Impositions*. That the Persons employ'd in this Commission were unexceptionable; all Church-men; such Men as would sit in Convocation; Bishops, Deans, and Arch-Deacons. Men of known Abilities, Probity, and Worth. That all Churches in Process of Time, tho' at first as well constituted as the Age and Case would bear, may admit of Alterations and Improvements. That notwithstanding the Review in 61, the Constitution was still capable of another. That they were Convinc'd, that if they at that Time had Reason for the Alterations they made, which were Computed to be about 600, there was Equal, if not greater Reason for some farther Improvements. That if they at that Time had offer'd to move much farther, a Stone would have been laid under their Wheel by a secret but powerful Hand. That the best Church is not absolutely perfect in all Circumstantial Things, nor can it ever be made so here on Earth. That it would be comfortable to the *Conformists*, by fitting Alterations to have Strength and Beauty added to that House in which they resolv'd to Live and Die: And that as for the *Dissenters* if they were not thereby gain'd upon, they'd be left inexcusable. That there was then a very fit Juncture for such a Design: Because of the Desire of their Majesties; the Concurrence of the Lords in their *Bill of Union*; and the Expectation of the Reformed Churches, who look'd that something should then be done, that might make for Peace and Union.

Vox Cleri, page 14, 18, &c. To this it was Reply'd; to what Purpose is it to begin when we see not where to End? Is it not better to endure some Inconveniences (as in all Constitutions some will be) than to expose our Selves to certain Mischiefs? And what can we expect, when the 600 Alterations in 1661, had no competent Effect, but were rejected with Scorn? 'Twas added that the true *Conformists* were very well satisfy'd with

their Houſe, and contented to Live and Die in it: But that if the *Diſſenters* would go to make Breaches in that Houſe, take Poſſeſſion, deface its Beauty, and undermine its Strength, and force them to leave it, they could not take it well. That the Deſires of their Majeſties might be beſt known by their Living in the Communion of the Eſtabliſh'd Church, and their Declarations to Favour and Protect it. That the Senſe of the Lords muſt be judg'd by the Sequel. That as for the *Diſſenters* they had a Toleration by Statute, which the Church Party could not gain in the Civil Wars for almoſt Twenty Years together; and they ought to be ſatisfy'd with it. And that as for the Reformed Churches, they generally admir'd, the *Engliſh* Conſtitution. And to prevent any vigorous Attempt of that Nature, it was Publiſh'd by many as their Senſe; *That no Alterations ought at all to be made in Things pertaining to Religion, but when there was a great Neceſſity: That there was no ſuch Neceſſity for Alterations: And that if there were, it was not then a ſeaſonable Time, when ſo many Fathers of the Church, and eminent Perſons of the Clergy, were incapable of acting in the Matter, thro' their Suſpenſion for not taking the Oaths.* An. 1689.

They who were more Moderate, readily granted them, that frequent Alterations would be dangerous to Religion*; but aſſerted that in the Caſe under Conſideration there was an abſolute Neceſſity. *There lies* (ſay they) *an indiſpenſible Obligation upon us to do the utmoſt we are able to remove this miſchievous Schiſm from among us, which has ſo long diſturb'd the Church of Chriſt in this Land. The Evil of it moſt certainly muſt lie at our Doors, as far as we do not the utmoſt that in us lieth to remove it. And what other way is there now left of attempting it, but by coming to ſome Terms of Moderation and Temper with thoſe that Diſſent from us. We have already try'd all Methods of Perſwaſion to molliſie them, all force of Argumentation to convince them; we have try'd alſo Church Cenſures and Penal Laws, and what have they avail'd us, but only to heighten the Diviſions and encreaſe the Miſchief; and therefore what other Remedy is now left us for a Cure of this Evil, but that as far as we are able we abate of that which hath given the Ori-*

* *A Letter to a Friend, relating to the Preſent Convocation at* Weſtminſter.

An. 1689. *ginal thereto; those excepted Passages in our Liturgy, and those Ceremonies in our Worship, which our Dissenting Brethren cannot Conform with us in? What are those Things which we differ about, that we must for ever Sacrifice to them, the Peace both of Church and State, without abating the least Tittle for so great a good as that of the Common Union of Christians among us? Is it not end, that for the sake of those Trifles, we have for these Thirty Years past's'd driven up our Divisions and Animosities against each other to that heighth, as that we had almost totally given up our Church to* Popery, *and our Government to* Tyranny *thereby? Certainly 'tis now Time to sit down and consider, whether those Things are of such great Value, for the sake of which we bring so much Mischief, to this poor distressed Church and Nation, that nothing must be abated of that unreasonable Rigour whereby we have hitherto maintain'd them. Could but a Union be once effected among our Selves, we need not fear all the Power of* France *and* Rome, *in the firmest Union against us.*

'Twas Objected, that altering any Thing in a well constituted Church, was like plucking a Beam out of a well built House, which cannot be done without endangering the Fabrick. 'Twas answer'd, if all had been of this Mind, we could never have Reform'd from *Popery*, because this Argument would have been as strong against all Alterations then as now.

'Twas Objected, if Alterations were begun, there was no knowing where to stop. 'Twas answer'd, when any Thing was propos'd not fit to be done.

'Twas Objected, they that want Alterations, will still be craving more. 'Twas answer'd, that denying them what was just and fitting to be granted, was giving them a great Advantage.

'Twas Objected changing was reproachful. 'Twas answer'd, it was much more reproachful, obstinately to resist a Change when there's good Reason for it.

'Twas Objected, there was no Reason to endeavour to gratifie the *Dissenters*, who were Guilty of great Obstinacy and Perverseness. 'Twas answer'd, it therefore became them to Act like Physicians, who don't presently cast off a peevish Patient, but study to suit his Palate and Humour.

And

And as to the want of the Suſpended Biſhops and Clergy, they apprehended the needful Alterations might be made without them, and if they were true to the Publick Intereſt, or their own Promiſes, they could not but give their Approbation. An. 1689.

But ſuch Arguings and Pleadings as theſe, tho' from eminent Perſons of their own Church mov'd not thoſe a Jot, who had fix'd their *Ne Plus Ultra*, and were reſolv'd never to ſtir a ſtep by their Good-will, beyond the Meaſure of their Fore-fathers *. They ſaid the Acts for Uniformity were much more Effectual for Union, than any Alterations the Church could juſtly make would be. That if the Act for Uniformity had made one *Diſſenter*, Toleration and Alterations have made Hundreds. *There is* (ſay they) *no Neceſſity that we ſhould expoſe our Selves to that Reproach, which is endeavour'd to be fix'd on ſome of us, of being Eccleſiaſtical Tinkers, who undertaking to mend one Hole, do uſually make Two or Three. We have by ſtanding our Ground, put to flight one formidable Enemy; and is there a Neceſſity, that by giving Ground, we ſhould bring our Selves under the Power of another? What tho' there be ſome few that are really but cauſleſly offended at our Ceremonies, muſt we for their Sakes give Offence to the Church of God? What Neceſſity is there, that for the ſake of a few ignorant, or peeviſh, and unſatisfiable Perſons, that will not be pleaſed with all that we can do, we ſhould confirm them in their Obſtinacy, by yielding and complying with their Humours? Is it neceſſary*, ſay they †, *that a Parent ſhould yield to a diſobedient Child, upon his own unreaſonable Terms? Is it neceſſary that a Church in which all Things neceſſary to Salvation may be freely enjoy'd, ſhould accuſe her ſelf of want of Chriſtian Charity, and of impoſing ſuch ſinful Terms, for admitting others into her Communion, as were purpoſely deſign'd to keep them out, and afterward voluntarily caſt off thoſe Things, and thereby confeſs themſelves guilty of ſo great uncharitableneſs? Is it neceſſary we ſhould part with any Thing to them, of whom we have Reaſon to ſuſpect, that they will not leave craving till they have all? When theſe Things, and ſuch as theſe are prov'd to be neceſſary, then ſhall we be ready to make Alterations in our Ceremonies, and other Circumſtances: In the mean Time we ſhall Account our ſelves Happy in the Number of thoſe* Engliſh-men, *who know when they are well.* This

* *Vox Cleri*, page 45, &c.

† *Ibid.* page 11.

An. 1689. This mighty Difference was to be determin'd in the *Convocation*, which met in *December*. The choice of the Prolocutor put an end to the Hopes of ſome, and hearten'd others: For Dr. *Jane* was preferr'd to that excellent Perſon Dr. *Tillotſon*, which was an Evidence the *Chriſt Church* Intereſt was too ſtrong for the Moderate Party, and that therefore no Alterations were to be looked for. Dr. *Beveridge* Preach'd a *Latin* Sermon to them, in which among other Things he told them that, *to change old Laws for new, is always dangerous unleſs ſuch a Neceſſity conſtrain, as is otherwiſe inſuperable.* And *Leges Angliæ nolumus mutare*, was the Motto of the Prevailing Party in the Convocation. His Majeſty ſent them a Meſſage by the Earl of *Nottingham*, intimating that he had ſummon'd this Convocation, not only becauſe it was uſual upon holding of a Parliament, but out of a Pious Zeal to do every Thing that might tend to the beſt Eſtabliſhment of the Church of *England*, &c. and that he expected that the Things which he propos'd ſhould be calmly and impartially conſider'd; he intending to offer nothing, but what ſhould be for the Honour, Peace, and Advantage, both of the *Proteſtant* Religion in general, and particularly of the Church of *England*. This Meſſage being read, the Biſhops went to the *Jeruſalem* Chamber, from whence they ſent a Copy of the Kings Meſſage to the Lower-Houſe of Convocation, with the Form of an Addreſs to his Majeſty, to which they deſir'd their Concurrence. But they were at firſt for Addreſſing the King in a Form of their own. They diſlik'd this Expreſſion in the Biſhops Form, that they thank'd his Majeſty for *his Zeal, for the* Proteſtant *Religion in General, and the Church of* England *in Particular*. They were for confining themſelves to what concern'd the Church of *England*, and therefore were very Zealous for amending that Clauſe, if they might not draw up a new Form of their own. Whereupon there was a Conference between ſome Deputed by the Two Houſes. The Conference was chiefly manag'd between Dr. *Burnet* Biſhop of *Salisbury*, and Dr. *Jane* the Prolocutor. The Biſhop urg'd, that the Church of *England* was not diſtinguiſh'd from other *Proteſtant* Churches, but by its Hierarchy and Revenues, and that

that it was an equivocal Expreſſion; for if *Popery* An. 1689.
ſhould prevail, it would be call'd the Church of *England* ſtill. To which the Prolocutor anſwer'd, that the Church of *England* was diſtinguiſh'd by its Doctrine, as it ſtands in the Articles, Liturgy, and Homilies, as well as by its Hierarchy; and that the Term of *Proteſtant* Churches was much more Equivocal, becauſe *Socinians*, *Anabaptiſts*, and *Quakers* aſſum'd that Title. The upper Houſe of Convocation deſir'd the expreſs mention of the *Proteſtant* Religion might be inſerted in the Addreſs for Three Reaſons. 1. Becauſe it is the known Denomination of the Common Doctrine of the *Weſtern* Part of *Chriſtendom*, in Oppoſition to the Errours and Corruptions of the Church of *Rome*. 2. Becauſe the leaving out this, may have ill Conſequences, and be liable to ſtrange Conſtructions both at home and abroad, among *Proteſtants* as well as *Papiſts*. 3. Becauſe it agrees with the General Reaſon offer'd by the Clergy for their Amendments, ſince this is expreſly mention'd in the Kings Meſſage; and in this the Church of *England* being ſo much concern'd, the Biſhops tho't it ought to ſtand in the Addreſs. The Lower Houſe fell into a Debate upon theſe Reaſons, and Agreed to Thank his Majeſty, *for his Pious Zeal and Care for the Honour, Peace, Advantage and Eſtabliſhment of the Church of* England, and then to add; *whereby we doubt not the Intereſt of all the* Proteſtant *Churches, which is dear to us, will under the Influence of Your Majeſties Government, be the better ſecur'd.* The Upper Houſe deſir'd them to give their Reaſon, why inſtead of *the Proteſtant Religion*, they inſerted *Proteſtant Churches*. They return'd their Reaſon in theſe Words; *We being the Repreſentatives of a form'd eſtabliſh'd Church, do not think fit to mention the Word Religion, any farther than it is the Religion of ſome form'd eſtabliſh'd Church.* Then the Upper Houſe would have worded it thus: *Whereby we doubt not, the Intereſt of the* Proteſtant *Religion, in* [this and] *all other* Proteſtant *Churches, which is dear to us, will be the better ſecur'd under your Majeſties Government and Protection.* But the Lower Houſe would leave out thoſe Words, *this and*, and could not be Content to ſtand upon the Level with other *Proteſtant* Churches. It is

An. 1689. not to be wondred at, that they who ſtuck ſo much at a Thing of this Nature, ſhould be backward to yield to ſuch Alterations, as would be neceſſary to heal the Breaches that have been kept open ſo long in this Church and Nation. After this the Convocation was adjourn'd from Time to Time, till at laſt it was with the Parliament diſſolv'd, without doing any Thing at all in Purſuance to the Kings Meſſage, and their Commiſſion. Biſhop *Burnet* has given us the beſt Account of this Matter I meet with any where *. *I ſhall only* (ſays he) *touch on one Particular, which will ſhew that when Men are diſpos'd to be jealous, they will ſuſpect every Thing; even that which at another Time would be tho't the moſt Effectual Method to prevent or to cure Jealouſie. Princes do commonly prepare the Matters which they propoſe to ſuch Aſſemblies, with the Advice of their Council: But upon that Occaſion the King and Queen did Create a Council, by a ſpecial Commiſſion, of all the Biſhops who own'd their Authority, and of the moſt eminent of the Clergy, gather'd from the ſeveral Parts of the Kingdom, that they might conſider and prepare ſuch Things as ſhould be offered by them to the King and Queen that ſo their Majeſties might propoſe theſe to the Convocation. This ſurely was done in Favour of the Church. But even this was cried out upon, as a limiting the Convocation, with many other hard Words, which I do not love to repeat. It did then appear in many viſible Inſtances, that our Wounds were then too tender to be either handled or healed; ſo it was tho't fit to let the Matter ſleep, and to give no new Occaſion to heat or Animoſity. But at the ſame Time to keep the Clergy ſtill ready upon Call, if there ſhould be any Occaſion for them during the Seſſions of Parliament; yet not to Charge them with a needleſs Attendance, when the Publick Occaſions put them under ſo many Taxes: It being alſo obſerved, that in a hot Time, all unneceſſary Aſſemblies are to be avoided; for if they have no Buſineſs one Way, they commonly make it another.*

* *Reflections on a Book concerning the Rights of an* Engliſh *Convocation*, p. 17.

But whether there ſhould be Alterations, or no Alterations in Eccleſiaſtical Matters, was not the only Controverſie among the Clergy in the beginning of this Reign: For they were much divided about taking the Oaths to the Government. The Majority of them by far did indeed Swear Allegiance to King *William*:

Some

Some Swore to him as their Lawful and Rightful King; others Swore to him as King *de facto* only: And a Third Party ſtood out, and would not Swear at all, They that took the Oaths charg'd thoſe that refus'd them with a needleſs Niceneſs and Scrupuloſity: And they on the other ſide charg'd their Brethren, who Swore Allegiance to the Government, with Perjury, and Apoſtacy, and deſerting their Principles. Some that were diſſatisfy'd with the Oaths and refus'd them, continu'd Preaching even after the time had elaps'd that was fix'd by Act of Parliament for their Compliance; they held on Preaching when they were legally Silenc'd, and ſo were Guilty of the very Thing they had before charg'd as ſuch a Crime on their Nonconforming Brethren: And the Generality of them who continu'd in their refuſal, and at length quitted their Preferments, made a New Separation, and refus'd to hold Communion with thoſe who had taken the Oaths to the New Government; and ſo there was a New Conteſt begun, which was on ſeveral Accounts very remarkable. An. 1689.

The Non-Swearing Clergy repreſented thoſe who comply'd with the Government, as a Pack of Jolly Swearers, * ſuch as betray'd their Conſciences for large Preferments. They on the contrary repreſented them as Schiſmaticks, falling into the ſame Fault, they had expreſs'd ſuch a Senſe of in others. The Non-Swearers ſaid their Separation was forc'd, not Voluntary. Thsy were told by their Brethren, that the Oaths could not force them into it, ſince they were not made a Condition of Communion. In their own Juſtification, the Non-Swearers alledg'd; (1.) That the Penalties to be inflicted on them, wanted nothing of being a Condition of Communion to them as they were Miniſters, and the Oaths being impos'd under ſuch unjuſt and mercileſs Penalties, and attended with ſuch fatal Conſequences. they tho't would warrant a Separation; for at this Rate, all the Churches in *England* might be ſhut up. To this it was Anſwer'd * by the *Williamites*, that upon this Argument, there always was a ſufficient Warrant for Non-Swearers and Nonconformiſts; and that it was joining with Diſſenters to complain of unjuſt and mer-

* *See the Brief Anſwer to a Diſcourſe concerning the Unreaſonableneſs of a New Separation.*

* *Vindication of a Diſcourſe concerning the Unreaſonableneſs of a New Separation.* pag. 7, &c.

An. 1689. merciless Penalties. It was added, that tho' taking the Oaths was a Condition of Communion to them as Ministers, yet that was nothing to the People as Church Members; who could not join with them without being guilty of a Notorious Schism: That supposing they were grieved by the Secular Power, and deprived of their Livelihood by an Act of Parliament, they ought not to revenge it upon the Church: And that tho' they might no longer Officiate as Ministers, they yet might join in the same Communion as Lay Men.

2. The Non-Swearing Clergy pleaded, that their Authority was from Christ, and so no Secular Power could Unbishop and Unpriest, or disable them. *A Clergy Mans Authority* (said they) *is from God; and notwithstanding any Civil Act to the Contrary, he is bound to take Care of his Office, tho' the most bitter Persecutions attend him for so doing, and therefore if they will Warrant a Civil Act to disable us from dangerous Duties, they must Excuse us if we have those dreadful Apprehensions of the Account we have to give; that we endeavour to do it as we can at our hazard, when we are not suffer'd to do it in Communion with them.* To this they who were on the other side answer'd, that as the Prince could not give, so neither could he take away the Intrinsick Power of the Word and Sacraments, proceeding from the Keys of Ordination: But the Extrinsical Power and License of Exercising the Ministerial Office receiv'd by Ordination, he can in his Dominions Confer, and again take away, if the Case so requires; and that if a Magistrate may lawfully deprive, then the Clerk may be lawfully depriv'd: And that if lawfully depriv'd, he is bound to submit to such Deprivation. They added, that this was true Doctrine against the *Dissenters* when time was; he was a Schismatick who gave this as a Reason for his Separation: And therefore told their Non-Swearing Brethren, that if they proceeded upon the same Principles with the Dissenters, and took up their Arguments, there was as much Reason to Charge them with Schism, as they had to Charge the Dissenters.

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3. The Non-Swearing Clergy pleaded, that they were found to Obey their Biſhops and Metropolitan; for that tho' they were depriv'd by a Secular Act, yet it was not for any Crimes for which the Cenſures of the Church depoſe them; and that therefore they were Biſhops ſtill, and bound to take Care of their Churches, and their Churches to live in Subjection to them. They were Anſwer'd by thoſe that comply'd with the Government, that if there were any thing in this, then they who were of the Province and Dioceſſes where their Metropolitan and Biſhop took the Oaths, were obliged to adhere to them alſo, and ought to ſeparate themſelves from thoſe that ſet themſelves againſt Authority, and refus'd to Swear Allegiance to it, as they on the other ſide tho't they might and ought to Separate from thoſe that do Comply with it. But that they could not ſee how they were oblig'd to follow their Church Guides into Schiſm. *When* (ſay they) *did Chriſtians in Antient times ever refuſe Communion with a Church, becauſe of Matters of State; or divide from others, becauſe thoſe they divide from tho't it Lawful, and their Duty to Swear Allegiance to the Sovereign Power?* An. 1689.

So that here was a ſtrange Inverſion. Whereas there were Two Principles of which the Prelatical Party had all along from the time of the Reſtauration of King *Charles*, diſcover'd a peculiar Fondneſs; I mean, *the Power of the Magiſtrate in Eccleſiaſtical Matters*, and *Paſſive Obedience without any Limitations*; they were both of them now oppos'd by ſome among themſelves. An unlimited Paſſive Obedience was ſuperſeded by thoſe who deſerted King *James* and fell in with King *William*, for which they were ſufficiently upbraided by their Non-Swearing Brethren. The Power of the Magiſtrate in Eccleſiaſtical Matters was no longer own'd, by thoſe who fell under the diſpleaſure of the Government; but they ſet up for an inherent right in the Church; ſome of them went as far as to the Kirk of *Scotland* to borrow New Principles, of which they who were on the other Side, did not fail of giving them frequent Items. Thoſe who were of the high flown Stamp, and had formerly had the leaſt Charity for their Diſſenting

An. 1689. senting Brethren, were forc'd to borrow Pleas from them, to defend themselves from the Charge of Schism: And they who were more Moderate to Dissenters, but true to King *William*, found themselves hard put to it, to defend themselves in the change of their Notions and Schemes of Government, upon which the other Party with ill Nature and Bitterness eno' insulted over them. But the Dissenters still kept their Ground, and adher'd to the same Principles as they had acted upon all along; they were hearty to the Government; and thankful for their Liberty; and tho' they could not prevail for any such Alterations in the Ceremonies, Worship and Discipline of the Church, as should pave the way to a Coalition; they yet carri'd it with more Respect both to Civil and Ecclesiastical Governors, than many that had formerly valu'd themselves upon their Submissiveness: And tho't that none could have the Face henceforward to put them upon waiting in Hopes of Alterations and Amendments, when so favourable a Juncture as this was past by and produc'd nothing: And they were at the same time fully Convinc'd, that it must be some very peculiar Providence indeed, that must satisfie those of a Necessity of a Coalition between the contending Parties, who discover'd so much backwardness to lay hold of Two such Happy Opportunities, as the Restauration of King *Charles* and the late *Revolution*, for the healing of our uncomfortable Breaches.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

Mr. Baxters *Manifold Temptations. His Improvements and Alterations as he advanced in Years. His Deliverances and Supports. His laſt Sickneſs and Death: And Intereſt in Men of Note and Figure in the Days he Liv'd in.*

BUT that we may return to Mr. *Baxter*, from whom Publick Matters have diverted us. I ſhall pick up ſome remarkable Things, concerning him that would not have been aptly reducible to any of the former Chapters, and then Accompany him to his Grave.

Few ever had more Weakneſs and Bodily Illneſs to embitter their Lives than he had. It has been obſerv'd how this Heighten'd and Cheriſh'd the peculiar Serioufneſs of his Spirit: Which could not indeed be any other than remarkable, when he apply'd himſelf to every thing as one that was juſt upon the brink of Eternity; juſt upon entring another World. But once being under an unuſual bodily Diſtemper, which put him upon the preſent Expectation of his Change, going for Comfort to the Promiſes of the Covenant as he us'd to do; the Tempter ſtrongly aſſaulted his Faith, and would have drawn him into the height of Infidelity. Before his Entrance upon the Miniſtry, his apprehenſion of the hardneſs of his heart and doubtings of his own Sincerity, gave him the moſt Diſturbancce: But afterwards, his moſt troubleſome Temptations were to queſtion the Truth of the Scriptures, and the Life to come, and the Immortality of the Soul. Which ſort of Temptations did not aſſault him as they uſually do Melancholy perſons with vexing importunity, but with the ſhew of Sober Reaſon. Hereupon he blam'd himſelf for ſo long neglecting the well ſetling of his Foundations, while he ſpent ſo much time about the Superſtructure.

Mr Baxter *tempted to Infidelity.*

cture. So that being this way assaulted, the Reasons of his feeble Faith were suddenly enervated, and he had bin overset, if God had not bin his Strength. But it was a Mercy, (and he esteem'd it so) that he had some experimental Acquaintance with Vital Religion, before he was this way shaken. Had he bin sooner so terribly assaulted, his Recovery had bin much more difficult: Not but that Temptations of this Nature had before bin occasionally Started, but he cast them aside, as fitter to be Abhor'd than Consider'd: But he could not now be any longer satisfi'd that way, but was forc'd to dig to the very Foundations, and seriously to Examine the Reasons of Christianity, and to give a Hearing to all that could be said against it; that so his Faith might be indeed his own; and at last he found, that nothing is so firmly believed, as that which hath bin some time doubted of.

In a Storm of this Temptation, he questioned a while, whether he were indeed a Christian or an Infidel, and whether Faith could Consist with such Doubts as his. For he had oft found it Asserted, that if a Man should lead a Godly Life, from the bare Apprehensions of the Probability of the Truth of Scripture, and the Life to come, it would not Save him, as being no true Faith or Godliness. But Dr. *Jacksons* Determination in the Case, satisfi'd, and much supported him: That as in the very assenting Act of Faith, there may be such Weakness as may make us Cry *Lord encrease our Faith: We believe, Lord help our Unbelief:* So when Faith and Unbelief are in their Conflict, it is the Effects must shew us, which of them is Victorious; and that he that hath so much Faith as will cause him to deny himself, take up his Cross and forsake all the Profits, Honours and Pleasures of this World, for the Sake of Christ, the Love of God and the Hope of Glory, hath a saving Faith how weak soever: For God cannot condemn the Soul that truly Loves and Seeks him; and those that Christ bringeth to Persevere in the Love of God, he bringeth to Salvation; and there were divers things that in this Assault, prov'd great Assistances to his Faith. As,

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That the Being and Attributes of God were ſo clear to him, he being to his Intellect like the Sun to his Eye, by which he ſaw it ſelf and all things. On which Account he could not but look upon him as Mad, who queſtion'd whether there were a God; or could Dream that the World was made by a Conflux of Irrational Atoms, or that Reaſon could come from that which had no Reaſon, or that Man or any inferiour Being was Independent; or that all the Being Power, Wiſdom and Goodneſs, that we continually Converſe with, had not a Cauſe which in Being, Power, Wiſdom and Goodneſs Excell'd all that it had Caus'd in the World, Being herein firmly fix'd, when the Devil went to Aſſault him here among the reſt of his Temptations, the reſt were the more eaſily overcome, becauſe of the overwhelming cogent Evidences of a Deity, which were always before the Eyes of his Mind. *His Relief under Temptations of this kind.*

And it help'd him much to diſcern that this God muſt needs be Related to us as our Owner, our Governor and our Benefactor, in that he is Related to us as our Creator: And that therefore we are Related to him as his own, his Subjects and his Beneficiaries: Which as they all proceed by undeniable Reſultancy from our Creation and Nature, ſo do our Duties thence ariſe, which belong to us in thoſe Relations, by as undeniable Reſultancy; ſo that Godlineſs is a Duty ſo undeniably requir'd in the Law of Nature, and ſo diſcernable by Reaſon it ſelf, that nothing but unreaſonableneſs could Contradict it.

And then it ſeem'd utterly Improbable and Inconceivable to him, that this God ſhould ſee us to be looſers by our Love and Duty to him; or that Perſons ſhould be the more Miſerable, by how much the more Faithful they were to him: And he ſaw that the very Poſſibility or Probability of a Life to come, would make it the Duty of a Reaſonable Creature to ſeek it, tho' with the loſs of all below. Withall he ſaw by undeniable Experience, a ſtrange univerſal Enmity between the Heavenly and the Earthly Mind, and the Godly and the Wicked, as fulfilling the Prediction, *Gen.* 3. 15. And he ſaw no other Religion in the World, which could ſtand in Com-

Competition with Christianity. *Heathenism* and *Mahumetanism* are kept up by Tyranny and Beastly Ignorance, and Blush to stand at the Bar of Reason, and *Judaism* is but Christianity in the Egg; and *meer Deism* which is the most Plausible Competitor, is so turn'd out of almost all the World, as if Nature made its own Confession, that without a Mediator it cannot come to God. And he perceiv'd that all other Religions leave People in their Worldly, Sensual and ungodly State: Even their Zeal and Devotion in them, being commonly the Servants of their fleshly Interest: And the Nations where Christianity is not, being drown'd in Ignorance and Earthly Mindedness, so as to be the shame of Nature. And he saw that Christ brought up all his Serious and sincere Disciples to Real Holiness, and Heavenly Mindedness; and made them new Creatures, and set their Hearts and Designs and Hopes upon another Life, and brought their Sense into Subjection to their Reason, and taught them to resign themselves to God, and love him above all the World; neither is it conceiveable, that God would make use of a Deceiver for such a real Visible Recovery and Reformation of the Nature of Man. And here he saw an admirable suitableness in the Office and Designs of Christ to the Ends of God, and the Felicity of Man: And how excellently supernatural Revelations fall in, and take their Place in subserviency to Natural Verities; and how wonderfully Faith is fitted to bring Men to the Love of God, when it is nothing else but the beholding his Amiable attractive Love and Goodness, in the Face of Christ, and the Promises of Heaven, as in a Glass, till we see his Glory. He had withal felt much of the Power of his Word and Spirit upon himself, doing that which he found must be done; and could not Question his Physician, when he had done so much of the Cure, and recover'd his depraved Soul so much to God. And as his Faith had these Assistances, so he perceiv'd that whatever the Tempter had to say against it, was grounded on the Advantages he took from his Ignorance, and his Distance from the Times and Places of the Matters of the sacred History and such like things, which every

Novice

Novice meeteth with in all other Sciences at the first. These Assistances were at hand, before he came to the immediate Evidences of Credibility in the sacred Oracles themselves; and when he set himself to search for these, he found more in the Doctrine, the Predictions, the Miracles, Antecedent, Concomitant and Subsequent, than ever he before took Notice of: As may be seen at large in his Reasons of the Christian Religion. From this Assault, he was forc'd to take Notice, that it is the Belief of the Truth of the Word of God, and the Life to come, that is the Spring that sets all Grace on Work, and with which it rises or falls, flourishes or decays, is actuated or stands still; and that it is from Unbelief, arises the Love of the World, boldness with Sin, and neglect of Duty. For he easily observ'd in himself, that if Satan at any time did more than ordinarily shake his Belief of Scripture and the Life to come, his Zeal in every Religious Duty abated with it, and he grew more indifferent in Religion than before. He was more inclin'd to Conformity, in those Points which he had taken to be Sinful; and was ready to think, why should he be Singular and offend the Bishops, and make himself contemptible in the World, and expose himself to Censures, Scorns and Sufferings, and all for such little things as these, when the Foundations themselves have so great Difficulties, as he could not overcome. But when Faith reviv'd, then none of the Parts or Concernments of Religion seem'd small, and Man seem'd nothing to him, and the World a Shadow, and God was all. At first he doubted not of the Truth of the Scriptures, or of the Life to come, because he saw not the Difficulties that might cause doubting: After that he saw them and doubted, because he saw not that that should fully satisfie the Mind against them: Afterwards having seen both Difficulties and Evidences, his Faith was much the Stronger, and the more Confirm'd; and yet till the last, he found Cause to make it his daily Prayer, that God would encrease his Faith. From first to last he had his Exercises, and yet found a great Difference between his Younger and his Elder Years.

The Difference he observ'd in himself, between Youth and Age.

He found the Temper of his Mind alter something with the Temper of his Body. When he was Young, he was more Fervent, Vigorous and Affectionate in Preaching, Conference and Prayer, than he could ordinarily be in his advanced Age: But then he found his Judgment more Fix'd and Solid; his Understanding when Young was quicker, and could more easily manage things presented on a sudden: But Age and Experience better acquainted him with the ways of Truth and Error, and with a multitude of common Mistakes. In his Youth he was quickly past his Fundamentals, and was running up into a multitude of Controversies, and greatly delighted with Metaphysical and Scholastick Writings: But the Older he grew, the smaller stress he laid upon these Controversies and Curiosities, as finding a great deal less Certainty in them and less Usefulness, even where there's the greatest Certainty, than he before apprehended; the Fundamental Doctrines of the Catechism he most highly Valu'd, and daily tho't of and found most useful to himself and others. The Creed, Lords Prayer and Ten Commandments, found him the most acceptable and plentiful Matter for his Meditations; they were to him as his daily Bread and Drink. And as he could Speak or Write of them over and over again, so he chose rather to Hear or Read of them, than of any of the School Niceties which once so much pleas'd him. Among Truths certain in themselves, he did not find all equally certain unto him; and even of the Misteries of the Gospel, the subjective Certainty he found could not go beyond the objective Evidence: And therefore the Older he grew, the more clearly he discern'd the Necessity of a Methodical Procedure in maintaining Christianity, and beginning at Natural Truths, as presuppos'd Fundamentally to Supernatural. In his Younger Years his trouble for Sin was most about his Actual Failings, in Tho't Word or Deed: But afterwards, he was much more troubled for inward Defects, and Omission or want of the Vital Duties or Graces in the Soul. His daily trouble was more for his Ignorance of God, and Weakness of Belief and want of greater Love to God, and strangeness to

him and to the Life to come, and for want of a greater willingneſs to Die, and longing to be with God in Heaven. Had he all the Riches of the World, he'd have given them for a fuller Knowledge, Belief and Love of God and Everlaſting Glory: his Defects here, were the Burthen of his Life. At firſt he plac'd much of His Religion in tenderneſs of Heart, and grieving for Sin, and Penitential Tears, and leſs of it in the Love of God, and Studying his Love and Goodneſs, and in his Joyful Praiſes than afterwards: Then he was little ſenſible of the Greatneſs and Excelleney of Love and Praiſe, tho' he ſpake freely in its Commendation: But afterwards he was leſs troubled for the want of Grief and Tears, and his Conſcience look'd at Love and Delight in God, and Praiſing him, as the Top of all his Religious Duties, for which he valu'd and us'd the Reſt. His Judgment was afterwards much more for frequent and ſerious Meditation on the Heavenly Bleſſedneſs, than in his Younger Days. Nothing ſo pleas'd him at firſt as the Doctrine of Regeneration, and the Marks of Sincerity: Which was, becauſe theſe things were then moſt ſuitable to him. But afterwards, he had rather Read Hear or Meditate on God and Heaven, than on any other Subject; for he found that 'tis not only uſeful to our Comfort, to be much in Heaven in our Believing Tho'ts; but that it muſt Animate all our other Duties, and Fortifie us againſt every Temptation and Sin; and that the Love of the End, is it that is the Poiſe or Spring, which ſetteth every Wheel a going, and muſt put on to all the Means; and that a Man is no more a Chriſtian indeed than he is Heavenly. At firſt he Meditated moſt on his own Heart, and was wont to dwell all at home and look little higher: He was ſtill poring on his Sins or Wants, or examining his Sincerity: But afterwards, tho' he was greatly Convinc'd of the need of Heart Acquaintance and Employment; yet he ſaw more need of an higher Work, and that he ſhould look oftner upon God and Chriſt and Heaven, than upon his own Heart. At home he could find Diſtempers to trouble him, and ſome Evidences of his Peace: But Above he found he muſt ſeek matter of

Delight and Joy, Love and Peace it ſelf. As his Knowledge encreas'd, he alſo obſerv'd he grew more Acquainted with his own Ignorance. He had alſo a far greater Opinion of learned Perſons and Books at firſt than afterwards: And therefore was more apt to take things upon an Authors Credit at firſt, than when he came to Conſider things more maturely; for then he could diſſent in ſome things from him that he lik'd beſt, as well as from others. At firſt he was greatly inclin'd to go with the higheſt in Controverſies on one ſide or other: But he afterwards ſo eaſily ſaw what to ſay againſt both Extreams, that he was much more inclinable to reconciling Principles; and whereas he in his more injudicious Age, tho't that Conciliators were but Ignorant Men, that were willing to pleaſe all, and would pretend to Reconcile the World by Principles which they did not underſtand themſelves: he afterwards perceiv'd, that if the amiableneſs of Peace and Concord had no hand in the Buſineſs, yet greater Light and ſtronger Judgment uſually is with the Reconcilers, than with either of the contending Parties. At firſt the Stile of Authors took as much with him as the Arguments, and made the Arguments ſeem more forcible; but at length he came to that Paſs, as not to judge of Truth at all by any ſuch Ornaments or Accidents, but by its naked Evidence. His Judgment of Perſons much alter'd with Age. He found few ſo Good when he came near them, as he apprehended them at a diſtance: and few ſo bad, as the Malicious and the Cenſorious do imagine. In ſome indeed, he found Humane Nature corrupted into a greater likeneſs to Devils, than he tho't any had on Earth bin capable off: But even in the wicked, he found there was uſually more for Grace to make Advantage of, and more to teſtifie for God and Holineſs, than he once could believe there had bin. He by Degrees became a leſs Admirer of Gifts of Utterance, and bare Profeſſion of Religion. For he by Experience found what odious Crimes may conſiſt with high Profeſſion; and that great Piety and Devotion, may lie comparatively conceal'd and unobſerv'd in an unexpected Quarter. He grew by Degrees, leſs Narro-

in his ſpecial Love, and in his Principles of Church Communion. He was not for robbing Chriſt of any of his Flock; and yet he grew more and more apprehenſive of the Uſe and Need of Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline: For that nothing could be more to Chriſts Diſhonour, than when the Church ſhall be as vitious as Pagan and Mahometan Aſſemblies, and differ from them only in Ceremony and Name. He grew more and more ſenſible of the Evil of Schiſm, and the Pernicious tendency of Pride, Selfconceit and Faction in Profeſſors: And yet more ſenſible alſo of the Sin and Miſchief of uſing Men cruelly in matters of Religion, and pretending their Good and the Order of the Church, for Acts of Inhumanity or Uncharitableneſs. His Charity grew much more Extenſive in his advanced Age. His Soul was more afflicted with the Tho'ts of the miſerable World, and more drawn out in a deſire of their Converſion than before. He was not ſo inclin'd to paſs a peremptory Sentence of Damnation upon all that never heard of Chriſt. He was not ſo ſevere in his Cenſures even on the Papiſts as formerly. At firſt it would diſgrace any Doctrine with him, to hear it call'd Popiſh and Antichriſtian; but he afterwards learn'd to be more Impartial, and to diſlike Men for bad Doctrine, rather than the Doctrines for the Men: and to know that Satan can uſe even the Names of Popery and Antichriſt againſt a Truth. He grew more deeply afflicted for the Diſagreements of Chriſtians, than in his Younger Days. He ſpent much of his Time in Studying the Terms of Chriſtian Concord, and found that the true Terms of Peace were obvious and eaſie to an impartial willing Mind. He laid very little ſtreſs upon the External Modes and Forms of Worſhip, one way or another. He grew much leſs regardful of the Approbation of Man, and ſet much lighter by Contempt and Applauſe, than in his Younger Days. He grew more and more pleas'd with a ſolitary Life, in order to the cloſer Converſe with God and Conſcience, and the inviſible World. He found it eaſie to be looſed from this World, but hard to live by Faith Above: Eaſie to deſpiſe Earth, but not ſo eaſie to be Acquainted and Converſant in

Heaven. He grew more and more Apprehensive of the Odiousness, and the Danger of the Sin of Pride and Selfishness. He more and more lamented the Unhappiness of the Nobility, Gentry and great ones of the World, who live in such Temptations to Sensuality, Curiosity and wasting of their Time; and saw more of the Goodness of God in fixing Persons in a middle State, without either Poverty or Riches. He grew more and more sensible, that Controversies generally have more need of right Stating than Debating. He became more Solicitous about his Duty to God, and less Solicitous about his Dealings with him, as being assur'd that he will do all things well. Tho' he never had any Tho'ts of proper meriting, yet one of the most ready, Constant, undoubted Evidences of his Uprightness and Interest in the Covenant, was the Consciousness of his living as devoted to God. He found a great Mutability however, as to degrees of Grace; and that he could never have kept himself, if God were not his Keeper. He grew much more cautelous in the Belief of History, seeing so many byast by Interest and Faction, in the Age he lived in; and look which way he would, he found great Cause to lament his Defects and manifold Disorders, for which he was ready to beg Pardon both of God and Men: Which Frame and Temper he carri'd with him to his Grave.

His Remarkable Deliverances.

He was from first to last very observant of Providence, and took great Notice of Gods Dealings with him. God doth indeed often Manifest a Particular Care of those that are his: and were Divine Appearances in their Favour duly Noted and wisely Recorded, they would much recommend a Holy Life. Mr. *Baxter* had many strange deliverances which he never could forget. When he was 17 Years of Age, as he Rode out on a Great unruly Horse for Pleasure, which was wont on a sudden to get the Bit in his Teeth, and set a running; as he was in a Field of high Ground, there being on the other Side a quick set Hedge, a very deep narrow Lane about a Stories Hight below him, suddenly the Horse got the Bridle in his Mouth, and ran most violently; and on a sudden turn'd aside, and leapt over the Hedge into that Lane. He was at the Ground a little before the Horse

Horſe; and as the Mire ſav'd him from Hurt in the Fall, ſo it pleas'd God the Horſe never touch'd him; but 2 of his Feet came to the Ground on one ſide of him, and 2 on the other; tho' the Place made it ſeem ſtrange, how his Feet could fall beſides him. At another time about the ſame Age, he had a marvelous Deliverance from a Great Temptation to be a Gameſter. Being at *Ludlow*-Caſtle, where a great many Idle Gentlemen had little elſe to do, he was learning to play at Tables of the beſt Gameſter in the Houſe. Once playing with him, when his Oppoſite had ſo much the better that it was an 100 to one, beſides the Difference of their Skill, he ſtill held on, tho' both he and the ſtanders by all laught at him for not giving up, and told him the Game was loſt. He was ſo Confident of it as to offer an 100 to one, and actually laid down 10 Shillings to 6 Pence. When the Wager was laid, he told him there was no Poſſibility of the Game, but by one Caſt often; and it ſo fell out, that he had that ſame Caſt for ſeveral times ſucceſſively; ſo that by that time one could go Four or Five times about the Room his Game was gone, which caus'd great Admiration. He took the Hint, feard that the Devil had the Ruling of the Dice, and did it to entice him to be a Gameſter, and ſo gave him his 10 Shillings again, and reſolv'd never more to play at Tables whilſt he liv'd. At another time Travelling from *London* into the Country about *Chriſtmas* in a very deep Snow, he met on the Road a loaded Waggon, where he could not paſs by, but on the ſide of the Bank; paſſing over which, all his Horſes Feet ſlipp'd from under him, and all the Girts broke, ſo that he was Caſt juſt before the Waggon Wheel, which had gone over him, but that it pleas'd God the Horſes ſuddenly ſtopp'd, without any diſcernable Cauſe, till he got out of the way. Many a time was he brought very low while he was at *Kederminſter*, ſo as to receive the Sentence of Death in himſelf, when his Poor honeſt Praying Neighbours there met together, and upon their Faſting and earneſt Prayers, he hath bin recover'd. Once when he had bin very low for 3 Weeks together, and was unable to go Abroad, the very

Some remarkable Anſwers of Prayer.

Day that they Pray'd for him, which was *Good Friday*, he ſuddenly recover'd, ſo as to be able to Preach, and Adminiſter the Sacrament to them, the next Lords Day. Another Time, he had a Tumour Roſe on one of the Tonſils of his Throat, white and hard like a Bone; above the hardneſs of any Schyrrous Tumour. He fear'd a Cancer, and apply'd ſuch Remedies by the Phyſicians Advice as were tho't fitteſt; but without Alteration, for it remain'd hard as at firſt. At the End of a Quarter of a Year he was under ſome Concern that he had never prais'd God particularly for any of the Deliverances he had formerly afforded him. And thereupon being ſpeaking of Gods Confirming our Belief of his Word, by his fulfilling his Promiſes, and hearing Prayers (as it is Publiſh'd in the Second Part of his *Saints Reſt*,) he Annex'd ſome thankful mention of his own Experiences, and ſuddenly the Tumour Vaniſh'd, leaving no Sign where it had been, remaining: Tho' he neither Swallow'd it down, nor Spit it out, nor could ever tell what became of it.

Another Time, having read in Dr. *Gerhard* the admirable Effects of the ſwallowing of a Gold Bullet upon his own Father, in a Caſe much like his: He got a Gold Bullet, between Twenty and Thirty Shillings weight, and having taken it, he knew not how to be again deliver'd of it. He took Clyſters and Purges for about Three Weeks, but nothing ſtirr'd it: And a Gentleman having done the like, the Bullet never came from him till he Dy'd, and it was cut out. But at laſt his Neighbours ſet a part a Day to Faſt and Pray for him, and he was freed from his Danger, in the beginning of that Day. At another Time being in Danger of an Ægilops, he had alſo ſudden Relief by their Prayers. God marvelouſly honour'd his Praying Neighbours at *Kederminſter*, by Hearing their Prayers in a great many Inſtances. One Mrs. *Giles* had a Son of about 14 or 15, who upon the removal of a Fever fell into a violent *Epilepſy*; and had Four or Five violent Fits in a Day, in which they were forc'd to hold a Key between his Teeth, to ſave his Tongue. The Phyſicians us'd all Ordinary Means for a long Time in vain, but at laſt the

the People of the Town, at her Requeſt, kept a Day of Faſting and Prayer at her Houſe; and the ſecond Day, he was ſuddenly Cur'd, and never had a Fit afterwards. One Mr. *Cook*, removing from *Kinvar* to *Kederminſter*, and meeting with Difficulties in his Concernments, fell firſt into a Melancholy, which afterwards turn'd to Madneſs. He continu'd in it ſeveral Years, the beſt Means that could be, being us'd to little Purpoſe. Some were for ſetting upon Faſting and Prayer on his Account; but Mr. *Baxter* diſcourag'd it, having no hope of Cure, his Diſtemper being Natural or Hereditary to him; his Father, having much about his Age, fallen Mad before him, and never Recover'd. When he had continu'd in this Condition about Ten or Twelve Years, ſome would not be diſſwaded, but Faſted and Pray'd at his Houſe with great Importunity, and continu'd it once a Fortnight, for ſeveral Months: At length he ſenſibly Mended, and by Degrees finely Recover'd.

At another Time Mr. *Baxter* riding upon a great hot metled Horſe, as he ſtood upon a ſloping Pavement in *Worceſter*, the Horſe rear'd up, and both his hinder Feet ſlipt from under him: ſo that the full weight of the Body of the Horſe fell upon his Leg, which yet was not broken, but only bruis'd; when conſidering the Place, the Stones, and the Manner of the Fall, it was a wonder his Leg was not broken all to Pieces. Another Time as he ſate in his Study, the weight of his greateſt Folio Books, brake down Three or Four of the higheſt Shelves, when he ſat cloſe under them; and they fell down on every ſide of him, and not one of them hit him, except one upon the Arm. Whereas the Place, the Weight, and Greatneſs of the Books was ſuch, and his Head juſt under them, that it was a wonder they had not beaten out his Brains, or done him an unſpeakable Miſchief: One of the Shelves juſt over his Head, having Dr. *Walton's Polyglot Bible*; all *Auſtin's* Works: the *Bibliotheca Patrum*; and *Marlorate*, &c. Another Time, *viz. March* 26. 1665. As he was Preaching in a Private Houſe, a Bullet came in at the Window, and paſs'd by him, but did no hurt. It was alſo a very remarkable Preſervation, which he receiv'd over St.

James's

James's Market-House mention'd before. And indeed his being carry'd thro' so much Service and Suffering too, under so much Weakness, was a constant wonder to himself, and all that knew Him, and what he us'd himself often to take Notice off with Expressions of great Thankfulness.

He continu'd his Publick Work as long as he was able; which was much longer than either he or any one else could have imagin'd, he should have done. After his Settlement in *Charter-House* Yard, with Mr. *Sylvester*, he gave him and his Flock his Pains *Gratis* every Lords Day in the Morning; and every other *Thursday* Morning at a Weekly Lecture. And thus he continu'd for about Four Years and a Half, and then was altogether disabled by his growing Weakness from Publick Service: And still he continu'd even for the small Residue of his Life, to do good *in his own hired House*; where he open'd his Doors Morning and Evening every Day, to all that would come to join in Family Worship with him; to whom he Read and Expounded the Scriptures, with great Seriousness and Freedom. But at length his Distempers took him off from this also, and confin'd him first to his Chamber, and after to his Bed. Then he felt the Approaches of Death, which usually reveals the Secrets of the Heart.

His Last Sickness and Death.

But Mr. *Baxter* was the same in his Life and Death. His Last Hours were spent in preparing others and himself to appear before God. He said to his Friends that visited him, *You come hither to Learn to Die: I am not the only Person that must go this Way; I can assure you, that your whole Life be it never so long is little eno' to prepare for Death. Have a Care of this vain deceitful World, and the Lusts of the Flesh. Be sure you choose God for your Portion, Heaven for your Home, Gods Glory for your End, his Word for your Rule, and then you need never fear, but we shall meet with Comfort.* His resign'd Submission to the Will of God in his sharp Sickness was eminent. When Extremity of Pain constrain'd him earnestly to Pray to God for his Release by Death, he would check himself and say: *It is not fit for me to prescribe: when thou wilt, what thou wilt, how thou wilt.* Being often ask'd by his Friends, how it was with

with his inward Man, he Reply'd, *I bleſs God, I have a well grounded Aſſurance of my Eternal Happineſs, and great Peace and Comfort within*; but it was his Trouble he could not Triumphantly expreſs it, by Reaſon of his extream Pains. He ſaid, *Fleſh muſt periſh, and we muſt feel the periſhing of it:* And that *tho' his Judgment ſubmitted, yet Senſe would ſtill make him Groan.* He gave excellent Counſel to Young Miniſters that viſited him, and earneſtly Pray'd to God to bleſs their Labours, and make them very ſucceſsful in Converting many Souls unto Chriſt. And expreſs'd great Joy in the hopes, that God would do a great deal of Good by them, and that they were of moderate and peaceful Spirits. He often Pray'd, that God *would be merciful to this miſerable, diſtracted World: And that he would preſerve his Church and Intereſt in it.* During his Sickneſs, when the Queſtion was ask'd him, how he did, his Anſwer was *almoſt well.* And at laſt he Expir'd, on *December* the 8th, 1691. And was a few Days after Interr'd in *Chriſt Church*, whither his Corps was attended by a moſt Numerous Company, of all Ranks and Qualities, and eſpecially of Miniſters, ſome of whom were *Conformiſts*, who tho't fit to pay him that laſt Office of Reſpect. There were Two Diſcourſes made upon Occaſion of his Funeral; one by Dr. *Bates*, and the other by Mr. *Sylveſter*, which are both ſince Publiſh'd. The former may be met with in the Doctors Works, and the latter at the End of Mr. *Baxter*'s Life in *Folio*.

He had ſet his Houſe, and all his Concerns in order, ſome Time before he left this World. It had been his Cuſtom all along, to keep a *Will* continually by him. His Laſt Will bore date, *July* the 7th, 1689. The beginning of it was Peculiar, and pretty Remarkable. It ran thus;

His Will.

" I *Richard Baxter* of *London* Clerk, an unworthy
" Servant of Jeſus Chriſt, drawing to the End of
" this Tranſitory Life, having thro' Gods great Mer-
" cy the free Uſe of my Underſtanding, do make this
" my Laſt Will and Teſtament, revoking all other
" Wills formerly made by me. My Spirit, I commit
" with Truſt and Hope of the Heavenly Felicity, in-
" to the Hands of Jeſus my glorify'd Redeemer,

" and

" and Interceſſor; and by his Mediation into the " Hands of God my reconciled Father, the Infinite " Eternal Spirit, Light, Life, and Love, moſt Great, " and Wiſe, and Good, the God of Nature, Grace, " and Glory; of whom, and through whom, and to " whom are all Things; my abſolute Owner, Ruler " and Benefactor; whoſe I am, and whom I (tho' " imperfectly) ſerve, ſeek, and truſt; to whom be " Glory for ever, *Amen.* To him I render moſt " humble Thanks, that he hath filled up my Life " with abundant Mercy, and Pardon'd my Sin by " the Merits of Chriſt, and vouchſafed by his Spirit " to Renew me, and Seal me as his own, and to mo- " derate and bleſs to me my Long Sufferings in the " Fleſh, and at Laſt to ſweeten them by his own In- " tereſt, and comforting Approbation, who taketh " the Cauſe of Love and Concord as his own, *&c.*

He ordred his Books to be diſtributed among Poor Scholars: And all that remain'd of his Eſtate, after a few Legacies to his Kindred, he diſpos'd of for the Benefit of the Souls and Bodies of the Poor. And he left Sir *Henry Aſhhurſt*, *Rowland Hunt* of *Boraton* Eſq; Mr. *Thomas Hunt* Merchant, *Edward Harley* Eſq; Mr. *Thomas Cooke* Merchant, Mr. *Thomas Trench* Merchant, and Mr. *Robert Bird* Gentleman, His Executors.

He was one that was always fond of a retired Life, and yet it was not in his Power, ſo to conceal his Worth, as that it ſhould not be obſerv'd and reſpected, both by ſuch as were near him, and ſuch as Liv'd at a remote Diſtance from him.

My Lord *Broghill* (afterwards Earl of *Orery*, and Lord Preſident of *Munſter*) had a great Value for him, nominated him as one of the Committee to State the *Fundamentals* of Religion: And entertain'd him very reſpectfully at his Houſe,

His Converſation with Arch-Biſhop Uſher: And Intereſt in many others

While he continu'd there, he became Acquainted with the Pious and Learned Arch-Biſhop *Uſher*, who then Liv'd at the Earl of *Peterborough*'s in *Martins Lane*; and their mutual Viſits and Interviews were frequent. There having been a Difference between Dr. *Kendall*, and Mr. *Baxter* about the Extent of Redemption, they by Agreement met at the Arch-Biſhops Lodgings,

Lodgings, leaving it to him to Arbitrate between them: Who freely declar'd himself for the Doctrine of *Universal Redemption*, and own'd that he was the Person who brought both Bishop *Davenant*, and Dr. *Preston* to acknowledge it. Having given his Judgment, he perswaded both to forbear a farther Prosecution of the Controversie, which they readily promis'd.

In his Conversation with Bishop *Usher*. He desir'd his Judgment about his Proposals for Concord with the Episcopal Party; which were these. *That a Pastor be Governour as well as Teacher of his Flock. That where there are several* Presbyters *in a Parish, one be the Stated President. That in each Market Town,* (or some such Division) *there be frequent Assemblies of Parochial Pastours for Concord, and mutual Assistance in their Work, with a stated President also. That in every County or Dioceſs there be a General Assembly of the Ministers, once in a Quarter, half a Year, or Year; having likewise a fixed President, without whom nothing be done in Ordination, or any Matters of Common Concernment, and that the Coercive Power or Sword be appropriated to Magistrates.* He told him they were sufficient to unite moderate Men; but would be rejected by others. And in Discourse about his Predictions as to the return of *Popery* he declar'd, he pretended not to any Prophetical Revelation, but only was under that Apprehension from his Converse with the Apocalypse. The Bishop also gave him his Judgment for the *Validity of* Presbyters *Ordination*; and told him that the King at the Isle of *Wight*, ask'd him where he found in Antiquity, that *Presbyters* Ordain'd any alone; and that he Reply'd, he could shew much more, even where *Presbyters* alone successively Ordain'd Bishops; the *Presbyters* of *Alexandria* chooſing and making their own Bishops, from the Days of St. *Mark*, till *Heraclas* and *Dionysius* [as saith St. *Hierom in Epist. ad Evagrium.*] He moreover own'd to him, *that the Reduction of Episcopacy to the Form of Synodical Government*, which went about, was his: And with a great deal of Assurance gave it him as his Judgment, *That Synods are not properly for Government, but for Agreement among the Pastours; and a Synod of Bishops,*

are

are not the Governours, of any one Bishop, there present.

While the Debates continu'd, after the Restauration of King *Charles* about an Accommodation of Ecclesiastical Matters, Mr. *Baxter* as appears from the foregoing Account, was often with the Earl of *Clarendon*, Lord Chancellour, who carry'd it with a great shew of Respect to him: And his Interest in him was such as to engage him to do Good Service to the People of *New-England*, on whose Behalf, he oft pleaded with him. The Case was this.

Mr. *Elliot* having learnt the *American* Language, and Converted many of the Barbarous Natives to Christianity, was desirous of settling Regular Churches among them. In Order hereto, it was first necessary to build them Houses and draw them together (who were us'd to live dispers'd like Wild Beasts) and to get a Maintenance for Ministers to Preach to them, and Schoolmasters to teach and instruct their Children. For this Purpose *Cromwell* in the Time of his Government, had a General Collection thro' the Land. The People gave Liberally for so good a Work; and the Money was put into the Hands of a Corporation settled on Purpose to dispose of it to the best Advantage; who keeping some in Stock, Purchased 7 or 800 *l.* a Year in Land, which was appropriated to the Service of the Gospel in those Parts. The Land was bought of one Col. *Beddingfield*, a *Papist*, and an Officer in the Kings Army. Upon the Kings Restauration, the Collonel seiz'd the Land again for his own Use, and refus'd either to surrender it, or Repay the Money, pretending the Corporation was Illegal and Null. Hereupon Alderman *Ashhurst* who was Treasurer, call'd the Corporation together, perswaded those who were Members of it, that were Obnoxious, to recede, that he might see if the rest might be continu'd, more fit Men added, and the Land recover'd. Mr. *Baxter* urg'd the Lord Chancellour about it, and found him Hearty. When the Matter had depended a Twelve Month, he granted a Decree for a New Corporation. Some Lords were made Members of it; Mr. *Boyle* was made President, and Mr. *Ashhurst* continu'd Treasurer, and the

the Matter was happily ſettled. Whereupon Mr. *Baxter* receiv'd Letters of Hearty Thanks, from the Court and Governour in *New-England*, and from Mr. *Elliot*, and Mr. *Norton*, All acknowledging the Signal Service he had done them.

After Mr. *Baxter* was Silenc'd with the reſt of his Brethren, he had Letters from Foreign Divines full of Reſpect, and courting him to a Correſpondence with them, which he durſt not yield to, for fear it ſhould be Miſinterpreted. Among others, he receiv'd a Letter from Monſieur *Amyrald*, upon Occaſion of a Word of Dr. *Louis du Moulin*, who had ſaid that he had heard that *Amyrald* had ſpoken ſlightingly of the *Engliſh Nonconformiſts*: And another from Monſieur *Sollicoffer*, a Miniſter in *Switzerland*, who deſir'd his Advice about ſetting up the Work of Miniſterial Inſtruction of the Particular Families and Perſons of their Charge. But fear of Offence, prevented his Anſwering theſe and other Letters from Foreign Parts, tho' he was often apply'd to.

Duke Lauderdale.

In the worſt of Times, he had ſeveral even at Court and about the King, who were very reſpectful to him. Among the reſt Duke *Lauderdale* profeſs'd great Kindneſs to him. But he being a Perſon generally tho't ill off, and one whom the Parliament Voted an Evil Counſellour, many were offended at his having any Correſpondence with him: Which he gave way to, partly to avoid Rudeneſs after abundant Civilities, and partly that he might make uſe of his Intereſt in him for the doing Good upon Occaſion: In which he ſometimes was not without Succeſs.

Sir Matthew Hale

While he liv'd at *Acton*, he had the Happineſs of Free Converſation with that Mirrour of Juſtice, that Ornament of King *Charles* his Reign, the Worthy Sir *Matthew Hale*, Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, who liv'd in his Neighbourhood; their Converſation ran much upon the main Points of Religion, the Immortality of the Soul, and Certainty of a Future State, *&c.* His Converſe was highly pleaſing and Profitable. He found him a great Lamenter of the Extremities of the Times, and the Violence of ſome of the Clergy, and a great deſirer of ſuch Abatements as might take in all uſeful Perſons. He Manifeſted his

his Respect to Mr. *Baxter*, by giving an High Encomium of him, both for Piety and Learning, before all the Judges at the Table at *Serjeants Inne*, at the time when he was in Prison upon the *Oxford Act*; and by leaving him a Legacy of 40 Shillings in his Will.

The Earl of *Balcarres* who was driven out of *Scotland* by *Cromwel*, and went to King *Charles* in his Exile, had also a great Value for him; which was occasion'd by his reading Mr. *Baxter*'s Books, upon the Lord *Lauderdales* Recommendation. This Earl of *Balcarres* was a very Considerable Man, and taken for the Head of the Presbyterians with the King; but unhappily he fell out with the Lord Chancellor, and was afterwards forbid the Court, and in some time dy'd of a Consumption. The Lady *Balcarres* was not short of her Lord in Respects to Mr. *Baxter*.

When he was Building a New Meeting-House in *Oxenden-street*, tho' he medled not with it himself, he had Contributions sent in freely by many Persons, to Mr. *Thomas Stanley*, who undertook the Care of the Disbursement, *&c.* Alderman *Ashhurst* and Mr. *Booth* sent in 100 l. Collected among their own Acquaintance; Sir *John Maynard* 40 l. The Lady *Armine* 60 l. The Countess of *Warwick* 20 l. Mr. *Brooke Bridges* 20 l. Sir *James Langham* 20 l. The Countess of *Clare* 10 l. Sir *Edward Harley* 10 l. Mr. *Trench* and Mr. *Brand* 20 l. The Countess of *Treconnel* 6 l. The Lady *Clinton* 5 l. The Lady *Eleanor Hollis* 5 l. The Lady *Fitz James* 6 l. The Lady *Richards* 5 l. Mr. *Hampden* 8 l. Mr. *Henly* 5 l. and many others, other Summs.

He was much consulted about Cases of Conscience. Scarce a Man in *England* had more applying themselves to him upon that Account than he. One Passage is too remarkable to be past by. In 1665, the Lord *Ashley* sent a Letter to Sir *John Trevor* at *Acton*, signifying that a good Friend of his, in whose Case the King did greatly Concern himself, had all his Fortunes cast upon Mr. *Baxter*'s Resolution of this one Case. *Whether a Protestant Lady of strict Education, might Marry a Papist, in hope of his Conversion, by promising*

The Resolution of a Case of Conscience.

promising not to disturb her in her Religion. The Lady told those that were concern'd, that she would not Consent, unless Mr. *Baxter* satisfi'd her that it was Lawful. The Case was Nice; he weighed it well: And this was the Substance of his Resolution.

In General, it cannot be said to be simply, and in all Cases unlawful to Marry an *Infidel* or *Heathen*, much less a *Papist*. Nay, it may be Lawful in Case of true Necessity where better is not to be had; and in Case it be very likely to prove some great Commodity to Church or State. But ordinarily 'tis Sinful, what Hopes soever there may be of the Husbands Conversion. For a Husband ought especially to be a meet helper in Matters of the greatest Moment; and he that is no helper in Religion, must needs be a hinderer: Marriage is none of the Means that God hath requir'd in order to Conversion: A Wife in such a Case, may rather fear being Chang'd by a Husband, than reasonably hope to work a Change upon him: Or if she be so happy as to escape Perversion, there is little hope of her escaping a sad Calamitous Life: His Religion will not allow him to Love her otherwise, than as a Child of the Devil, in a State of Damnation may be Lov'd. And therefore it can neither be for the Glory of God, nor the true Comfort of the Party concern'd.

In the whole Course of his Life he had scarce a Friend whom he more Valu'd and Respected, and by whom he was more Belov'd, than that Noted Citizen Mr. *Henry Ashhurst*, commonly call'd Alderman *Ashhurst*; who was the most exemplary Person for Eminent Sobriety, Self-denial, Piety and Charity, that *London* could Glory off. He was a Christian of the Primitive Stamp, and did good to all as he was able, especially needy, silenc'd Ministers: To whom in *Lancashire* alone, he allow'd 100 l. *per Annum*. He left behind him the Perfume of a most Honour'd Name, and the Memorials of a most Exemplary Life, to be imitated by all his Descendents. Mr. *Baxter* gave him his true Character in his Funeral Sermon.

Many Forreign Divines wrote to him with abundance of Respect. As particularly Monsieur *Brunse-*

nius, Chaplain to his Electoral Highneſs of *Brandenburg*; who ſent him Word, that he had employ'd ſeveral Perſons to Tranſlate ſome of his Practical Works into *Latin*, which were Diſpers'd and Sold throughout that Country, and offer'd him his utmoſt Service in any thing wherein he was Capable of obliging him.

Dr. *Spencer* alſo, Chaplain to the Duke of *Saxony*, directed Mr. *Chriſtopher Martin* a Divine who liv'd in his Houſe, to Write a very kind and reſpectful Letter to Mr *Baxter*, and tell him how much his Books had promoted Practical Religion in thoſe Countries, ſince they were Tranſlated into *Latin*, and how wonderfully God had Bleſt them for the good of many.

In ſhort, Living and Dying, he was as much Reſpected by ſome, and as much Slighted by others, as any Man of the Age.

CHAP. XVII.

His Works and Writings:

IT'S well known Mr. *Baxter* was a Conſiderable Writer, and few ever Writ to better Purpoſe. His Books for their Number and Variety of Matter in them, make a Library: They contain a Treaſure of Controverſial, Caſuiſtical, Poſitive and Practical Divinity. This at leaſt was the Senſe of the Judicious Dr. *Bates's*.* Neither was he alone in this Sentiment; for the Excellent Biſhop *Wilkins* did not ſtick to ſay, that he had Cultivated every Subject he handled. A Compleat Liſt of his Works is therefore added for the Satisfaction of the Curious.

* *His Sermon at his Funeral.*

The firſt Book he Publiſh'd, was his *Aphoriſms of Juſtification and the Covenants*, &c. This was diſpleaſing to many, on Account of ſome Peculiarities. He Receiv'd and Anſwer'd Objections ſent him againſt it, by Mr. *Burgeſs*, Mr. *Warren*, Dr. W

lis, Mr. *Cartwright* and Mr. *Lawſon*: And to the laſt adher'd to the Subſtance of it; tho' he could have wiſh'd ſome things a little otherwiſe expreſs'd, and that he had let Perſons alone when he touch'd upon their Errors. It firſt came out in 1649. 12*s*. He deſir'd that his Confeſſion of Faith (after mention'd) might be taken for a fuller Explication of this Book.

n 1650. He publiſh'd his *Saints Everlaſting Reſt*, 4*to*. which he Wrote in a very Languiſhing Condition, when in the Suſpence of Life and Death, and yet it has the Signatures of a moſt Holy and Vigorous Mind. This is a Book for which Multitudes will have Cauſe to Bleſs God for ever. Among others, Holy Mr. *John Janeway* was thereby Converted. * *See his Life*, p. 6.

he ſame Year he Publiſh'd, *Plain Scripture Proof of Infants Church Memberſhip and Baptiſm*, 4*to*. which were the Arguments us'd in a Publick Diſpute with Mr. *Tombes* the Anabaptiſt at *Bewdley*; which Book recover'd many from *Anabaptiſm*, and Eſtabliſh'd more.

1653, He Publiſh'd *the right Method for Peace of Conſcience and Spiritual Comfort, in* 32 *Directions*, 12*s*. He Wrote it for the Satisfaction of Collonel *John Bridges* his Lady. This Book pleas'd Dr. *Hammond*, and Comforted many.

little after, he Publiſh'd *his Judgment about the Perſeverance of Believers*, to remove ſome Objections upon that Head, ſtarted upon Occaſion of the foregoing Diſcourſe.

e ſame Year he publiſh'd his *Chriſtian Concord*: Or, the Agreement of the Aſſociated Paſtors and Churches of *Worceſterſhire*, with its Explication and Defence, 4*to*.

alſo, the *Worceſterſhire* Petition to the Parliament, or the Miniſtry of *England*, with the Defence of t, 4*to*.

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A

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FINIS.

An INDEX; of the Names of such as there is any Account of, in the foregoing List of Persons Ejected by the Act for Uniformity.

A.

MR. *Richard Adams*, p. 211.
Mr. *Thomas Adams*, p. 213.
Mr. *Richard Allein*, p. 313.
Mr. *Joseph Allein*, p. 310.
Mr. *Thomas Allen*, p. 266.
M. *Vincent Alsop*, p. 333.
Mr. *Isaac Ambrose*, p. 407.
Mr. *Amgill*, p. 447.
Mr. *John Angier*, p. 397.
Dr. *Sam. Annesley*, p. 213.
Mr. *Arlish*, p. 451.
Mr. *Robert Armitage*, p. 442.
Dr. *Arthur*, p. 283.
Mr. *Simeon Ash*, p. 184.
Mr. *Peter Atkinson*, p. 408.
Mr. *Simon Atkinson*, p. 416.

B.

Mr. *Sam. Backlar*, p. 264.
Mr. *Edw. Baggshaw*, p. 336.
Mr. *William Baggshaw*, p. 392.
Mr. *Joseph Baker*, p. 342.
Mr. *Thomas Bakewell*, p. 358.
Mr. *Thomas Baldwin*, Sen. p. 344.
Mr. *Thomas Baldwin*, Jun. p. 356.
Mr. *Roger Baldwin*, p. 415.
Mr. *Francis Bampfield*, p. 297.
Mr. *Matthew Barker*, p. 212.
Mr. *James Baron*, p. 327.
Mr. *Barrett*, p. 373.
Dr. *William Bates*, p. 215.
Mr. *Robert Bath*, p. 401.
Mr. *Benjamin Baxter*, p. 343.
Mr. *Stephen Baxter*, Ibid.
Mr. *Thomas Baylie*, p. 321.
Mr. *John Beadle*, p. 248.
Mr. *William Bell*, p. 405.
Mr. *Humphrey Bell*, p. 423.
Mr. *Benn*, p. 297.
Mr. *Joseph Bennet*, p. 288.
Mr. *Bennet* of *Whitwick*, p. 364.
Mr. *George Benson*, p. 415.
Mr. *Eli Bentley*, p. 443.
Mr. *Benton*, p. 435.
Mr. *John Billingsley*, p. 382.
Mr. *Billio*, p. 251.
Mr. *John Bingham*, p. 381.
Mr. *John Biscoe*, p. 204.
Mr. *Sam. Bloar*, p. 335.
Mr. *Matthew Bloom*, p. 433.
Mr. *Sam. Borset*, p. 249.
Mr. *Edward Boucher*, p. 344.
Mr. *Edward Bowles*, p. 426.
Mr. *Nath. Bradshaw*, p. 271.
Mr. *James Bradshaw*, p. 469.
Mr. *Robert Bragg*, p. 218.
Mr. *Thomas Brand*, p. 485.
Mr. *John Brett*, p. 291.
Mr. *William Bridge*, p. 268.
Mr. *John Brinsley*, p. 266.
Mr. *Briscoe*, p. 406.
Mr. *Thomas Brooks*, p. 200.
Mr. *Thomas Broomwich*, p. 342.
Mr. *Patrick Bromfield*, p. 422.
Dr. *John Bryan*, p. 359.
Mr. *John Bryan*, p. 349.
Mr. *Jarvis Bryan*, p. 344.
Mr. *Bull*, p. 281.
Dr. *Cornelius Burgess*, p. 318.
Mr. *Anthony Burgess*, p. 360.
Mr. *Burbeck*, p. 434.
Mr. *Burdall*, p. 357.
Mr. *Bursdal*, p. 437.
Mr. *Edward Bury*, p. 351.

Mr.

Mr. *John Buſhnel*, p. 290.
Mr. *John Butler*, p. 269.
Mr. *Ralph Button*, p. 225.
Mr. *Richard Byfield*, p. 282.

C.

Mr. *Edm. Calamy*, Sen. p. 186.
Mr. *Edm. Calamy*, Jun, p. 248.
Mr. *Abraham Caley*, p. 204.
Mr. *Thomas Calvert*, p. 431.
Mr. *James Calvert*, p. 452.
Mr. *Cammerford*, p. 410.
Mr. *Daniel Capel*, p. 336.
Mr. *Cart*, p. 434.
Mr. *John Carturight*, p. 470.
Mr. *Joſeph Caryl*, p. 188.
Mr. *Thomas Caſe*, p. 191.
Mr. *Daniel Cawdry*, p. 334.
Mr. *Thomas Cawton*, p. 233.
Dr. *Humphrey Chambers*, p. 321.
Mr. *Richard Chantrey*, p. 356.
Mr. *Samuel Charles*, p. 380.
Mr. *Charman*, p. 435.
Mr. *Stephen Charnock*, p. 222.
Mr. *Cheeſeman*, p. 327.
Mr. *Cheſter*, p. 367.
Dr. *Cheynel*, p. 288.
Mr. *Joſeph Church*, p. 206.
Mr. *Nicholas Clagget*, p. 262.
Mr. *Samuel Clark*, Sen. p. 190.
Mr. *Samuel Clark*, Jun. p. 329.
Mr. *Matthew Clark*, p. 365.
Mr. *Peter Clark*, p. 451.
Mr. *David Clarkſon*, p. 283.
Mr. *Luke Clayton*, p. 433.
Mr. *Samuel Coates*, p. 375.
Dr. *Collings*, p. 265.
Mr. *John Collins*, p. 484.
Mr. *Thomas Cole*, p. 225.
Mr. *Conſtantine*, p. 445.
Mr. *Robert Conſtantine*, p. 400.
Mr. *William Cook*, p. 465.
Mr. *William Cooper*, p. 195.
Mr. *Joſeph Cooper*, p. 340.
Mr. *John Corbet*, p. 291.
Mr. *Core*, p. 447.
Mr. *Henry Corniſh*, p. 231.
Mr. *Samuel Cradock*, p. 314.
Mr. *Luke Cranwell*, p. 379.
Mr. *Crodacott*, p. 198.
Mr. *Zach. Croſton*, p. 196.
Mr. *Thomas Crompton*, p. 404.
Mr. *Thomas Crompton*, p. 411.
Mr. *Crook*, p. 436.
Dr. *Joſhua Croſs*, p. 224.
Mr. *Croſsby*, p. 444.
Mr. *John Crump*, p. 285.

D.

Mr. *Thomas Danſon*, p. 263.
Mr. *Paul D'Aranda*, p. 289.
Mr. *John Darnton*, p. 453.
Mr. *Triſtram Diamond*, p. 362.
Mr. *John Dodderidge*, p. 278.
Mr. *Thomas Doolittel*, p. 218.
Dr. *Drake*, p. 198.
Mr. *Drake*, p. 464.
Mr. *James Duncanſon*, p. 422.
Mr. *Durant*, p. 464.

E.

Mr. *Robert Eaton*, p. 405.
Mr. *Samuel Eaton*, p. 409.
Mr. *Elſord*, p. 279.
Mr. *Ely*, p. 248.
Mr. *Evance*, p. 362.
Mr. *Everard*, p. 435.
Mr. *William Eyre*, p. 323.

F.

Mr. *Samuel Fairclough*, Sen. p. 252.
Mr. *Samuel Fairclough*, Jun. p. 331.
Mr. *Richard Fairclough*, p. 315.
Mr. *John Fairfax*, p. 260.
Mr. *John Faldo*, p. 484.
Mr. *Ferret*, p. 445.

Mr.

Mr. *Martin Finch*, p. 464.
Mr. *William Fincher*, p. 357.
Mr. *Giles Firmin*, p. 243.
Mr. *Robert Fish*, p. 290.
Mr. *Fisher*, p. 432.
Mr. *Samuel Fisher*, p. 469.
Mr. *John Flavel*, p. 300.
Mr. *Floyde*, p. 334.
Mr. *John Fogg*, p. 406.
Mr. *Fogg*, p. 484.
Mr. *Thomas Ford*, p. 299.
Mr. *Stephen Ford*, p. 335.
Mr. *Fox*, p. 358.
Mr. *Christopher Fowler*, p. 326.
Mr. *Richard Frankland*, p. 424.
Mr. *Franklyn*, p. 264.
Mr. *Freysell*, p. 355.

G.

Mr. *Theophilus Gale*, p. 229.
Mr. *Allen Geare*, p. 300.
Mr. *John Gibbons*, p. 192.
Mr. *Gilbert* of *Eling*, p. 279.
Mr. *Thomas Gilbert*, p. 350.
Dr. *Richard Gilpin*, p. 415.
Mr. *Godbolt*, p. 279.
Dr. *Thomas Goodwin*, p. 225.
Mr. *John Goodwin*, p. 219.
Mr. *Philip Goodwin*, p. 277.
Mr. *Richard Goodwin*, p. 402.
Mr. *Thomas Gouge*, p. 188.
Mr. *Thomas Gouldham*, p. 288.
Mr. *Thomas Goulston*, p. 279.
Mr. *Grace*, p. 357.
Mr. *Grant*, p. 463.
Mr. *Thomas Gregge*, p. 410.
Mr. *Greenhil*, p. 281.
Dr. *Daniel Greenwood*, p. 224.
Dr. *Obadiah Grew*, p. 359.
Mr. *Jonathan Grew*, p. 363.
Mr. *Martin Grundman*, p. 347.
Mr. *John Gunter*, p. 451.

H.

Mr. *Haddesly*, p. 294.
Mr. *Thomas Hall*, p. 339.
Mr. *George Hammond*, p. 2[illegible]
Mr. *Rowland Hancock*, p. 43[illegible]
Mr. *Thomas Hardcastle*, p. 44[illegible]
Dr. *John Harding*, p. 322.
Mr. *Samuel Hardy*, p. 299.
Mr. *John Harmar*, p. 294.
Dr. *Thomas Harrison*, p. 467.
Mr. *John Harrison*, p. 398.
Mr. *Harrison*, p. 409.
Mr. *William Hawden*, p. 434.
Mr. *Hawksworth*, p. 443.
Mr. *Haworth*, p. 277.
Mr. *Heath*, p. 348.
Mr. *Henderson*, p. 423.
Mr. *Philip Henry*, p. 473.
Mr. *Oliver Heywood*, p. 444.
Mr. *Nath. Heywood*, p. 397.
Mr. *Henry Hickman*, p. 233.
Mr. *Jaspar Hicks*, p. 307.
Mr. *John Hieron*, p. 376.
Mr. *Samuel Hieron*, p. 382.
Mr. *Hiet*, p. 407.
Mr. *Joseph Hill*, p. 237.
Mr. *Edward Hill*, p. 437.
Mr. *Matthew Hill*, p. 453.
Mr. *Samuel Hildersham*, p. 35[illegible]
Mr. *Richard Hincks*, p. 356.
Mr. *Hobson*, p. 434.
Mr. *Thomas Hodges*, p. 335.
Mr. *Richard Holbrook*, p. 39[illegible]
Mr. *Francis Holcroft*, p. 239.
Mr. *Josiah Holdsworth*, p. 44[illegible]
Mr. *Josiah Holdsworth*, p. 45[illegible]
Mr. *Thomas Holland*, p. 398.
Dr. *Nathanael Holmes*, p. 19[illegible]
Mr. *William Hook*, p. 203.
Mr. *George Hopkins*, p. 343.
Mr. *John How*, p. 303.
Mr. *Francis Howel*, p. 224.

Mr. George Hughes, p. 302.
Mr. Obadiah Hughes, Ibid.
Mr. Edw. Hulse, p. 237.
Mr. Philip Hunton, p. 322.
Mr. Henry Hurst, p. 209.

I.

Mr. Arthur Jackson, p. 185.
Mr. John Jackson, p. 203.
Dr. Thomas Jacomb, p. 212.
Mr. John James, p. 373.
Mr. William Janeway, p. 278.
Mr. James Janeway, p. 484.
Mr. Henry Jeanes, p. 317.
Mr. William Jenkin, p. 194.
Mr. Jonathan Jephcott, p. 271.
Mr. Peter Ince, p. 323.
Mr. Inman, p. 436.
Mr. James Innis, p. 308.
Mr. Francis Johnson, p. 203.
Mr. John Johnson, p. 230.
Mr. Thomas Jollie, p. 396.
Mr. John Jollie, p. 469.
Mr. Edmund Jones, p. 400.

K.

Dr. George Kendal, p. 304.
Mr. Richard Kentish, p. 203.
Mr. Simeon King, p. 332.
Mr. Joshua Kirby, p. 438.
Mr. Isaac Knight, p. 279.

L.

Mr. Lampet, p. 410.
Mr. Lancaster, p, 294.
Mr. Lane, p. 422.
Dr. Henry Langley, p. 224.
Mr. George Larkham, p. 416.
Mr. Paul Lathum, p. 409.
Mr. John Lavender, p. 250.
Mr. Christ. Lawrence, p. 298
Mr. Edward Laurence, p. 350.
Mr. John Leaver, p. 400.
Mr. Robert Leaver, p. 423.
Mr. Samuel Lee, p. 204.
Mr. Lee, p. 410.
Mr. Tobias Legg, p. 261.
Mr. Nicholas Lockyer, p. 205.
Mr. John Lomax, p. 422.
Mr. Lovel, p. 356.
Mr. William Low, p. 345.
Mr. Lowder, p. 201.
Mr. Lukin, p. 252.
Mr. Thomas Lye, p. 197.

M.

Mr. John Machin, p. 470.
Mr. George Mainwaring, p. 469.
Mr. John Malden, p. 355.
Mr. Mallison, p. 409.
Mr. Mallory, p. 204.
Mr. Malthurst, p. 279.
Mr. Daniel Manning, p. 279.
Dr. Thomas Manton, p. 209.
Mr. Jeremiah Marsden, p. 440.
Mr. Gamaliel Marsden, p. 445.
Mr. Christ. Marshal, p. 442.
Mr. Increase Mather, p. 337.
Mr. Nath. Mather, p. 303.
Mr. John Maynard, p. 289.
Mr. Maynard of Northtaunton, p. 303.
Mr. Richard Mayo, p. 284.
Mr. Matthew Mead, p. 281.
Mr. John Meadows, p. 258.
Mr. Milner, p. 440.
Mr. Milward, p. 230.
Mr. Joseph Moor, p. 390.
Mr. Richard Moor, p. 344.
Mr Moor, p. 423.
Mr. Martin Moorland, p. 294.
Mr. Charles Moreton, p. 308.
Mr. Richard Moreton, p. 357.
Mr. Roger Morrice, p. 380.
Mr. John Mott, p. 358.

N.

Mr. *Peter Nailour*, p. 406.
Mr. *James Nalton*, p. 184.
Mr. *Benjamin Needler*, p. 197.
Mr. *Rowland Nevet*, p. 354.
Mr. *Henry Newcome*, p. 394.
Mr. *Matthew Newcomen*, p. 242.
Mr. *Edward Newton*, p. 288.
Mr. *George Newton*, p. 309.
Mr. *Samuel Newton*, p. 407.
Mr. St. *Nicolas*, p. 367.
Mr. *Noble*, p. 435.
Mr. *John Norman*, p. 313.
Mr. *John Nott*, p. 358.
Mr. *Philip Nye*, p. 200.

O.

Mr. *John Oakes*, p. 248.
Mr. *Henry Oasland*, p. 343.
Mr. *Samuel Ogden*, p. 392.
Mr. *John Oldfield*, p. 383.
Mr. *John Osborn*, p. 335.
Dr. *John Owen*, p. 219.
Mr. *Thankful Owen*, p. 224.
Mr. *John Oxenbridge*, p. 330.

P.

Mr. *Thomas Pakeman*, p. 279.
Mr. *Anthony Palmer*, p. 336.
Mr. *Robert Park*, p. 403.
Mr. *Parret*, p. 432.
Mr. *Andrew Parsons*, p. 349.
Mr. *Thomas Parsons*, p. 203.
Mr. *Paston*, p. 356.
Mr. *Edward Pearse*, p. 205.
Mr. *Henry Pendlebury*, p. 401.
Mr. *Edward Perkins*, p. 279.
Mr. *Robert Perrot*, p. 331.
Mr. *Pickering*, p. 446.
Mr. *Plackston*, p. 452.
Mr. *Elias Pledger*, p. 198.
Mr. *Matthew Pool*, p. 192.
Mr. *Thomas Porter*, p. 354.
Mr. *Robert Porter*, p. 392.
Mr. *Gabriel Price*, p. 279.
Mr. *George Primrose*, p. 345.
Mr. *James Prince*, p. 279.
Mr. *Thomas Pyke*, p. 400.

Q.

Mr. *John Quick*, p. 305.

R.

Mr. *Nathanael Ranew*, p. 24[illegible]
Mr. *William Rayner*, p. 283.
Mr. *Rawlinson*, p. 282.
Mr. *John Rennolds*, p. 270.
Mr. *Edward Reyner*, p. 456.
Mr. *John Reyner*, p. 461.
Mr. *John Reynolds*, p. 356.
Mr. *William Reynolds*, p. 370.
Mr. *Joshua Richardson*, p. 35[illegible]
Mr. *Richardson*, p. 396.
Mr. *Christopher Richardson*, p. 44[illegible]
Mr. *Jonathan Roberts*, p. 34[illegible]
Mr. *Timothy Roberts*, p. 412.
Mr. *Joseph Rock*, p. 357.
Mr. *Hugh Rogers*, p. 347.
Mr. *John Rogers*, p. 412.
Mr. *John Rolls*, p. 280.
Mr. *Henry Root*, p. 444.
Mr. *Thomas Rosewell*, p. 323.
Mr. *John Rowe*, p. 207.
Dr. *Gilbert Rule*, p. 423.

S.

Mr. *Richard Sadler*, p. 354.
Mr. *Sale*, p. 441.
Mr. *John Salkeld*, p. 259.
Mr. *Henry Sampson*, p. 238.
Mr. *Gabriel Sangar*, p. 200.
Mr. *Jeremy Scoales*, p. 391.
Mr. *Jonathan Scolfield*, p. 40[illegible]
Mr. *Leonard Scurr*, p. 441.
Dr. *Lazarus Seaman*, p. 19[illegible]

Mr. *Robert Seddon*, p. 381.
Mr. *William Sedgwick*, p. 274, 277.
Mr. *Richard Serjeant*, p. 344.
Mr. *Thomas Sharp*, p. 447.
Mr. *Shaw*, p. 447.
Mr. *John Shaw*, p. 451.
Mr. *John Sheffield*, p. 206.
Mr. *William Sheffield*, p. 365.
Mr. *Thomas Shelmerdine*, p. 380.
Mr. *Daniel Shelmerdine*, Ibid.
Mr. *Robert Sherborne*, p. 448.
Mr. *Sherman*, p. 262.
Mr. *Shilton*, p. 363.
Mr. *Shuttlewood*, p. 366.
Mr. *John Singleton*, p. 233.
Mr. *Samuel Slater*, Sen. p. 203.
Mr. *Samuel Slater*, Jun. p. 263.
Mr. *Robert Smalley*, p. 373.
Mr. *Thomas Smallwood*, p. 443.
Mr. *Samuel Smith*, Sen. p. 345.
Mr. *Samuel Smith*, Jun. p. 196.
Mr, *Joshua Smith*, p. 445.
Mr. *Smith*, p. 410.
Mr. *Benjamin Snowden*, p. 266.
Mr. *Sound*, p. 357.
Mr. *Thomas Spademan*, p. 462.
Mr. *Ambrose Sparry*, p. 343.
Mr. *Spawford*, p. 435.
Mr. *John Spilsbury*, p. 344.
Mr. *Sprint* of *Hampsted*, p. 280.
Mr. *Samuel Sprint*, p. 295.
Dr. *Spurstow*, p. 281.
Mr. *Samuel Stancliff*, p. 280.
Mr. *Jonathan Staniforth*, p. 381.
Mr. *Timothy Staniforth*, Ibid.
Mr. *Stanley*, p. 391.
Dr. *Edmund Stanton*, p. 228.
Mr. *John Starkey*, p. 463.
Mr. *Comfort Star*, p. 412.
Mr. *Rowland Stedman*, p. 327.
Mr. *Richard Steel*, p. 483.
Mr. *Nathanael Stevens*, p. 364.
Mr. *Owen Stockton*, p. 240.
Mr. *Richard Stretton*, p. 389.
Mr. *John Strickland*, p. 322.
Mr. *Henry Stubbs*, p. 337.
Mr. *Joseph Swaffield*, p. 323.
Mr. *Swain*, p. 361.
Mr. *Joseph Swetnam*, p. 379.
Mr. *George Swinnock*, p. 328.
Mr. *Swift*, p. 280.
Mr. *Henry Swift*, p. 436.
Mr. *Matthew Sylvester*, p. 464.

T.

Mr. *Francis Tallents*, p. 348.
Mr. *Tattnal*, p. 201.
Mr, *Taverner*, p. 280.
Mr. *William Taylor*, p. 206.
Mr. *Thomas Taylor*, p. 323.
Mr. *Samuel Taylor*, p. 355.
Mr. *Zachary Taylor*, p. 401.
Mr. *Taylor*, p. 423.
Mr. *Taylor*, p. 438.
Mr. *Edward Terry*, p. 233, 282.
Mr. *William Thomas*, p. 319.
Mr. *Zachary Thomas*, p. 355.
Mr. *George Thomasson*, p. 402.
Mr. *John Thompson*, p. 234.
Mr. *Joseph Thompson*, p. 409.
Mr. *Edmund Thorp*, p. 288.
Mr. *John Tilsley*, p. 403.
Mr. *Robert Todd*, p. 440.
Mr. *Cornelius Todd*, p. 446.
Mr. *John Tombes*, p. 345.
Mr. *Torey*, p. 198, 199.
Mr. *Robert Town*, p. 445.
Mr. *Thomas Tregoss*, p. 307.
Mr. *Edmund Trench*, p. 287.
Mr. *Andrew Tristram*, p. 356.
Mr. *John Troughton*, p. 232.
Mr. *William Troughton*, p. 323.
Mr. *Joseph Truman*, p. 374.
Dr. *Anthony Tuckney*, p. 236.
Mr. *Turner*, p. 280.

V.

Mr. *Thomas Valentine*, p. 328.
Mr. *Henry Vaughan*, p. 462.
Mr. *Edward Veal*, p. 223.
Mr *Thomas Ventreſs*, p. 286.
Mr. *Thomas Vincent*, p. 202.
Mr. *Nathanael Vincent*, p. 328.
Mr. *Peter Vink*, p. 218.
Mr. *William Voyle*, p. 345.

W.

Mr. *Thomas Wadſworth*, p. 199.
Mr. *Elkanah Wales*, p. 442.
Mr. *James Waller*, p. 257.
Mr. *Walton*, p. 250.
Mr. *Walton*, p. 409.
Mr. *Ralph Ward*, p. 416.
Mr. *Francis Wareham*, p. 280.
Mr. *John Warren*, p. 246.
Mr. *Thomas Warren*, p. 294.
Mr. *Watkins*, p. 198.
Mr. *Thomas Watſon*, p. 205.
Mr. *Humphrey Weaver*, p. 293.
Mr. *John Weekes*, p. 298.
Mr. *Welch*, p. 405.
Mr. *John Wells*, p. 206.
Mr. *Edward Weſt*, p. 223.
Mr. *Francis Whiddon*, p. 305.
Mr. *William Whitaker*, p. 198.
Mr. *Thomas White*, p. 201.
Mr. *Whitehead*, p. 410.
Mr. *John Whitlock*, p. 370.
Mr. *Joſhua Whitton*, p. 439.
Mr. *Wicleff*, p. 423.
Dr. *Robert Wild*, p. 332.
Dr. *Henry Wilkinſon*, Sen. p. 226.
Dr. *Henry Wilkinſon*, Jun. p. 227.
Mr. *Peter Williams*, p. 431.
Mr. *Thomas Willis*, p. 280.
Mr. *Wills*, p. 362.
Mr. *Wilsby*, p. 358.
Mr. *Wilſon*, p. 277.
Mr. *Wilſon* of *Peterborough*, p. 332.
Mr. *Wilſon*, p. 451.
Mr. *John Wilſon*, p. 472.
Dr. *Samuel Winter*, p. 368.
Mr. *Seth Wood*, p. 206.
Mr. *Robert Wood*, p. 230.
Mr. *John Wood*, p. 238.
Mr. *James Wood*, Sen. p. 406.
Mr. *James Wood*, Jun. Ibid.
Mr. *Timothy Wood*, p. 436.
Mr. *Benjamin Woodbridge*, p. 32[illegible]
Mr. *Thomas Woodcock*, p. 211.
Mr. *William Woodward*, p. 345.
Mr. *Worts*, p. 270.
Mr. *Thomas Wright*, p. 356.
Mr. *Wright*, p. 364.
Mr. *Wright*, p. 406.
Mr. *Samuel Wright*, p. 380.

Y.

Mr. *Robert Yates*, p. 407.

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Advertiſement.

I Deſire that Mr. *Hodges* of *King Stanley*, [illegible] repreſented in *Page* 338. of this Book, as Conform[illegible] after his Ejectment, may be transferr'd to the *Nonconformiſts* of *Glocesterſhire*, among whom I am Inform'd he continu'd. And that *Line* [illegible] of *Page* 391. may be Read thus: The Noble Earl (Father of the now Duke) of *Devonſhire*.